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A CATHOLIC

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

142238

BY WILLIAM BERNARD MAC CABE.

PART [illegible] ENGLAND: ITS RULERS, CLERGY, AND POOR, BEFORE THE REFORMATION, AS DESCRIBED BY THE MONKISH HISTORIANS.

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PROSEQUENTES ORDINEM TEMPORUM, MIXTE CONFUSEQUE TÀM VIRTUTES SANCTORUM, QUAM STRAGES GENTIUM MEMORAMUS. NON ENIM INRATIONABILITER ACCIPI PUTO, SI FELICEM BEATORUM VITAM INTER MISERORUM MEMOREMUS EXCIDIA, CUM ID NON FACILITAS SCRIPTORIS, SED TEMPORUM SERIES PRÆSTET.

S. GREGOR. TURONENS.

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INTRODUCTION.

The appearance of a new work, bearing the title of a "history of England," demands, at the same time, an apology and an explanation. Both are the more imperatively required, when such a work emanates from one, whose name, as an author, is unknown.

A catalogue of all the Histories of England, and of works subservient to the purposes of its history, makes a large sized volume; and, when the attempt is made to add to that mass of literature, a good and sufficient reason should be given, by the contributor, for venturing to increase it.

I think, I can allege, at least, one such reason; and I pray the reader's attention for a few moments, whilst I endeavour to expound it.

Without questioning the merits, or pointing out the faults of the multitude of writers, who have published books, on the subject of English history, I may observe, that each and all of these, the very best, as well as the very worst, have appropriately given *their names* to the different books, that have appeared from them. Thus, we have *Lingard's* "*History* of England," as well as *Hume's* "*History* of England;" and, the names of their respective authors assure us, where we may hope to meet with truth, and where we have to fear the wiles of insincerity. We find, in these, as in all others, the materials of history exposed to a purifying,

or a debasing process; but in none, is there afforded to the reader, the opportunity of judging for himself. "The historian" descants upon the value of his "authorities;" but the "authorities" themselves are excluded from his pages; and the English reader is seldom permitted to know any thing more of them, than the titles of their works.

In this respect, *the following pages will be found to differ from every preceding history of England.* This will be not the history of the individual, whose name appears on the title page; but *the history of England, as written by the ancient Annalists, Chroniclers, Biographers, and Historians of England,* witnesses as they were, for the most part, of the scenes and transactions they describe, and in every instance, beyond the sphere of those motives, by which, but too many of our modern writers have been prompted to make the materials of our annals, subservient to the prejudices and interests of Party.

Many have testified to the value of the ancient Chroniclers as authorities. My object is—it is my Explanation, and my Apology, also—that the English reader should know them, not as mere *authorities;* but as *Authors recording the history of their country.*

In a point of vital importance, *this work will thus be found to differ from all others on the same subject.* If it have any merit at all, that merit will be found to consist in the originality of its plan—in the attempt, however feebly executed, to make the reader acquainted with the writings; with the thoughts of Gildas, Nennius, Bede, Asser, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, Eadmer, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmsbury, Eddius, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden, John Bromton, William of Newbury, Roger de Wendover, Mathew Paris, Nicholas Trivet, Ralph Higden, Goscelin, Sprott, Walsingham, Knighton, Capgrave &c., &c., &c.,: to do this, not by mere extracts from them, but by *making their words the text out of which the history is compiled,* and by combining them together,

to give a consecutive narrative of the ancient annals of the country. In short, by introducing the reader to those venerable monks, and leaving him to learn history from their lips.

Thus, in this volume, it will be found, that they are *the writers of their own history*—that they are the persons, who appeal to the reader's judgment—that, they are his instructors, and that, *from them alone* information is derived.

To their writings, notes are appended, either for the purpose of illustrating, or of verifying their statements—of making clear, what otherwise might be obscure—of pointing out, where omissions occur in their narrative—or, of attempting a comment upon passages, which bear not only on the past, but upon the present position of the country, of the people, or of their moral and social condition.

The same course is pursued with them, as if the task were entrusted to the writer of this preface, of bringing out an edition of some classical author. In that case, it is obvious, that the value of the work must consist in the purity of the text, and the appositeness of the notes, and by the fullness of illustration, which they afforded to the text. Here, the endeavour is made, by uniting the writings of the monkish historians, and of placing them in chronological order, to give *a narrative of bygone events, in the very words of the original writers, and unmixed with the opinions of any modern author*—whilst these words are accompanied by notes, which are only of value, so far as they can prove themselves, sustained by authority.

Amongst all the histories of England, that have been published, there has, I believe, been none written according to this plan. If it be a good plan, then has it not only the merit of novelty, upon a trite subject; but in its Explanation is involved my Apology for intruding with a new work upon the public.

This leads, at once, to a consideration of the value of the plan itself. Is it good? Is it proper? Is it probable, that it will be attended with advantage?

To decide this question, we must look to the practice and opinions of those, who have studied the subject, and are competent to form a judgment respecting it.

All writers of English history, whose authority is of the least value, have made use of the monkish historians, as the principal authorities for their statements. That most interesting Institution, "the English Historical Society," (including amongst its subscribers the names of the best scholars in this country) is now engaged, in reprinting the monastic writers, in a convenient form. Not only is the society occupied with this task; but its members are about to reprint the Lives of the Saints; because, as it is said, in their General Introduction, "there is scarcely a reign upon which the lives of saints do not "throw important light, and sometimes, they are the only source, "whence information upon points of much moment can be "derived."*

For all, that this Society is doing, in publishing not only the

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* General Introduction—English Historical Society, p. xiv, § 22.

In France, the value of the lives of the saints, as illustrative of history, has long since been recognised. Dom Martin Bouquet, in his magnificent work "Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France," (frequently referred to in the following pages by its Latin title) observes in the preface to his third volume:—"Quam prosperé Valesius, Cointius, Mabillonius, et Pagius vitis sanctorum usi sint ad explanandas plurimas historicas quaestiones, nemo nescit." (p. xvi, §. 15).

"Je recommande," says Chateaubriand, "surtout à nos historiens futurs une lecture serieuse des conciles, des annales particulières des provinces, et des coutumes de ces provinces, tant latines que gauloises; c'est là qu'avec les vies des saints pour les huit premiers siècles de notre monarchie, se trouve la veritable histoire de France."

CHATEAUBRIAND. *Etudes ou Discours Historiques sur la chute de l'empire Romain, la naissance et les progres du Christianisme, et l'invasion des Barbares.* Preface §. "Archives Françoises."

ancient historians, chronicles, charters, councils, &c., they claim, and justly, the thanks of their country. Most truly do they say, "that the investigator of our early history may be presumed "to be doubly grateful for having those materials presented to "him, in a full and arranged form, which it would otherwise "have cost him, so much labour and anxiety to collect."*

It is also observed, by the Revd. John Giles, L.L.D, a clergyman of the Established Church, and the editor of many valuable books, connected with the history of England, such as the works of Bede, Aldhelm, Boniface, Alcuin, Lanfranc, St. Thomas of Canterbury &c.

"The great Cathedral, Conventual and Collegiate establish-"ments, with which our island was studded, were so many conser-"vatories, in which every kind of learning was cultivated. Every "monastery had its historiographer, whose duty it was to re-"cord both the public events of the day, and the private matters "connected with the monastery. Such an historiographer was "William of Malmsbury, also Mathew Paris, Mathew of West-"minster, Wendover, Rishanger, and others, without number, "who either by their own hands or by their secretaries, rendered "to their contemporaries the same services which are now dis-"charged by the most eminent of our book-printers, and this in "addition to the higher destinies of author, or editor. It is to "the monasteries, that we owe the preservation of all learning; "for learning was in those days inseparable from the church; "and as regards the history of our own country, those who have "never seen the interior of our public libraries, would look with "astonishment at the immense masses of manuscripts which are "there contained. Almost every monastery, out of the hun-"dreds which once covered the land, has left at least one chroni-"cle, or register of public events; and though in many cases "the authors of these seem to have had before them certain

* General Introduction §. 20, p. xiv.

" common authorities to guide them in compiling their own " more condensed narratives, yet the different views which " would present themselves to writers acting under circumstances " of time, place and party feelings entirely different, would no " doubt give a character to each of these narratives which would " render it worthy to be studied and preserved."*

To these opinions, might be added those of many others, eminent for their knowledge, and distinguished for their acuteness and research as historians.

That which the English Historical Society is accomplishing for the scholar, is here attempted, upon a reduced scale, for the general reader. The English Historical Society places our old Chroniclers, Biographists, and Historians, in the language in which they wrote, before those, to whom that language presents no difficulties; and here, the material passages, bearing exclusively upon events *in England*, are translated, and conjoined together.

Here, it may be asked, why has this plan of writing the early history of a country, which I carry into effect, if it be good, not been adopted by others? Why have others not sanctioned it, by their example? The answer is alike obvious, and easily given.—It would not have suited the public taste—it would have found no favor with the public, and it would certainly have been condemned by those, who were then the organs of public opinion, and who were much better read in the antiquities of Greece and Rome, than of their own country.†

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* *Chroniconon Angliae Petriburgense* (Edited by the Revd. J A. Giles). Preface pp. vii. viii.

† That, which *was* the public taste is thus expressed by one of the most ponderous compilers of English history:—

" Now, *the perusal of all the monkish writers*, with the others necessary on this occasion, *is a labour highly disagreeable to the*

The public taste has changed—it may be said, has greatly improved of late years. Truth has forced its way upwards, through the neglected mass of ruins, beneath which it had been so long buried. Here and there, treasures have been found, which show how rich are the materials that compose the ancient history of this country—how worthy of being appreciated—how deserving of being guarded from further destruction, and from ultimate decay. A desire is manifested to know thoroughly all that pertains to the manners, the literature, and the history of the country; and to gratify that desire we see Societies established in England, Scotland and Ireland, the sole object of which is the publication of ancient books, and of manuscripts of every description. This change, which began with the Bannatyne Club in 1823, found its last imitator in the Irish Celtic Society in 1845; whilst England in the meanwhile established its "Camden," "English Historical" "Shakspeare" "Archeological" "Ælfric" "Berkshire Ashmolean," "Wiltshire," and "Lincolnshire Topographical," and other societies. And so far from there being a desire to avoid, as dull, tedious, or disagreeable an intimate knowledge of ancient English authorities, the wish is the very opposite. The popularity and the success of these Societies—the deserved interest that attaches to their publications proves it; and, it may be added, that in the existence of such a taste will be traced the adoption of a plan, which seeks still further to gratify it. The novelty of the plan finds its justification in the manifest, the proved—desire in the public, to become thoroughly acquainted with the ancient writers of England. As yet, however, these ancient writers are, with few exceptions, only known in the language in which they wrote. Gildas, Nennius, a portion of Bede, and of Ælfric, and one or two

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taste and genius of this refined age, which cannot bear with the meannesses and sterilities of some of them, no more than the prolixities of others." EDIARD, History of England. Preface. p. i. London 1707.

others are "*Englished*," but all the rest lie hidden from the multitude, in their original Latinity or Saxon; whilst, here the effort is made to popularise them, and to diffuse still further a taste, which may ultimately descend from the rich, as learning has done, until it becomes universally diffused amongst the humbler classes of society.

I submit then, that there is this excuse to be pleaded, and I hope received, for the adoption of a novel plan in writing a history of England, viz., that it is one, which the popular feeling, as indicated in the success of Antiquarian Societies, sanctions, and notifies to be desirable.

A brief comparison between ancient and modern writers will shew, that by relying upon the latter, and not giving the statements of the former, many interesting facts are left unknown, whilst statements the very opposite to facts are received as true, and transmitted from age to age, as things to be believed, when they ought to have been, from the first, treated as wilful and perverse falsehoods.

Thus it is, for instance, that *the most popular of English historians* treats the ancient annals of England:—

MERCIA. "The place of Ceolred was supplied by Ethelbald, "great-grand-nephew to Penda, by Alwy his brother; and this "prince being slain in a mutiny, was succeeded by Offa, who "was a degree more remote from Penda, by Eawa, another bro-"ther." (HUME'S *History of England*, Chapter I, vol. i, pp. 48, 49. London, 1790, 8vo. Edit).

WESSEX. "In the year 741, he (Oswald) was succeeded by "his cousin Cudred. The reign of this prince was distinguished "by a great victory, which he obtained by means of Edelhun, "his general, over Ethelbald, King of Mercia. His death made "way for Sigebert." (Ibid. p. 55).

Thus, according to *the most popular of English historians*, there was nothing worthy of note in the reigns of Ethelbald, and Cudred, but a dry account of their family connexions, and

the fact, that a battle was fought between them. Let us take the single incident, in their conjoint reigns, specified by Mr. Hume, and see how differently it reads in the pages of a monastic historian—how life-like, and how Homeric, as it is pourtrayed by a monk! So life-like, that it can scarcely be obscured, even in the following imperfect translation :—

"Cuthred, finding the exactions of Ethelbald intolerable, and "his oppression unceasing, determined to muster an army, and "meet the tyrant in the field, resolved to die a free and indepen- "dent sovereign, rather than live, as if he were the bondman of "another. He had in this battle the support of his Ealdorman "Ethelhun—who from his foe, had become his steadfast and "trusty friend. Cuthred confided to the valour of Ethelhun's "arm in the conflict, and he was guided, by his counsel, in the "disposition of his army. He relied upon both, as capacitating "him to withstand the worst efforts of Ethelbald.

"The latter, as the monarch over tributary kings, marched "to the field of battle, with an immense body of forces—he "brought against the West Saxons, the warriors not only of Mer- "cia, but also of Kent, of the East Saxons and of the Angles.

"The hostile armies met at Burford. As soon as they were "arrayed in lines against each other, both at the same time ad- "vanced to the attack, preceded by the standard bearers of their "respective sovereigns. Ethelhun, who carried the golden dragon, "the ensign of the King of Wessex, rushed forward and trans- "fixed the enemy's standard bearer. A loud and joyous huzza "burst from the ranks of Cuthred, as they crossed their weapons "with their foes.

"An awful clash then followed—and then came the roar, the "tumult, and the thunder sounds of battle—the clatter of swords "—the heavy fall of the instruments of death, the piercing shrieks, "and sobbing groans of the wounded, and of men in their last "agonies. Havoc spread like fire, and consumed in its rage, "the compact masses as they hurried into the thickest of the

" horrid strife. The Mercians and the West Saxons seemed to " feel that this was a battle, the result of which was to decide " the fate of their posterity for ever. One moment might be " seen troops of soldiers with glittering armour, with crested " helmets, with bristling spears, and with banners gay with " gold, and radiant with brilliant colours—and in a moment " after, the same soldiers might be beheld, covered with blood, " their helmets broken, their armour crushed, their spears in " splinters, their banners torn, dabbled with blood, or clotted " even with the brains of those, who had fought in their de- " fence. It was however around the regal standards in both " armies, that the bravest and boldest were to be found; rank " following rank, and doing the work of destruction with the " sword, or Amazonian battle axe. In neither was there enter- " tained a thought of flight; both fought with the certain ex- " pectation of victory: the Mercians inflated with the pride of " many former conquests; the West Saxons incited by an utter " detestation of slavery.

" In all parts of this terrible field of battle, the Ealdorman " Ethelhun was to be seen, cutting his way, through entire ranks " of his foes; and leaving a heap of dead or dying in his track; " for his awful battle-axe fell like the thunder-bolt, upon men and " armour; striking them dead, and riving them to pieces on the " instant.

" On the other hand, the valiant King Ethelbald rushed " amongst the enemy, and slaughtered all who chanced to encoun- " ter him; for to his sword the breastplates of his foes, were but " as a thin garment, and their bones but as yielding flesh. " Ethelhun and Ethelbald were, as two dreadful fires, which be- " ginning from opposite quarters, at length in their progress of " destruction come to unite their raging flames with each other.

" Ethelbald and Ethelhun stood face to face! Both were " brave—each felt, in regarding the warlike champion who stood " before him, that he had a terrible opponent. They gnashed

" their teeth with rage—exchanged blows—then collected all their " strength, and prepared for a mutual conflict, in which, at last, " each was to be fairly matched with his only fitting combatant.

" It was at that very moment, that God, who resists the " proud, and from whom all strength, courage and magnanimity " come, withdrew His grace from Ethelbald. Ethelbald's spirit " was abated. He felt on the instant, that he had neither his " wonted courage, nor his accustomed strength ; he fled the very " first from the battle, and abandoned his soldiers to the wrath of " the mighty champion, he had been himself afraid to encounter.

" And from that day forth God never permitted anything " to prosper with him."*

Assuredly, not only is such an event, and its particulars worthy of being known to *an Englishman*, who studies to learn the incidents of the petty wars of Rome, as a growing, republic; but even *the manner* in which they are described, by our most ancient writers, is deserving of perusal by those, who are interested in the pages of Livy, and the investigations of Niebuhr. What is wanting in classicality is redeemed by nationality; and the Christian writer ought not to be utterly neglected by Christian readers, whilst the Pagan is perused not only with pleasure, but as a matter of duty.

The two preceding extracts that have been taken from Hume cover the period of time, which elapsed between the years 729, and 755; and no one, who alone read them, would suppose that those years were illuminated with the virtues and the learning of Ceolwulf, King of Northumberland, the royal critic and friend to whom St. Bede, the father of English history, dedicated his great work; that in it were to be found a prince, and archbishop, the founder of schools, of a splendid library at York, Egbert, brother of King Eadbert, the instructor of the great Alcuin, who was the founder of schools in France; that during the same period, England sent forth its missionaries to preach the gospel to foreign na-

* H. Huntindon *Histor.* Lib. iv, p. 341.

tions; that it was adorned with the labors of a Wilbrord, and of that great glory of England, St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. All are buried in obscurity, or treated as of no importance; as if an examination with respect to them could give us no insight as to the condition, the morals, and the manners of the people; or the attempt is made to disguise all these things, under the pretence of describing them, in such a paragraph as the annexed, which we quote from Mr. Hume, and every sentence of which, the following pages will prove, is directly opposed to, or a perversion of the fact:

"The Saxons, though they had been so long settled in the "island, seem not as yet to be much improved beyond their "German ancestors, either in arts, civility, knowledge, humanity, "justice, or obedience to the laws. Even Christianity, though "it opened the way to connexions between them and the more "polished states of Europe, had not hitherto been very effectual "in banishing their ignorance or softening their barbarous "manners. As they received that doctrine through the corrupted "channels of Rome, it carried along with it a great mixture of "credulity and superstition, equally destructive to the under-"standing and to morals. The reverence towards saints and "reliques seems to have almost supplanted the adoration of the "Supreme Being. Monastic observances were esteemed more "meritorious than the active virtues. The knowledge of na-"tural causes was neglected from the universal belief of miracu-"lous interpositions and judgments: bounty to the Church "atoned for every violence against society: And the remorses "for cruelty, murder, treachery, assassination, and the more "robust vices were appeased, not by amendment of life, but "by penances, servility to the monks, and an abject and illi-"beral devotion. The reverence for the clergy had been carried "to such a height, that, wherever a person appeared in a Sacer-"dotal habit, though on the highway, the people flocked around "him; and showing him all marks of profound respect, received "every word he uttered as the most sacred oracle." (Hume's

History of England, vol. i, Chap. i, pp. 60, 61).*

When such a passage as this, is not only believed to be history but passes as history, is quoted as history, and so much admired, as to be plagiarised, and promulgated as an argument, why Englishmen ought to be utterly regardless of what occurred in England during the Octarchy,† it is justifiable to shew, by the words of the ancient writers of the country, that an attempt has been made to deceive them, and that if they look into those writers, they will find that their ancestors are worthy of reverence, and that England was a great and a glorious country, before the Dane desolated it by his barbarities, or the Norman wasted it with fire and sword.

An examination into these annals will also serve to shew, that Catholic lay and priestly law-makers thought much of what Anti-Catholic historians, and law-makers think little, viz., the great mass of the people—of the poor. A leading feature in this work will be *a history of the poor*—the essential element of society. Too long has the custom prevailed of marking only the movements of the few and gaudy figures that float upon the surface, whilst the particles of the mighty mass by which they are upborne have remained unexamined, unanalyzed, and unknown. And yet a study of the history of the poor is beyond all others

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* For an exposure of Hume, his carelessness in collecting materials, and his perversion of those he had examined, and the foll object for which he wrote, see *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxiii, pp. 536, 592.

† See the very last work published, professing to give a History of England, "British History, chronologically arranged by John Wade, London, 1843." In page 7, it is said, "the struggles of the several states, and the events which marked the period of the Heptarchy are imperfectly known, and *from their character, scarcely deserve to be recorded.*" This statement is supported by transcribing a portion of the preceding passage from Mr. Hume. The plagiarism will be found in page 360 of this volume.

that which is most worthy of the philosopher and the statesman; of the philosopher, who desires to improve, and of the statesman, who wishes to secure the happiness of his fellow citizens. Most of our historians forget this—they write "Court-Circulars," and tell us of the achievements of the titled, and the rich; but there is little to be found in them, as such records which "an Andover Inquiry," the proceedings in our Courts, Civil, Criminal, and Police supply us, and from which alone, we can obtain an accurate insight into the state of the country, and the condition of the poor. This great defect, I shall endeavour to supply.

The text of the First Part of this work—that is "the History of England to the time of the Reformation," will be composed, *exclusively*, from the works, and *the very words used by the Monastic writers*. Every care will be taken to shew, by the notes, which of these writers' words are translated, in the text. For instance, if a long quotation be given from any writer, his name will appear to the first sentence translated from him, and again repeated at the close of the passage. Where a passage from another writer is necessarily interposed, in the statement of the first, a new note will shew where the interruption has taken place. Short passages from the original authors, instead of having this double quotation in the notes, will bear their writers' name at the close of the one or two sentences taken from him. I humbly hope, that the care which has been taken in this respect, of stating the author, the volume, the page, the passage, and even the edition of the author quoted, will shew, that I have but one anxiety, in this Part of the Work, viz. that the reader should seek for himself, should inquire for himself, should be perfectly satisfied, in his own conscience, that there is not one word in the text, he reads, that is not grounded on the authority of some particular person, who has stated nothing, he did not believe to be true, and who made that statement, when no party, personal, or sectarian object, was to be obtained by it.

To the author, whose words are quoted in the text, will be generally found mentioned the corroborative testimony of some other writer. I have not upon every occasion, quoted all the authorities, which repeat the same thing, because I wished to avoid a useless display of research; but, on the other hand, where a matter is stated in the text, which appears to be of importance, I have given in the note, the words of the author himself, and I have done this for the purpose of avoiding any cavil on the subject—to show, that nothing is evaded, that investigation is courted, and enquiry desired. I claim the merit of fair, full and frank quotation both of adversaries and of friends. I give all, as they themselves have written, and in the words they themselves have chosen to convey their meaning.

The only exceptions made to this general rule as to the text, will be found, in a few passages in the first and second chapters, of this volume, which do not bear upon the interests of the poor or of religion. Even in these cases, it will, however, be found by comparing the different authorities cited by me, that there is not a word, in the text, which is not justified, by the authors I quote. It is never adopted, once St. Augustine appears on the scene in England, and has only been used, in these few instances, for the purpose of not dwelling, at much length, on that portion of English history, which is the least interesting, and the most obscure.*

It may be necessary to observe, that this work confines itself, with few exceptions, to the events that have occurred in England, within the Tweed, the Severn, and the Irish Channel. Unless it cannot be avoided, but slight reference will be found to any transactions occurring beyond those boundaries. I have purposely confined myself to these limits, because mature reflection on the subject has convinced me that a Catholic History of the

* See KEMBLE'S *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. i, Introduction, pp. v, vi, xxii.

religion and people of England, of Wales, of Ireland, and of Scotland can never be satisfactorily achieved by one man. The subject is too large, and life too short for the performance of such a task. In the present condition of the English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish we behold results so various, that a moment's consideration must shew how different must have been the treatment of the people, and how opposite the fate of religion in these several countries.

Procopius avows, that he mentions circumstances, connected with this country, which he would be well disposed, not to notice, but that he feared his silence might be ascribed to his ignorance.* The motive that influences me is different. I would much prefer being accused of ignorance, than of impertinence; of a want of knowledge, than of pedantry; of dullness rather than of vanity. I omit, wilfully, many things, that might be said, pass by even facts, that I might introduce into the notes, either because these things have often been said before, or such facts can be found most fully explained, in works, that are within the grasp of every reader. I do not think it right to repeat all that is already well known, or that can be easily ascertained by referring to the pages of such writers, as Palgrave, Lingard, Hallam, Whittaker, or Leland; or, if I do refer to them, I take care, that no part of their research, and not a particle of their learning shall, for a moment, be mistaken for any portion of my labours.

About to present to the public, a work on which many months have been expended, and this at a period of life, when hours are precious, and a week of inestimable value, it is hoped that it will not be deemed egotistical to state a fact, with respect to the writer, as its knowledge can account for errors, and omissions

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* De Bello Gothico Lib. iv, §. 20, vol. ii, p. 567.

that may be regarded of importance. The writer has pursued his task, unaided, and uncounselled by others. His toil has been that of the solitary man, who has given all the time, that he could spare, from the service of others, to this, which has been his compensation, for what some call "amusement," and others deem to be necessary repose. Year has followed year in the unaided study of a subject, which promised a great reward—the advancement and propagation of the truth. The humble laborer in such a cause is conscious of his feebleness, and he proclaims the reasons which must make his performance defective, not for the purpose of disarming criticism, but of simply declaring his unfitness and incapacity to cope with any of those, who have preceded him, in the same inquiries, and who have been able to bring to their investigation not only superior talents, and greater learning, but also abundant leisure, and most valuable of all, the suggestions of friends who sympathised with their opinions, and were competent to aid them in their research.

The author has been destitute of all these aids; but he has been possessed of one great advantage. As a member of the London Library Society, he has had access to, and the use in his own home of a splendid collection of works, and in many instances his attention has been directed to the best of these, by Mr. Cochrane the secretary of that invaluable institution. To that gentleman, and the London Library Society, the author is bound to express his acknowledgment; for it is on the shelves of that Library, he has found most of *his authorities—the ancient monastic writers*, and those authors, who afford passages illustrative of the facts stated by them.* Whatever is theirs is valuable, in

* For some of the latter class of works I am also indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Boone, of Bond-street, and the kindness of my friend, Mr. John H. Turner, M.A., whose translation of "Geijers History of Sweden" will be found referred to, more than once, in the following pages.

his estimation, because it is theirs, and if he might presume to apply to such an attempt as this, the words of the great Bollondus, he would say :—

" That, if there appear to the reader to be anything in this volume, worthy of commendation, he may be assured it is de-derived from the ancient writers; but if there be, what is adjudged to be bad, then he may conclude that it is mine. If I have mistaken their meaning, if I have not correctly translated it; if I have adopted, what is erroneous, and rejected what is right; pardon me; point out to me my fault, and I shall endeavour to amend it."*

I would, here, wish to bring this Preface to a conclusion; but I cannot look at the number of pages in the present volume, and recollect, that it does not conduct the history further down. than the Danish Invasion, without feeling it necessary to offer an observation to the reader. Its bulk may be regarded as a proof, that there will be found in it, many things not to be met with in other histories of England, *in the English language*; and if the reader should think that statements as to the wise, the great, and the good of the olden time, which have swelled the size of the book, have been, with propriety, introduced in such a work as this, then I can truly affirm, that I am more liable to the charge of omission, than of prolixity; and that my desire to compress has induced me to omit many valuable, many interesting, and many edifying facts respecting the most glorious, if not the most important period, in the annals of England.

29 Upper Belgrave Place, Pimlico,
London, November 21st. 1846.

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* " Hoc igitur ita constituto, si quid hoc in opere vobis præclarum videbitur, id veterum est, iis impertite quam merentur laudem. At me sicubi conjectura fefellit, si non sum scriptorum sententiam probe assecutus, si adulterinum aliquod scriptum pro legitimo suscepi, si respui quod rectum erat et purum; date veniam et me admonete." BOLLANDUS *Acta Sanctorum*. Vol. i. p. xliv. (e).

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN. INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY.

DESCRIPTION of Britain...its first inhabitants...their obstinacy and impiety...the land of tyrants. Invasion of Julius Cæsar Claudius. British Christians. St. Joseph of Arimathea... foundation of the Abbey of Glastonbury. Lucius and his subjects converted by Papal legates. The Emperor Severus...his war against the Caledonians. Carausius the Emperor—King of Britain. Persecution of Christians. St. Alban, Proto martyr of Britain...monastery of St. Alban. The Arian heresy. Constantius. The British Empress of the Romans, St. Helena... her piety and boundless charities. The British Emperor of the Romans, Constantine...Elevation of the Cross. Maximus, the Emperor—King of Britain...Piety of his Empress. The British and Scotch heretics, Pelagius and Celestius. The British King Gratian. The Emperor-king Constantine. Constans, a monk elevated to the rank of Cæsar. State of Britain upon the downfall of the Roman Empire. The Picts and Scots...Their invasions. The Britons defended by the Romans. .Cowardice of the Britons, attributable to the policy of their rulers. Palladius sent by the Pope to the Scotch, and St. Patrick to the Irish. Letter of the Britons to the Consul Ætius. The archbishop of London seeks assistance from Brittany. Reign and assassination of King Constantine. King Constans. Treachery of Vortigern Prosperity of Britain. Crimes of its clergy and people. Britain threatened with invasion. The Saxons invited as allies. Spread of the Pelagian heresy. St. Germanus...Controversy with the Pelagians...A miracle...The "Halleluiah" victory.

CATHOLIC HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

A. C. 55.—A. D. 449.

THE island of Britain is placed, upon what may be called, almost the extreme boundary of the earth.* It lies towards the South and West, and is poised in the

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* GILDAS *Historia.* p. 3. Gildas was born in the year 520, and the work from which this passage is taken was written when he was forty four years of age. He is quoted with great respect by such eminent writers as Bede and Alcuin. See STEVENSON'S Gildas (E. H S.) Preface p.p. vi. to xii. *Vit. S. Gild.* p. xxxi. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar) vol. ii. p. 958. LELAND. *de Scriptor. Britan.* p.p. 51...56.

In *Wright's Biographia Britannica Literaria* there purports to be given an account of Gildas, and a critical review of the works attributed to him. The article is worthy of perusal as a specimen of Mr. Wright's compositions, equally remarkable for his research, and his unkindly prejudices against the Catholics; for instance, he says, p. 128, "*The book was forged* by some Anglo-Saxon, or foreign priest of the Seventh Century, in his zeal to *uphold the Romish Church!*" Unhappily for Mr. Wright, he is gifted with a great faith in the wickedness of mankind, and where the parties accused are persons who have devoted their lives to God, that which others would esteem as slight, insufficient garbled or extorted evidence, are, to his mind, convincing proofs of guilt. See his "Letters on Suppression of Monasteries," (Camden Society) and the correspondence respecting them in the *Dublin Review*, Part xxxi p. p. 255—256—257, with the article attached to that correspondence, which disposes of Mr. Wright's claim to candour or trustworthiness upon any point affecting the Catholic religion.

Divine balance, of the entire globe, as it stretches from the South West to the North pole. It is eight hundred miles in length, and two hundred miles in breadth, with the exception of those promontories which run to a greater extent into the sea. It is invested with winding bays, and the ocean guards it, with a wide and impassable barrier of waters, excepting a portion on the Southern coast, to which there is a short passage from Belgic Gaul. Its two noble rivers, the Thames and the Severn, stretch themselves out, as if they were arms, to receive those foreign luxuries that were once borne to it, by ships, whilst its fields are irrigated by many minor streams. It shines conspicuously by its twice ten, and twice four cities;* and it is decorated by some great castles, with their walls, towers and portcullises—with mighty mansions, that raise their proud heads aloft, and uplifted high in the air, stage over stage, and story piled up over story, are guarded from attack by battlements and munitions of war. It glories in wide spread meadows and charming gently sloping hills—in its level soil suited for tillage; in its mountain herbage fitted for the pasture of animals—in its fields which, wherever the foot of human being rests, are strewed with many coloured flowers, and that present to the eye, on every side, a lovely, ever

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* "In ea sunt viginti octo civitates, et innumerabilia promontoria, cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et latere fabricatis." *Nennius Hist. Brit.* §. 7. Amongst these twenty eight great cities, those which are now best known are York, Canterbury, Carnarvon, Worcester, Porchester, Verulam, Cirencester, Gloucester, Carlisle, Doncaster, Bristol, Chester, London, and Leicester. These were built during the time of the Roman Empire. When Cæsar landed on the coast, he says "Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt." Lib. v. c. 17.

variegated landscape.* It is adorned, like a bride elect, with many precious jewels. It sparkles with lucid fountains—it glitters with innumerable streams that run over snow white sands—gently it murmurs with clear running rivulets, which whisper sweet promise of soft repose to those who recline on their banks; and it is interspersed with lakes that spread wide abroad their cold, abundant and refreshing waters.†

Attached to Britain there are three islands; the first, the Isle of Wight opposite to Armorica; the second, the Isle of Man, between Britain and Ireland; and the last, to the North, at the extremity of the British dominions, and beyond the land of the Picts, known as Orkney. From these facts, relative to its position, is derived the proverbial form of expression, when reference is made to a king or judge of this country, "he governed Britain with its three islands."‡

The first inhabitants of the country were Britons; they came from Armorica and settled down in the southern part of the island.‖

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* All the old English monkish historians revel in praises of the natural beauties of their country. Henry of Huntingdon, who adopts the text of Beda, amplifies and luxuriates upon it. Not content with telling us of its mines of copper, lead, and silver; (though he admits the last to be "rather scarce"—multo rarius) of its pearls; its muscles, its scarlet dying cockles; and its jet; also introduces and adopts the exaggeration of Solinus, and declares:—

"Ita pabulosa in quibusdam locis est Britannia, ut pecora nisi interdum a pastibus arceantur, ad periculum agat satietas. H. HUNT. *Histor.* Lib. i. p. 297. BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. i. §. 4. 5. 6.. See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. III. p.p. 189, 251, 433, (Gough's edition).

† GILDAS *Histor.* §. 3.

‡ NENNIUS *Histor. Brit.* §. 8.

‖ *Saxon Chronicle.* BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. i. §. 7.

An interval of eight hundred years had passed away,* when the people called Picts, and originally inhabitants of Scythia, sailed in their long ships, though few in number, into these seas, and landed first in the northern parts of Ireland, where they announced to the inhabitants, that it was their determination to abide. The Irish would not assent to this; for the land, they declared, was not sufficient for the sustenance of all. "We will not," said the Irish, "part with our land; but at the same "time, we tender to you advice, that may be useful to "you. There is, we know, another island, lying to the "east of this. There you may dwell, if you wish, and "should any seek to resist you, you shall have our aid, "in gaining what you desire."†

The Picts sailed from Ireland, and settled in the north

Other historians trace the name of Britain to a certain Brutus, a Trojan. See NENNIUS §. 10. HEN. HUNT. p. 300. According to the much abused Geoffry of Monmouth, its first inhabitants were giants, that were compelled by Brutus to fly into the caves of the mountains, and when he and his companions had tilled the ground and made the island look like an inhabited country, he called it by his own name, and designated his companions, Britons. "——repertos gigantes ad cavernas montium fugant—Denique Brutus de nomine suo insulam Britanniam, sociosque suos Britones appellat." GALFR. MONUMET. *Hist. Reg. Brit.* Lib. i. §. 16. p. 20. (GILES). See CAMDEN'S *Britannia.* p. p. 5—17. (Ed. 1600).

* H. HUNT. p. 300. "Post intervallum multorum annorum, non minus octingentorum, Picti venerunt, et occupaverunt insulas, quæ vocantur Orcades." NENNIUS *Hist.* §. 12.

† "Respondebant Scotti, quia non ambos eos caperet insula, "sed possumus" inquiunt salubre vobis dare consilium quid agere valeatis. Novimus insulam esse aliam non procul a nostra contra ortum solis, *quam sæpe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere solemus.*" BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* i. c. i. §. 7. In the words that are *Italicised* there is strong presumptive proof that Bede had before him the *Saxon Chronicle,* and amplified upon the expressions found in it, thus demonstrating that the early portions of

of Britain;* whilst the Britons continued in possession of the Southern portion of the island. Wives were obtained by the Picts, from the Irish, on condition that they elected their kings, from those who traced their descent from the female side.† This was a custom that for a long time prevailed amongst them.‡

In the course of time a part of the Irish population migrated from their own country, and gained possession of some land in Britain. These Irish had for their leader a man named Reoda, and from him, his companions and their descendants were named Dalreathians.§

The inhabitants of this country were men of stubborn disposition and of haughty spirit, disobedient to God, and rebellious to man; sometimes breaking out into insurrection against their fellow citizens, and sometimes en-

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the *Saxon Chronicle* are more ancient than the writings of Bede —a point of controversy with some antiquarians.

*" The conflicting authorities upon the origin of the Picts may be seen in Usher's Primordia cap. xv. Pinkerton's Enquiry, p. iii. ch. 3. and Chalmer's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 198. The Pictish dynasty prevailed in Scotland from the abdiction of the Romans, in A. D. 446, to the overthrow of Wred, by Kenneth, in 843."—*Note by* MR. STEVENSON, Editor of Bede. vol. i. p. 10. (E. H. S.)

† " Ea solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res perveniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent." *Beda.* Lib. i. c. i. §. 7.

‡ " Quod *usque hodie* apud Pictos constat esse servatum." BEDA. See also Henry of Huntingdon, Lib. i. p. 300.

§ *Saxon Chronicle*: Mr. Stevenson quotes Usher and Smith to show, that Dalreida was a district in the county Antrim, and that the places in Scotland in which the Irish from that county settled were, " Kintire,Knapdale, Lorn, Argyll, Braidalbon, and he adjacent isles." See Bede, vol. i. p. 11. notes 4, 6, and 9. (E. H. S.) NENNIUS. §. 13—14—15.

gaged in revolts against foreign rulers.* What, we ask, can be more odious; what, more iniquitous, in the conduct and management of human affairs, than for us, as men, to cast aside the fear that we owe to God, and the love that we are bound to show to every good citizen? to refuse the honor that is due to those placed in superior station to ourselves, when that implies no breach of our religious faith? What can be worse, when, by such refusal, we violate the commands of Heaven, and the law of the land, show ourselves devoid of dread of the Creator and His creature; and insist that the only guides for our actions shall be our own impulses, and our worst passions.† We omit all notice of those erroneous practices which were, in ancient times, to be found in this country; because they were common to all nations, before the coming of Christ in the flesh. They constituted the brand of sin, with which mankind was marked prior to that period. Neither do we deem it to be necessary to enumerate the diabolical idolatries of our country—almost surpassing in their number those of Egypt—and some memorials of which may yet be seen in those hideous images, whose frigid, ever louring and deformed countenances still frown upon us, both within and outside the walls of deserted cities. Neither, shall we recite the names that once were heard

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*"Hæc, erecta cervice et mente, ex quo inhabitata est, nunc Deo, interdum civibus, nonnunquam etiam transmarinis regibus et subjectis, interdum ingrata consurgit." GILDAS. *Hist.* §. 4. It seems to be in reference to this point in the early history of Britain that we find the following passage in Nennius, although written in a different spirit from that which animates Gildas:

"Scotti autem qui sunt in occidente, et Picti de aquilone, pugnabant unanimiter et uno impetu contra Brittones indesinenter; quia sine armis utebantur Brittones." *Hist. Brit.* § 15.

‡ "Abjecto cœli et terræ metu, propriis adinventionibus aliquem ex libidinibus regi." GILDAS.

on our mountains, that were repeated at our fountains, that were echoed on our hills, that were pronounced over our rivers, and that rendered those things now applicable to the use of man, and advantageous to his enjoyment, once hateful and profane; because the honors due to the Divinity alone, were then paid to them by a blinded people. We also pass over, in silence, the fetid and faded annals of our merciless despots—once so notorious to the most distant regions of the earth—that Porphyrius, the foul-mouthed heretic of the East, in his ravings against the Church, denounced, in his pompous style, our country, as "Britain, the land, fertile of tyrants.*" All these we shall pass by, for the purpose of showing what were the evils endured in the times of the Roman Emperors.†

Until the time of Julius Cæsar, Britain had remained not only unapproached by, but even unknown to the Romans.‡ In the six hundred and ninety third year from the building of the city of Rome, and sixty years previous to the incarnation of our Lord,§ the same year

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* "Britannia est fertilis provincia tyrannorum."—GILDAS. "*Tyrannus*, c'est la traduction latine du mot *tyern*, chef, prince." DE COURSON *Histoire des Peuples Bretons*. Vol. 1, p. 393.

† GILDAS *Histor*. §. 4. He adds, that he cannot do this from national records, for that if any such had ever existed they had been burned during the progress of hostile invasions, or they had been carried out of Britain, by those who became exiles to avoid the horrors of war.

The passage has been quoted from Gildas, as the oldest and best British testimony that can be found, of the miserable state of Britain previous to the introduction of Christianity into the country. The testimony of Gildas is strongly corroborated by the writings of authors, not Britons. For the facts stated by them, see MILNER'S *History and Antiquities of Winchester*. vol. 1. p.p. 4, 5, 6. TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*. vol. 1. p.p. 66, 76. COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*. p p. 1, 4.

‡ BEDA. *Hist. Eccles. Lib*. 1. c. 2. §. 9.

§ The *Saxon Chronicle* and Beda both give the same date incorrectly. It should be 55. A, C.

in which Cæsar was Consul, with Lucius Bibulus, and when he was engaged in a war with the Germans and Gauls (nations that are separated from each other by the waters of the Rhine) he advanced to the lands of the Morini;* because from thence is to be found the shortest passage to Britain. There, he had prepared for his expedition about eighty ships of heavy burden, and swift-sailing boats. With these he passed over into Britain, where, in the first instance, his strength was much broken by a severe engagement, and his fleets being afterwards overtaken by a storm, he lost a considerable number of his infantry, and the greatest portion of his cavalry. Upon his return to Gaul, he placed his troops in winter quarters, and commanded that six hundred vessels both of a light and heavy description should be prepared for his next descent upon Britain. With these he passed over at the earliest opportunity in the spring of the year. His soldiers were landed, and he advanced with them against the Britons; but as he was on his march, his ships, which were lying at anchor, were caught by a sudden tempest, dashed against each other, or driven on shore. Forty of them were totally wrecked, and the rest received so much damage that they could, with difficulty, be repaired.

Cæsar's cavalry, in their first encounter with the Britons, were defeated, and the tribune Laberius slain.†

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* Inhabitants of the sea-coast between Calais and Boulogne.

† "Venerable Bede and Orosius whom he follows verbatim have *Labienus*. It is probably a mistake of some very ancient scribe, who improperly supplied the abbreviation *Labiūs* (for *Laberius*) by *Labienus*."—INGRAM note on Saxon Chronicle p. 3.

In the second battle, in which Cæsar engaged with the Britons, he won with great difficulty and danger the victory, and compelled them to take to flight. He then advanced to the river Thames, where he found upon the opposite bank an immense multitude under the command of Cassibelan, drawn up in hostile array against him; whilst the bank of the river was defended by a stockade, and the ford, by which the British encampment was approachable, was planted under water, with sharp stakes firmly fixed into the earth.* These were observed and avoided by the Romans; and their barbarous opponents being unable to withstand a charge of the legions, fled to the woods, from whence they made frequent sallies, inflicting great and many injuries upon the Romans. Meanwhile, the strongest of the British cities, Trinovantum, with its commander Androgius, submitted, and gave forty hostages to Cæsar. This example was followed by many other cities who entered into an alliance with the Romans. Under the guidance of his new allies Cæsar was enabled to gain possession, after a severe engagement, of the town of Cassibelan,† which was flanked by two marshes, pro-

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" It is pretended that he was buried near Childham on the river Stour, in Kent, and his tomb is there pointed out, Hasted's Kent, iii, 140. Leland quotes a chronicle which states that he fell near Chestenwood, in the neighbourhood of Rochester." STEVENSON. *Bed.* vol. 1. p. 13, note 14. (E.H.S.)

* Bede describes the stakes, and states that they were to be seen at his time in the river.

† This is believed to have been St. Alban's, and Trinovantum the ancient London. See Mr. Stevenson's notes, *Bed.* vol. I. p. 14 (E.H.S.)

tected and fortified by woods, and well supplied with provisions and warlike stores.

Upon obtaining this last victory Cæsar left Britain for Gaul, where he quartered his troops for the winter; and from that time forth he was harassed and beset with the clamour, confusion, and tumults of many wars.*

In the year of our Lord 46, Claudius the Emperor of Rome landed as a conqueror in the island of Britain, compelled the greater portion of it to acknowledge his power, and added the Orkneys to the dominion of the Romans.† Claudius remained for six months in this

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* Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. c. 2. §. 9. *Sax. Chron.* Nennius. *Hist. Brit.* §. 19, 20. Galf. Monumet, Lib. iv, c. 1-10, p.p. 56, 67. (Giles.) See Cæsar *Bel. Gal.* Lib. iv, c. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34. Lib. v. c. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. Suetonius *in Jul. Cæsar*, §. 25, Vel. Paterculus, Lib. ii. §. 47, Eutropius, Lib. vi, c. 17; Lucan, Lib. ii. v. 572. Dion Cassius, Lib. xxxix, vol. 1. p.p. 217, 218. Lib. xl, p.p. 227, 228, (Reimar, Ed.) Florus, Lib. iii. c. 10. Cicero, (Epist. *ad Attic)* Lib. iv. Epist. 17. &c.

Cæsar's first landing in England was effected on 26th August, B. C. 55, when he remained 23 days in the country. His second expedition occupied the time between 18th August and 19th September, B. C. 54. An attempt has been made to prove, notwithstanding the general opinion to the contrary, that Folkstone was the first place, in this country, at which he arrived, and Lymne the place of debarkation. See *Antiquarian and Architectural Year Book for* 1844, p.p. 84, 99.

† *Sax. Chron.* Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. 1. c. 33, §. 10. Tacitus claims the conquest of the Orkneys for Agricola—"ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcades vocant invenit domuitque." *Agricol.* §. 10. No portion of Tacitus seems to have been known to Bede and the other ancient monastic writers. Literature is indebted to a Pope for the recovery of a great portion of that author! See Roscoe's *Life and Pontificate of Leo.* X, vol. 1. p. 353. (Bogue's European Library.)

country, and then returned to Rome, where he imposed upon his son the name of Britannicus.* The same year in which Claudius brought the war in Britain to a conclusion, there occurred a most grievous famine in Syria—a circumstance, that is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as having been foretold by the prophet Agabus.†

Claudius was the fourth Emperor from Augustus; and in his desire to prove, that as a prince, his reign might be advantageous to the republic, he was eager to engage in war, because he hoped that war would be followed by

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* The boy, who thus derived his name from this country, was afterwards poisoned in presence of his sister, by Nero the ruthless persecutor of the Christians. The horrid details of the death of Britannicus are only fitted for the pages of a Pagan writer. See *Tacitus Ann.* Lib. xiii. §. 16, SUETONIUS, *Nero. Claud.* §. 33. Don. Cassius. Lib. lxi. p. 986. For an account of the persecution of the Christians, See *Tacitus Ann.* Lib. xv. §. 44. *Sueton Nero.* §. 16.

† BED. Lib. 1. c. 3. §: 10. "And on this ylcan geare gewearth se mycela hungur on Syria the Lucas recth on thare boc Actus Apostolorum." *Sax. Chron.* A. D. 46.

In the old Monkish historians frequent references will thus be found to facts, which are generally interesting to Christians, as if they were solely applicable to the annals of England. These cannot but be regarded as evidence of *the spirit* in which such writers performed their task. Thus, we find under the two dates immediately preceding and following the year 46, the following notices in the Saxon Chronicle.

"A. D. 44. This year the blessed Peter the Apostle settled an Episcopal See at Rome; and James, the brother of John, was slain by Herod.

"A. D. 45. This year died Herod, who slew James one year ere his own death.

"A. D. 47. This year, Mark, the Evangelist in Egypt, beginneth to write the Gospel.

"A. D. 50. This year Paul was sent bound to Rome." *Saxon Chronicle*, translated by the REV. J. INGRAM, B.D. p.p. 6, 7.

victory. He therefore prepared a military expedition against Britain, which had been excited to a revolt against the Romans, on account of their refusal to deliver back some criminals who had escaped from this country.* He crossed over into Britain, where no Roman Emperor before Julius Cæsar, and none after Claudius, ventured thus to intrude; and then without battle, and even without bloodshed, he received the submission of the greater part of the island.†

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* "Quæ excitata in tumultum propter non redhibitos transfugas." BEDA: "et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas." SUETONIUS. *Claud.* §. 17.

† "Sine ullo prœlio ac sanguine, intra paucissimos dies plurimam insulæ partem in deditionem recepit." BEDA.

"Sine ullo prœlio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulæ in deditionem recepta," SUETONIUS. This chapter, it is observed by Mr. Stevenson, (Bed. vol. 1. p. 14, note 16) is taken from Orosius, by Bede. We have quoted the preceding sentences for the purpose of shewing the similarity of phraseology adopted by the English, and used by the Roman historian. Neither, however, employ language that is at all consistent with the actual facts. There was much of bloodshed, and many a severe battle fought between the Britons and the Romans during the reign of Claudius (See DION CASSIUS, Lib. lx. p.p. 958, 959, 960, 961,) and in that reign also fought for the defence of his native country, the British prince Caractacus, who has been immortalised by the pen of Tacitus. See *Annal.* Lib. xii. §. 33, 35, 37, 38, 47, *Hist.* Lib. iii. §. 45.

It is worthy of remark, that the language of Bede and of Suetonius seems to find confirmation, in an ancient inscription to Claudius, which declares that the kings of Britain were conquered by him without loss or bloodshed—"reges Britanniæ absque ulla jactura domuerit;" whilst Gildas affirms, that the Britons were conquered "not like other nations by fire, by sword, or by the instruments of war, but by mere threats alone—" non tam ferro et igni, machinisque, ut alias gentes, quam solis minis, vel judiciorum concussionibus." *Hist.* §. 5. Geoffrey of Monmouth gives a very different account of all these transactions.

Vespasian, afterwards a successor of Nero, as Emperor, was sent by Claudius into Britain; he added to the empire, the Isle of Wight, which he compelled to submit to his arms.*

He describes Claudius as taking the town of Portcestre by storm; of besieging Winchester; as making terms of peace with Arviragus, then Supreme Monarch of Britain, and in pursuance of his treaty with the British Monarch, bestowing his daughter Genuissa in marriage—and, finally of founding, in honor of that marriage, the city Gloucester, which, says our author, was called after his name, "*Kaerglou*," i, e, "*Gloucester*." "Paruit ergo Claudius, præcepitque fieri urbem quæ de nomine ejus Kaerglou id est Gloucestria nuncupata usque in hodiernum diem." *Hist. Reg. Brit.* Lib. iv. §. 14, 15.

The romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth as to the marriage of Genuissa with Arviragas is founded on the fact, that marriages did take place between the Romans and Britons—for instance Claudia, the wife of Pudens, a British lady celebrated for her piety by St. Paul (2. Tim. 4, 21,) and for her beauty by Martial (Lib. iv. Epig. 13. Lib. xi. Epig. 54). With her, is associated, in a mistake as a Briton, Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Plautius, one of Claudius's Generals in Britain (BUTTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. xii, p. 976.) She had been in Britain with her husband but was a Roman—the niece of Pomponius Graecinus, Consul under Augustus, and to whom the first Epistle of the Fourth Book (Epist, ex Pont.) of Ovid is addressed. (*Ovid, oper* vol. ii, p. 480. Oxon 1825). This noble lady, it is believed, was a Christian—for the same accusation was made against her, which is still preferred against the Catholics—namely, that she was attached to "*a foreign superstition*" "superstitionis externæ rea." (Tacitus. ann. Lib. xiii. §. 32.) In her after life also, we find her demeanour was that of a nun—as offensive to infidels and scorners in the nineteenth, as in the first century of Christianity "Longa huic Pomponiae aetas, et *continua tristitia* fuit." (Tacitus.)

Before passing from the reign of Claudius it may be observed, that he was a persecutor of the Christians.

"Judaeos impulsore *Chresto* assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." *Suetonius Claud*, §. 25.

Babelonius states on the authority of Tertullian and Lactantius, that the name of the SAVIOUR of mankind was purposely mispronounced by the impious—"mutato *i* in *e* per contumeliam." See Delphin Edition of Suetonius p. 387, note y. (Lond. 1718).

* "Duas validissimas gentes, superque XX. oppida, et insulam

Upon Nero's succeeding to the possession of the imperial purple no great military achievement was accomplished; but, on the contrary, the arms of the Romans experienced many serious disasters; Britain itself was nearly wrested from them, and two of their noblest towns Maldon and St. Albans, were taken and destroyed.*

After the glorious resurrection and triumphant ascension of OUR LORD, the descent of the HOLY GHOST filled with courage the hearts of the Disciples, which had

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Vectem Briannicæ proximam in deditionem redegit." SUETONIUS *Vespas.* §. 4. Nearly similar words are used by Henry of Huntingdon. *Histor.* Lib 1, p, 302. At this time the celebrated Titus, the destroyer of Jerusalem served as a tribune in Britain and here saved his father's life, SUETONIUS Titus, §, 4, 1, DION CASSIUS Lib, lx, p, 967,

*"*Nihil omnino in re militari ausus* est; unde inter alia Romani regni detrimenta innumera, *Britanniam pene amisit, nam duo sub* eo *nobilissima oppida illic capta atque* subversa *sunt.*" BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. 1. c. 3, §. 11. See also *Saxon Chronicle* under date, A. D. 46. The following are the words of Eutropius (Lib. vii, c. 14. in describing the same events:—"*In re militari nihil omnino ausus. Britanniam pene amisit. Nam duo sub* hoc *nobilissima oppida capta illic atque* eversa *sunt.*"

Tacitus has supplied a great lapse in this portion of British history. By him are described the avarice and cruelty of the Roman rulers of Britain during the reign of Nero—the wrongs of Boadicea, and the dreadful revenge that she took upon the Roman colonies of Maldon, London, and St. Albans—putting to death, by the sword, or by torture, seventy thousand Romans. "civium et sociorum." Cruelties for which full vengeance was afterwards taken by the stern Roman General, Suetonius— an instrument in the hand of Providence, by uprooting the cruel, and Druidical rites, which found their last refuge in the isle of Anglesey. See *Tacitus Annal.* Lib. xiv. §. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 24,

previously been trembling with fear.* The Paraclete had bestowed upon them, the gift of tongues; and "all "continued with one accord in prayer with the women, "and Mary the mother of Jesus," as it is told by Luke the Evangelist, "and the Lord added daily to their "society such as should be saved;" "and the multitude "of believers had but one heart and one soul." At that time, envy excited the priests of the Jews, with the Scribes and the Pharisees to a cruel persecution of the Church, in the course of which the protomartyr Stephen was slain, and nearly all the Christians driven beyond the boundaries of Jerusalem.

This storm of persecution did not cease, with its first out-burst of cruelty. It increased in fury, and waxed in strength, and thus compelled the faithful to scatter themselves amongst the distant regions of the earth, in which they were destined by Providence to preach the words of salvation. Saint Philip, (as it is stated by Freculfus, in the fourth chapter of his second book) passed amongst

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35, 36, 37. *Agric.* §. 14, 15, 16. See also GILDAS Hist. §. 6, where it is supposed, by Mr. Camden, that the term "treacherous lioness" applied to Boadicea. If it were so, her frightful revenge must have made a deeper impression upon the mind of the historian, than her personal wrongs. To justify Gildas in applying to the injured Queen the words, "Lœna dolosa," it must be remembered that the great majority of her victims were not soldiers, but women and old men—"imbellis sexus, aut fessa ætas," that seventy thousand suffered death, or in the words of the Greek historian μυριαδες οκτω των τε Ρωμαιων και των συμμαχων (DION. CASS. Lib. lxii, p. 1002.)" and that for these were "patibula, ignes, cruces."

* W. MALMSB. *Antiq. Glaston.* Rer. Ang. Script. vol. iii. p. 292. (Gale.)

the nation of the Franks—preached the gospel to them, and converted many to christianity. Desirous of still further extending a knowledge of the true faith, he selected twelve from amongst his disciples, each of whom he blessed, by the imposition of hands, and then sent them as preachers of the gospel to Britain. Philip appointed, it is said, over these, one who was his most dear friend...Joseph of Arimathea, the same person, who had laid the body of our Lord in the sepulchre.

These disciples, with Joseph of Arimathea, arrived in Britain in the year of our Lord 63, and fifteen years after the assumption of the BLESSED MARY. At once they commenced preaching the faith of Christ; but the barbarous king and people, to whom they addressed their discourse, upon hearing matters so strange and so uncommon, absolutely refused to give any credence or attention to them. They would not, they said, change their ancient customs. Still as these strangers had travelled from afar, and as their abstinent lives were indicative of their virtues, the king of the district expressed his willingness to assent to one request that had been made by them—that of assigning to them as a habitation, a small island, which lay on the outskirts of his kingdom, and that was covered with woods, with brambles, and with marshes. The name of this little island was Yniswitrin.

Two other kings, also Pagans, afterwards observing the lives of sanctity that these good men led, bestowed upon each of them a portion of land, and, in compliance with their petition, confirmed the grant, in accordance with the customs of the country. The name that

attaches to the twelve hides of land (belonging to the abbey), is believed to be derived from this grant.

These saints were dwelling together in this desert island, but for a short time, when they were admonished by a vision from the angel Gabriel, that they ought to construct there...in a place appointed by Heaven...a Church, in honor of the Blessed and Holy Virgin Mother of God. This command was promptly obeyed by them. Walls of twisted willows were raised, and a little chapel finished by them, in the thirty first year from the passion, and the fifteenth subsequent to the assumption of the Ever Glorious Virgin. It was indeed poor in appearance, but it was richly adorned with the blessings of God; and as it was the first church that ever had been built it this country, so did the Son of God distinguish it, as of greater dignity than the rest, in directing its dedication in honor of the Virgin Mother.

The twelve saints, to whom we have already referred, devoted themselves, in this place, to the service of God, and the Blessed Virgin; for here, they passed their time, in watching, in fasting, and in prayer, and here we may well believe, for it is consistent with piety to do so, they were often aided, by and through Her, in all their necessities.

Thus much we have been able to learn, from a letter * of Saint Patrick and from the writings of the ancients, amongst which, may be mentioned, a history of the Britons, that we have seen at St. Edmond's, and at St. Augus-

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* "Epistola," *Camden's Britannia*, p, 192, (ed. 1600.)

tine's, (the Apostle of the English) beginning in these terms—

"On the confines of western Britain, there is a certain "royal island, known by the ancient name of Glaston- "bury; it comprises a wide extent of territory; has "streams well stored with fish; is surrounded with still "waters; is suited in most respects to supply the wants "of man; but that which is greatest and most impor- "tant of all, it appears to be peculiarly endowed with "blessings from heaven. It was on that island that the "first Catholic neophytes found an ancient church of "the English—prepared, as it would seem, by heaven, "for the salvation of man; and in the course of "time, HE, by whom the universe was made, shewed "by many miracles, that it was peculiarly consecrated "to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God."

It was here, that the twelve Saints led for many years the lives of hermits. With the lapse of years all were removed from this earthy dungeon; and then the same spot which had been the habitation of Saints, became the retreat of wild animals; until, it, at lentgh, pleased the Blessed Virgin to restore the recollection of her oratory to the memory of the faithful.*

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* W. MALMB. Antiq. Glaston. vol. iii. p, p, 292, 293, (Gale). As a legend that has been believed in this country, the above extract from Malmsbury is given. It was credited by Catholics, and one Protestant author, Camden, emphatically declared, he "did not see any reason to doubt it." Glastonbury, he says, was called by our ancestors—"the first land of God"—"the first land of the saints in England"—*nec est* cur hac de re ambigamus,"

In the year of our Lord, 156, Marcus Antoninus Verus, undertook with his brother, Aurelius Commodus, the government of the empire. * It was at this period

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p, 192, (ed. 1600) The legend however is repudiated by such high and eminent authorities, as clergymen and scholars, as the Revd: M. A. Tierney, the editor of *Dodd's History of the Church*, and the Revd. Dr. Lingard, in his History and Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church.

We may here remark, that Mr, Collier in his *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. pp, 15, 16, and Dr. Henry, in his *History of Britain*, vol: i, p.p. 198, 199, both profess to give in full, the extract from Malmsbury, and *both omit a very material portion of it.*

Even if there were not the authority of Dr, Lingard, and the Revd. Mr. Tierney for rejecting the legend respecting St, Joseph of Arimathea, being the founder of Glastonbury Abbey, there would be found sufficient, to convince any reasonable mind, that it could not be credited, in the pages of the *Acta Santorum* (March) vol, ii, p, p, 508, 509, 510.

For an account of the introduction of Christianity into this country in the apostolic age, see LINGARD'S *History and Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol i, pp, 345, 355, DODD'S *History of the Church*, p, 2, with notes by the editor, the Revd. M. A. Tierney, BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol xii, p, 976, (Dublin ed, 8vo. 1833)

Gildas declares that the first rays of the gospel were received very coldly by the inhabitants of Britain; some however were fully penetrated by them, whilst others were not so vividly animated, "Ab incolis tepide suscepta sunt, apud quosdam tamen integre, et apud alios minus." *Hist.* § 9.

* Another important lapse here occurs in all the ancient British historians; a portion of which is only supplied by Tacitus, in his life of Agricola.

If we were to place implicit credence in the statements of Tacitus, respecting his relative, Agricola, we should believe, that at the time when Rome suffered beneath the capricious despotism of a Domitian, Britain enjoyed all the happiness that can be conferred by the wise and vigorous administration of a prudent statesman—that, Agricola, by his justice, induced the natives to repose confidence in him; to learn the arts of

of time, when the holy man, Eleutherius, presided over the church at Rome, that Lucius, King of the Britons, sent to him a letter, beseeching that under his direction, he might be made a Christian.

This pious wish was speedily accomplished. * Lucius had prayed that the darkness of Britain might be illuminated with the light of Christianity. † This fact must for ever redound to the praise of the British Monarch: that the faith and doctrine, which other kings and peo-

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civilized life; to prize the blessings of peace; and in the softness of foreign luxuries, to lose the consciousness of degradation to a foreign yoke. (*Agric.* §, 19, 21) Agricola, we are told, established fortresses between the Clyde, and the Forth, and having made many succesful expeditions, contemplated the conquest of Ireland, in order, that by its enslavement, Britain might be invested as it were, with Roman arms; so that being deprived of the sight of another nation enjoying liberty, she might lose all hope of recovering her own. (*Agric.* §, 23, 24) This project he was never able to carry into effect, for he served a tyrant, in whose estimation, the merits of his officers, were an offence; and Agricola was recalled upon his defeating the Caledonian Chieftain, Calgacus, and, compelling him to retreat from the Grampian Hills to the interior of the country, (*Agric*, §, 39, 40, 41)

Tacitus praises Agricola as a model of goodness; and yet unconciously admits that two unjust motives urged him to afflict the Caledonians with the horrors of war. Agricola, he says, attacked the Caledonians, in order, first, that he might extend the bounds of the empire—*a Roman virtue*—however heinous the crimes that accompanied it; and next, for the purpose of stilling a domestic grief, amid the alarms and hazards of war! "et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat." (§, 28.)

* BEDA, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. 4, §, 12.

† "Ut Britanniæ tenebras luce Christianæ prædicationis illustraret." W. MALMB. Antiq Glast. 293, See BARONIUS, vol. ii. pp. 329, 330.

ple, at that time persecuted, he voluntarily desired to receive.

Two most saintly men were sent by Eleutherius, to preach the Gospel in Britain. The names of these, as it is proven by the letter of St. Patrick, and other historical documents of the Britons, were Phaganus, and Deruvianus. By them were the WORDS of LIFE announced, and by them was the sacrament of baptism conferred upon King Lucius and his people.* The faith which the Britons had thus received, they preserved in the composedness of peace, uncorrupted and entire, even to the time of Diocleslan.†

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* W. MALMES. *Antiq. Glaston.* p, 293.

† BEDA, *Hist. Eccles.* cap, iv, §, 12. "The date of this event is by no means clear, nor is Beda's chronology, without difficulty; the reader may consult Usher's Primord, cap, iii, for the different statements which have been made upon the subject." STEVENSON.

"After the birth of Christ one hundred and sixty seven years, King Lucius, with all the chiefs of the British people, received baptism, in consequence of a legation sent by the Roman Emperors, and Pope Euaristus. NENNIUS (*translated by Giles*) §, 22.

See DODD'S *History of the Church*, vol. i, p,p, 4, 5, 6, 7, with notes, 1, 2, and 3, Upon note 1, the erudite editor, the Revd. *M.A. Tierney*, observes in his reply to COLLIER, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p, p, 13, and 14:—

"The facts however remain undisputed; and from them we learn, 1st, that he (Lucius) applied not to the neighbouring prelates of Gaul; but to the more distant Bishop of Rome; 2nd that he obtained his spiritual instructions from the Roman See; and 3rd, that of course, the religion he embraced was the religion taught and proclaimed among the Christians of the Roman Capital."

Severus, by birth an African, and born at Leptis, in the Province of Tripolis, obtained possession of the

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Gaul and Britain at this time constituted one government of the Empire, and the strongest sympathy existed between the people of both countries.

Doctor Lingard fixes the date of this occurrence between the years, 177, and 181 and points out how the mistake occurred in Beda in copying from Orosius. He adds in a note- "The names given to the messengers and missionaries by our chroniclers are Elvan, Fagan, Medwin, and Damian. Now we learn from Mr. Rees (Welsh Saints 84) that in the neighbourhood of Landaff are four churches, called after the names of Llearwg or Lucius, Dyfau, Ffagan, and Medwy. We know not the time when they were founded, but their existence seems to confirm the old tradition, that Lucius reigned in that part of the country." LINGARD *History and Antiquites of the Ang lo Saxon Church.* vol. i, p, p, 3, 4,. See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints,* (Eleutherius), May 26, vol, v, p, p, 688, 689, and vol, xii, p, p, 975, 976, (Lucius), DR, MILNER'S History of Winchester, vol, i, p,p, 32, 33, and vol ii, p,p, 56, 57, (third edition) ETHELWERD, p, 832, BROMPTON, p, 725, STUBBS, p, 1686, PARSON'S, Prudentiall Ballance of Religion, p, p, 3, 4, *Act Sanct,* (Mai) vol. v. p, p, 829, 830, WEEVERS *Funeral Monuments,* p. p. lix, lx, lxi.

Two other authorities may be referred to, for the purpose of contrasting them with each other—these are the Saxon Chronicle, and Hollinshed.

"To him," (Pope Eleutherius) "Lucius, King of the Britons, sent letters, and prayed, that he might be made a Christian. He obtained his request, and they continued afterwards in the right belief, until the reign of Diocletian." *Saxon Chronicle.* A. D. 189, translated by the REVD. J. INGRAM, B.D.

"The Rewerend Father John Iewell, sometime Bishop of Salisburie, writeth in his replie vnto Hardings answer, that the said Eleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme, and churches heere, wrote his aduise to Lucius in maner and forme following—"You haue receiued in the kingdome of Britaine, by God's mercie, both the law and faith of Christ; ye haue both the new and the old testament, out of the same through God's sufferance rule you your kingdome of Britaine,

Roman Empire in the year of our Lord 189.* He was the seventeenth Emperor in succession from Augustus, and reigned for seventeen years. His disposition, which was naturally stern, had been excited to ferocity by the many wars in which he had been engaged; but his government was distinguished by his rigid, and careful administration of affairs.†

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for in that Kingdome you are God's vicar."

HOLLINSHED'S *Chronicles*, vol, i, p, p,511, 512. The invention of a letter from Eleutherius, for the purpose of sustaining the schism of Henry VIII, and his assumption of the title of "Head of the Church," was deemed requisite at the time that Hollinshed wrote. It was therefore at once resorted to. Would! that it constituted the only crime, even of the same description, that had been practised on behalf of the same cause!

* *Bed. Hist. Eccles.* Lib. 1, c. 5, §. 13. Another lapse here occurs in British History which is partially supplied by the *Script. Hist. August*, pp. 19, 84, by HERODIAN, Lib. ii. p. 128, Lib. iv. p. 160. (Ingolstadt, 1608) by DION CASSIUS. Lib. lxxii, p.p. 1209, 1210. Lib. lxxiii. p. 1237. Lib. lxxv, p. 1260, In Albinus the competitor with Severus, for the Empire, we find an example given by a commander of the Roman legions, in Britain, which afterwards found many imitators. During the reign of the Emperor Commodus, it is said by LAMPRIDIUS :—"Appelatus est Commodus etiam *Britannicus* ab adulatoribus, quum Britanni etiam imperatorem contra eum deligere voluerint. *Hist. August*, Script, p. 49. See also CAPITOLINUS, p, p. 84, 85.

Amid the disturbances of the empire, in the time of Severus, we have the testimony of Dion Cassius, that the Scotch compelled the Romans to purchase peace from them, and only gave them a few captives in exchange for their gold—ὁ Δουκας μεγαλων χρηματων την εἰρηνην παρα των Μαιατων εκπριασθαι αιχμαλωτους τινας ολιγους απολαβων. p. 1260.

† "Fortissime quidem rempublicam sed laboriosissime rexit." BEDA.

This testimony is contradicted by Herodian who ascribes to Severus, the luxury, corruption and effeminacy, that subsequently disgraced the Roman soldiery :—και γαρ το στρατιωτικον αυ οις πρωτος ηυξησε, και δακτυλιοις χρυσοις χρησασθαι επετρεψε, γυναιξι τε συνοικειν, Lib iii, p. 162.

He had been engaged in many desperate, civil wars; and at length victorious over all his competitors, he was forced, by an almost universal revolt of the allies of the Empire in this country to come hither.* Several dreadful combats were fought with the Britons;† and then that portion of the island, which had been recovered by the Roman arms,‡ from the immitigable inhabitants of the north, was separated and defended, not by a wall, as it is generally supposed, but by a wide ditch and an earthern rampart, fortified with many towers, which extended from sea to sea.‖

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* According to Herodian, Lib, iii, p. 186, he was rejoiced to hear of the revolt—although described to him, as very dangerous—first because it afforded him the opportunity of winning fresh victories, and the title of "Britannicus," and next, because it enabled him to remove from the corruptions of the capital, his two sons, in order that they might, in the rigid discipline of a camp, learn the virtues that would become them as emperors. Herodiar adds, that though suffering the pains of his last illness, and compelled to be borne in a litter, he declined acceding to the terms of peace tendered to him by the Britons on his arrival, Lib. iii, p, 188.

† Dion Cassius admits that Severus in his war against the Caledonians lost fifty thousand soldiers. Lib. lxxvi, p. 1281.

‡ Dion Cassius declares that at the time of the invasion of Severus, not one half of the island was under the command of the Romans, Lib. lxxvi, §. 13, p. 1281.

‖ The wall made by the Emperor Adrian is thus described by Spartian—"murum per octoginta milia passuum *Primus* duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret" p. 6; of that constructed in the time of Antoninus Pius, it is said by Capitolinus. "—*Alio mure* cespilitio submotis barbaris ducto," p. 19; and of the wall of Severus, Spartian states, "muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem oceani munivit: *unde etiam Britannici* nomen accepit." p. 71. See also *Camden's Britannia*, p. 49. (Ed. 1600).

The Emperor Severus died at York,* leaving two sons Bassianus and Geta, to inherit the Empire: the latter of these perished shortly afterwards. He was put to death as a public enemy, whilst his brother Bassianus (Caracalla), with the assumption of the name of Antoninus, exercised the unlimited powers of an Emperor.†

With respect to this wall, the curious tradition ought not to be omitted which is mentioned, by Procopius (*De Bello Gothico* Lib. iv, §. 20), viz. the general belief of the Britons, that any one who passed outside of it, would die on the instant—and that such was the pestiferous nature of the atmosphere, that even animals could not exist in it. He adds to this an extraordinary superstitious tale respecting the conveyance in boats of the souls of the dead, which he inserts, he says, lest he should appear ignorant of the affairs of Britain, and which we omit, lest it should be affirmed that a Catholic places any trust in that which is superstitious. See Vol. ii, pp. 566, 567, 568, (Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant).

* A short time previous to his death, there was a fresh insurrection of this island, and he ordered a general massacre of the people. His command to his soldiers, it is averred by Dion Cassius, were given in these verses.

"Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædemque cruentam :
"Non fœtus, gravida mater quem gestat in alvo
"Horrendam effugiat cædem."

The dying words of this monster to the two sons, he hoped would inherit the empire are worthy of being remembered; for in them is contained the policy of every tyrant, from Severus of Rome to Nicholas of Russia :—"Be united, enrich your soldiers, and despise the rest of the world." — Ομονοιτε, τους στρατιωτας πλουτιζετε, των αλλων παντων καταφρονειτε.—DION. CASS. Lib. lxxvi, pp. 1283, 1284.

† BEDA. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. 5. § 13. NENNIUS. Hist. § 23. G. MONUMET. Lib. v. c. 2. See HERODIAN. Lib. iv. pp. 206, 208. DION CASSIUS, Lib. lxxvii, pp. 1289, 1290. SPARTIAN, pp. 72, 89. EUTROPIUS, Lib. viii. c. 19. It was to Caracalla,

Dioclesian, the thirty third Emperor from Augustus, was, in the year 286, elected by the soldiery. He reigned for twenty years, and associated with him in the government of the Roman dominions, Maximianus Herculius.*

It was in the time of these Emperors, that a certain soldier named Carausius, a man of mean birth, but active in council, and prompt in war, was appointed to guard and protect the sea coasts, from the piratical expeditions of the Franks and Saxons. The manner in which he performed this duty, tended to the destruction, instead of contributing to the safety of the places exposed to hostile incursions; for he attacked the pirates when they had collected their spoil, and then, instead of restoring the property to its original owners, he applied it to his own use. This conduct justly excited the suspicion that he wilfully and wickedly allowed those crimes, by which he profited, to be committed, when he had the power, if he had the disposition, to prevent their perpetration. For this, it was ordered by the Emperor, Maximian, that he should be put to death; and on the instant, Carausius assumed the imperial purple, and as Emperor, ruled over Britain.†

Carausius exercised supreme power as sovereign with

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that his infamous step-mother made use of the words, "An nescis te Imperatorem esse *et leges dare, non accipere.*" (Spartian) A doctrine which was never preached from the English pulpits, until its religious "reformation" had been completed.

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. 6. §. 14.

† Bed. Lib. i. c. 6. §. 14.

great severity over the petty princes of the Britons—and in doing so avenged an obstinate resistance they had made to Severus. He rebuilt the wall against the barbarian foe, between the mouths of the Clyde, and the Carron, and fortified it with seven castles: he alto built a round house with hewn stone, on the bank of the river Carron, which took its name from him, and erected a triumphal arch, as a memorial of his victory.*

For seven years he reigned as an Emperor in Britain, and was, at last, treacherously slain by his friend and companion, Alectus.

Alectus governed for three years over Britain. He was killed, in battle, by Asclepiodotus, the commander of (Constantine's) Pretorian guards, and Britain thus, after a revolt of ten years, was re-united to the Empire of Rome.†

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* NENNIUS, *Hist.* §, 24. p. 19, note, 7. (E. H. S.)

† Bed, Lib. i. c. 6. §. 14. EUTROPIUS, Lib. ix, c, 21, 22, Gulfed, MONUMET, Lib v, c, 3, 4, 5, CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, p,p, 55, 56, (ed, 1600) FORDUN, Hist., Scot Lib ii, c, 38, 39, 40, BUCHANAN, Hist, Scot, Lib, iv, §, 45, Stow's Annales, p, 43.

As to the coins of Carausius, see CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol, i. p, cxx, note n, (Gough's Edition) PALGRAVE'S *Rise and progress of the English* commonwealth vol. i pp, 374, 375, 376, 377,

Carausius was, according to Geoffry of Monmouth, an Englishman—according to Richard of Cirencester, an Irishman or Welshman—the first says "juvenis in Britannia ex infima gente creatus"—the other, referring to the Welsh and Irish Menapias, observes, "harum unam, quam nam vero incertum, patriam habebat Carausius." We are indebted to Lappenberg (vol, i, p, 44, Thorpe's translation) for attention being attracted to this point.

Dioclesian as Emperor in the East, and Maximianus Herculius, as Emperor in the West, commanded that the Christians should be tortured, put to death, and their churches destroyed. This was the tenth persecution, since the time of Nero, and worse than any that had preceded it; for it exceeded all both in duration and in cruelty. For ten entire years there were to be seen, fires rising from the burning churches; to be heard, the proscriptions of the innocent; to be witnessed, the unceasing persecutions of holy martyrs. At length, the persecution reached Britain, and conferred upon it the glory of beholding many testify, by martyrdom, their piety, their faith and their devotion to God.*

Throughout the entire world, not only were the churches overthrown, but all the copies of the sacred scriptures wherever they could be found were burned in the public streets, † whilst the chosen priests of God,

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Carausius proved that Britain could be independent—that it could, when guarded by a fleet, defy the mightiest empire in the world, and we may well believe of him—notwithstanding the vile epithets still attached to his name—that he was like Viriato, the earliest of the heroes of Spain, whom he resembles both in his life, and in his death, by assassination. "A man worthy of a better fortune and a nobler end; for rising from a low rank and humble position, he was yet able, by the greatness of his valor and his skill, to carry on a war for many years, against all the might and the power of Rome."—"Varon digno de mejor fortuna y fin: el qual de baxo lugar y humilde, con la grandeza de su corazon, con su valor y industria, trabajo con guerra de tantos anos la grandeza de Roma." MARIANA Hist. de Espan. Lib. iii. c. 5, See JUSTIN Lib, xliv, c, 2.

* BED. *Hist.* Eccles. Lib. 1. c. 6. §. 15.

† "Et cunctæ sacræ scripturæ quæ invèniri potuerunt, in

with their innocent flocks, were brutally murdered; and to such an extent was this carnage effected, that in some provinces of the empire, there did not appear to be left even a trace of the Christian religion.*

What dire flights then took place! what awful massacres! How appalling the divers torturing deaths! how many and how baleful the apostacies of miserable wretches! what numbers of glorious martyrs won the immortality of heaven! what outbursts of fury came from rabid persecutors! And on the other hand, as church history tells us, how much greater the patience of the saints, by which such fury was defeated! how that sanctified endurance, that holy, uncomplaining suffering, that blessed, imperturbable submission to God's will, formed, as it were, a phalanx which burst its way through every temporal pain, and worldly consideration, and conducted the afflicted confessors to the happy kingdom of Everlasting Life, as to that country which justly and rightfully belonged to them.

Even to us, at that time, the mercy of God was magnified. He, who wishes that all mankind should be saved—who calls, by His unpurchasable grace, sinners not less than those who think themselves just, did, in the very time of persecution, exhibit his love for us. And lest, as it would seem, that Britain should be involved in the thick and misty darkness of night, He lighted up for

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plateis, exustæ." GILDAS. Upon the use of the words, "sacros libros," and "scripturam sacram." See MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages.* p. 87. note 3.

* For an account of this persecution, see *Rome under Paganism and the Popes.* Vol. ii. p. p. 57 to 84, and appendix A. p. p. 339, 340, 341.

us the bright lamps of holy martyrs—of those very men whose relics, whose places of burial, and spots made sacred by their sufferings, are now, by the lamentable misconduct of barbarians, and in punishment for our sins, unknown—and being unknown—our countrymen are thereby deprived of the opportunity of obtaining no small portion of that divine charity, which their contemplation must inspire.*

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* GILDAS. *Hist.* §. 9, 10. The words of Gildas on this point of Catholic doctrine, are worthy of being transcribed.

" Clarissimas lampades sanctorum martyrum nobis accendit, quorum nunc corporum sepulturæ et passionum loca, si non lugubri divortione barbarorum, quamplurima ob scelera nostra, civibus, adimirentur, non minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem divinæ caritatis incuterent."

The words of Gildas were applied to the baleful consequences that resulted to religion, in England, from the barbarities and destructive desire for plunder in the Pagan Saxons. The words are still applicable to England, from the same brutal and sordid passions, influencing the acts of those, who, in the sixteenth century, pretended to be christians, and called themselves, reformers in religion. Other opportunities will be afforded for proving this. At present, we shall refer to the authority of two Protestant writers, Weever and Grotius. The first makes this statement :—

" All monasteries being thus suppressed, it followed that (under a fair pretence of rooting out of superstition) all chanteries, colleges and hospitals, were likewise by act of parliament left to the disposal and pleasure of the king (Henry the Eighth) : and all these monuments aforesaid, of their forefathers' piety and devotion, to the honor of God, the propagation of christian faith, and good learning, and also *for the relief and maintenance of the poor and impotent* (if without offence I may speak the truth). All these, I say, for the most part, were shortly after, to wit, within the remainder of his reign, and the short time of his son's King Edward the Sixth, *everywhere pulled down, their revenues sold and made away;* and those goods and riches, which the christian piety of our English nation had consecrated to God, since they first professed

In this persecution, Saint Alban suffered martyrdom.* The priest Fortunatus, in his poem "in praise of virgins" when reciting the names of those who have won heaven, by the pains of martyrdom thus refers to this Saint—

"Faithful Britain the glorious Alban bears."†

Alban was a Pagan, when the dire edicts for the persecution of the Christians had been promulgated, by the perfidious Emperors. He received into his house, and gave shelter to a priest, who had fled from the pursuit of his pagan enemies.

The priest, it was observed by Alban, was engaged

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christianity, were, in a moment, as it were, dispersed, and (to the displeasure of no man be it spoken) *profaned.*" (*A Discourse on funeral monuments.* p. cxii). He calculates upon the authority of "an information made to Queen Elizabeth, (p. cxx), that the value of images of gold and silver, with the "costleye shrines, tabernacles, alters, &c." stolen from the Catholic churches was "a million of gold," (p. cxxi) and that, as to the spoiliators themselves, "some of them beare great shew and name of good men and gospelers." (p. cxxiii.)

Grotius a foreign Protestant, thus testifies to the sordid and profane thirst for gain in the English Gospellers :

Machliniam Angli, qui Belgis militabant impetu cepere, tam profana per victoriam avaritia, ut nec sepulchris parcerent : queis detracta saxa palam in Anglia vendiderunt. *Annal. et Hist. de Reb. Belg.* Lib. iii. *ad ann.* 1581.

* Bed. Hist. Eccles, Lib. i. c. 7. § 16. The narrative of Bede which will be found literally tranlated in the text, "used to be read upon St. Alban's anniversary in the English Church, before the Norman Conquests, as appears by the Saxon copy in the Cambridge edition of Bede ; and by the Breviary secundum usum Sarum."

Collier' *Ecclesiastical History.* vol. i.p. 51.

† "Albanum egregrium fecunda Britannia profert," *De Laude Virginum.*

both day and night, in prayers and devout exercises; and, by a sudden inspiration of the Divine grace, Alban began to imitate, the example of faith and piety, that was constantly before him. Instructed by the salutary exhortations addressed to him, the darkness of idolatry which had clouded his mind, was dispersed; and he became, in the pure sincerity of his heart, a christian.

The priest had been for some time the guest of Alban, when a rumour reached the ears of the accursed Pagan Ruler, that one of the confessors of Christ (to whom was not yet permitted the rank of martyrdom) was concealed by Alban. The Prince immediately directed soldiers to go and make a diligent search for the priest. As soon as these came to the abode of the martyr, Alban presented himself to them, in the place of his guest and instructor. He had put on the priest's robe,* and as

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* "Ipsius habitu, id est, *caracalla*." BEDA.

"The *caracalla* was a long garment like the habit of a modern monk, sometimes with, and sometimes without a hood or cowl. It was originally Gaulish; Antoninus Basianus, son of the Emperor Severus, was surnamed Caracalla, because he introduced the frequent use of this kind of garment at Rome. (See Aurelius Victor, Ferrarius de Re Vestiaria Rom. Hoffman Lexic. Univ.) Thomas Walsingham assures us, that this large woollen garment of St. Alban was kept in the Church of Ely, in a great chest, which was opened in the reign of Edward II. in 1314. The Upper part appeared yet stained with the martyr's blood, which looked as fresh as if it had been just spilled."

BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*. vol. vi. p. 830.

Upon the invention and use of the Caracalla, see also "*Notae Salmasii in Ælium Spartianum*," p. 165. The words employed by Walsingham, and referred to by the Rev. A. Butler are:—

"In superiori vero parte vestimenti, conspiciunt cruoris coagula dense respersa, ita nova, ita recentia, quasi pridie fuissent

soon as he was thus seen, he was taken and bound by the soldiers, and so carried away.

"At the very time, that Alban was brought before the judge, it so happened, that the latter was standing beside the altar and sacrificing to demons; and being greatly enraged, that Alban should have taken the place of the guest he had been concealing, and voluntarily exposed himself to capture and to peril, commanded him to be dragged up to the images of the demons. "Because," said the judge, "you have thought fit to prefer concealing from, instead of giving up to the soldiers, a rebellious and sacrilegious wretch, in order that the contemner of the gods, might expiate, by a due punishment, the blasphemy of which he has been guilty, you shall endure the torments that ought to be inflicted upon him, if you now attempt to depart from the worship, prescribed by our religion."

St. Alban had voluntarily presented himself to the persecutors of the christian faith—he therefore was not one, who, in the slightest degree, feared the threats of the Prince—he was girdled with the arms of spiritual warfare, and openly therefore did he declare, that he would not obey the commands that had been given him. The judge then said to them—"Of what family or race are you?" Albanus answers, "of what import can it be to you, to know of what stock, I am but a branch?

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effusa. Constat hanc vestem fuisse Caracallam quam sanctus Albanus in conversione acceperat a sancto Amphibalo magistro suo in signum religionis, in quo idem martyr sententiam subiit capitalem." *Hist. Brev.* p. 104.

whilst if you be desirous to learn the truth of Christianity, know that I am a Christian, and that I have attended to and performed the offices and duty of a Christian." The judge observed, "I wish to know your name, which must be told to me without any further delay."

"Alban," said he, "I am called by my parents, and I am an adorer and worshipper of the only true and living God, Who created all things."

The judge, filled with rage, said to him—"If you wish to enjoy the felicity of everlasting life, do not delay in offering sacrifice to the great gods."

Alban answered—"These sacrifices which are offered by you to demons, neither can avail them, nor aid in accomplishing the vows and wishes of those who supplicate them—on the contrary, whosoever will offer sacrifices to these images, shall receive as his reward the never-ending pains of hell."

The judge, excited to an extreme of fury, upon hearing these words, commanded this holy confessor of God, to be beaten by his executioners; as he supposed, the constancy of the heart, that could not be moved by words, might be broken down by stripes. Alban was then assailed with the affliction of most bitter torments; all of which, for the sake of the Lord, were borne by him, not only patiently, but joyfully. The judge, at last perceiving, that he was neither to be subdued by torments, nor recalled from the worship of the Christian religion, ordered his head to be struck off.

Alban was led out for execution. He came to the river, which, in its rapid course, divided the walls of the town from that open space, where he was to suffer death.

He saw collected, not a small crowd, but a large multi-

tude of persons of both sexes, and of various ages and conditions—for the town was almost deserted, and the judge left with scarcely an attendant. These persons seemed to be gathered together by the divine impulse, and for the honor of the most blessed confessor and martyr—and as they occupied the bridge over the river in such numbers, it seemed scarcely possible to pass it that evening. Saint Alban, whose mind was filled with the ardent desire of speedily accomplishing his martyrdom, approached the impetuous stream and raised his eyes to heaven; when instantly the bed of the river dried up! he saw the waters retire, and afford to him a path, by which he might cross to the opposite bank.* This miracle, when it was seen, amongst others, by the executioner, who had been appointed to inflict the death-blow upon him, the man hastened to meet him as he came to the place of execution, and there, urged on by the Divine instinct, casting away his sword, which he held ready drawn, he clasped the knees of the Saint, praying, either that he himself might be allowed to suffer with the martyr, or for the martyr, whom he had been commanded to deprive of life.

Whilst then this man, from a persecutor, had become a participator in the truth, and a sharer of the faith; and as a contention arose amongst his companions as to which of them should have to act as the executioner, and the sword was still lying on the earth; the most reverend

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* This river must have been the Coln, which runs between old Verulam and New St. Albans. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. vi. p. 831.

confessor of God, with the crowd, ascended the hill, distant about five hundred paces from the spot originally destined for his execution. The hill was fittingly joyous in its aspect, and pleasing in its appearance; for it was strewed over, or rather covered with various kinds of flowers—it was neither steep, nor precipitous, nor broken, but it went, sloping down to the plain, like a gentle billow that sinks softly into the smooth surface of the ocean. It appeared worthy, from its own natural beauties, to be a spot, that should be for ever consecrated by the blood of a martyr.*

Upon the very top of this hill Saint Alban prayed to God, and instantly, a fresh fountain of water running in a confined stream, burst from the earth, beneath his feet; so that all present might testify that the torrent was obedient to the martyr—for it could not have happened, that the martyr would have made the water to spring out from the hill, nor that he should have compelled it to abandon its accustomed channel, had it not seemed fitting and opportune in him to pray for it. The stream then having performed its office—and its ministration being completed in thus giving proof of its obedience,

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* The place was called in the Anglo Saxon language Holm hurst, Hurst signifying a wood, and this place was overgrown with trees, as Bishop Usher proves. In aftertimes it obtained the name of Derswoldwood, and was the spot on which the present town of St. Albans is built. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Vol vi, p. 831.

returned to that course which, according to its nature, it was destined to pursue.*

There was this most brave martyr beheaded, and at the same moment received the crown of everlasting life, which God hath promised to those who love him. As to the man, who had laid his impious hands upon the sacred person of Alban, he was not permitted to rejoice over the dead body; for his eyes fell out of his face on the earth, along with the head of the blessed martyr.†

The soldier, who carried away by the Divine inspiration, had refused to murder the saintly confessor of God, was also decapitated there; and of him, it may be said, that though he had not been washed in the font of baptism, yet still was he cleansed, by the pouring out

* The Saxon version here adds; Wæs stow hewæt hwugu on healfere mile fram thære ceastre wealle, and fram thære burnam, the he ær drigum fotum ofer eode; "the place was somewhat about half a mile from the city wall, and from this brook which he had before passed over dry-foot." STEVENSON.

† St. Alban was put to death, because he had given shelter in his house, and, endeavoured to save from persecution, a Christian priest. He had violated the law! He had transgressed and set at defiance an edict of the Emperor. The law was barbarous in its provisions; but how lamentable it is to reflect, that with the downfall of Paganism, the persecution of Christian priests did not terminate! By the 27th of Queen Elizabeth, all persons, who "*received, relieved, comforted, aided* or *maintained* a *priest*, deacon or other ecclesiastical persons were destined to be *felons, without benefit of clergy.*" This law was violated by Catholics, and for its violation they were, like St. Alban, *martyred*! It is not undeserving of notice that this act remained on the statute book, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to that of Queen Victoria. See ANDREWS' Review of Fox's book of martyrs, vol. i, p. 99. We are indebted, for its repeal, to the labours of Mr. Anstey, the author of "Lectures on the Laws and Constitution of England." See *Tablet*, vol. vii. No. 308, p. 198.

of his blood, and thus rendered worthy of an entrance into the kingdom of heaven.* The judge terrified by

* "This soldier is mentioned in the Roman Martyrology, Capgrave calls him Heraclius; some others Araclius. Many of the spectators were converted to the faith, and following the holy priest, who had converted St. Alban, into Wales, to the number of one thousand, received the sacrament of baptism at his hands, as Harpsfield's memoirs relate; but these converts were all cut to pieces, by the idolaters, for their faith. The priest (Amphibalus) "was brought back and stoned to death at Radburn, three miles from St. Albans as Thomas Radburn, who was born in that place, Matthew Paris, and others affirm, from ancient records kept in St. Alban's abbey."

BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vi, p. 831. See also *Roger de Wendover* (Coxes edition) preface, p. xviii.

"The miracles of a fountain breaking out at St. Alban's feet, and the executioner's eyes dropping out of his head, are unmentioned by Gildas, who only takes notice of his drying up a passage in the river. But then we are to observe, that Gildas, is very brief, and does not seem to design a detail of circumstances. And to shew that Bede is not singular in recounting these miracles, Ado Viennensis, Rabanus Maurus, Notkerus, and Matthæus Forilegus, affirm the same thing. *As for St. Alban's miracles, being attested by authors of such antiquity and credit, I do not see why they should be questioned.* That miracles were wrought in the church at this time of day, is clear from the writings of the antients. To suppose there are no miracles, but those in the Bible, is to believe too little. To imagine that God should exert omnipotence, and appear supernaturally for his servants in no place but Jewry, and in no age since the apostles is an unreasonable fancy, for, since the world was not all converted in the apostles' times, and God designed the further enlargement of his church, why should we not believe he should give the Pagans the highest proof of the truth of Christianity, and honor his servants with his most undisputed credentials. Now if this is very reasonable to suppose, why should St. Alban's miracles be disbelieved, the occasion being great enough for such an extraordinary interposition?" COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 1, pp. 51, 52.

This is the opinion of a Protestant, upon the miracles, attributed by the Catholic Church, to St. Alban.

the strangeness of these Divine miracles, instantly ordered that the persecution should cease—beginning then to perceive that, the massacre of the saints was, in their estimation, an honor, when it had been intended by him, as the means, by which, they might be made to abandon their devotion to the Christian faith.

The blessed Alban suffered martyrdom on the twenty second day of June, near to the city of Verulam, which is now called by the people of England, Verlamaceister, or Vaetlingacaestir, and where afterwards, when Christian peace and serenity were restored, a church of wonderful workmanship, and worthy of so great a martyr was constructed.* In that very place, and even to this very

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* "The Pagan Saxons destroyed this edifice; but Offa, King of the Mercians, raised another in 793, with a great monastery on which he bestowed most ample possessions. In a council held at Celchyth in his dominions, in which were present fifteen bishops, with several king, governors and noblemen, he endowed the same with many large estates (see Stow's Chronicle). In the journey of devotion which he made after this to Rome, he excepted the lands of this Abbey from paying the Peterpence, when he engaged each family in his kingdom, which enjoyed the yearly revenue of above thirty silver pence to pay one silver penny a year to the See of Rome, Adrian the First, being then Pope. See the MSS. Life of King Offa, quoted by Spelman and Wilkins, p. 159. The Abbot of St. Albans took the first place among the mitred Abbots in the Parliament: the others sat according to seniority. This precedency was granted to St. Alban by Pope Adrian the Fourth in 1154. "Sicut B. Albanus protomartyr est Anglorum ita et Abbas, sui monesterii sedem primam habet in Parliamento," which was confirmed by several kings. See Reyner, Stevens, vol. i. p. 170, and Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 80. Dr. Brown Williss's History of United Abbeys, vol. i. p. 13. St. Alban's was valued (at the dissolution of the Monasteries) according to the king's books, in Dugdale, at £2102 per ann. according to vulgar computation in Speed, at £2510 per ann. The church is still standing, *having been*

day the cure of the sick, and the working of many miracles have not ceased to operate.*

At the same period of time, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon,† and a great many others of both sexes, in divers places, tormented by various kinds of punishment, and torn by the unheard of laceration of their limbs, gave up, upon the completion of their

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redeemed from destruction, when the abbey was suppressed by Henry the Eighth. It was purchased by the townsmen to be their parochial church, for the sum of four hundred pounds, which according to the present value of money would be above seven times as much. Of the rich shrine of St. Alban, most munificently adorned by Offa, by his son Egfrig, and many succeeding kings and others, nothing is now remaining, as testifies Weever (Funeral monuments, p. 555) but a marble stone to cover the place where the sacred remains lie!" BUTLER'S *lives of the Saints*, vol. vi, p.p. 831, 832, 833.

* "Our island for many ages had recourse to St. Alban, as its glorious protomartyr, and powerful patron with God, and acknowledged many great favours received through his intercession." Ibid, p.p. 831 832.

† On Legeceastre *Sax* situated on the river Usk in Monmouthshire. STEVENSON.

The description of this town by Geraldus Cambrensis is interesting, as calculated to convey to the reader some idea of the magnificence of the Roman buildings which once existed in this country.

"There are," he says, in the Twelfth Century, "still the remains to be seen of its former greatness. Immense palaces, which with their gilded tiles displayed the Roman splendour, gorgeous edifices, a gigantic tower, extraordinary hot baths, the ruins of temples and of theatres. For three miles within the walls of the city as well as without, subterraneous buildings, aqueducts, vaults, hypocousts, stoves, contrived with a skill that is miraculous, for the emission of heated air." He adds that "this was the birth-place of Amphibalus, the priestly instructor of St. Alban." GERALD CAMBRENSI *Itin. Camb.* Lib. i. c. 5. p. 836. (Camden).

agony, their souls to the enjoyments of the heavenly kingdom."*

Some Christians survived this persecution; but they were only those who sheltered themselves in the deep recesses of wild forests, or hid themselves in dark caves; and there bided the time, it would please God, the just ruler of all, to inflict a severe punishment upon the doers of evil, and to grant safety, peace, and security to the innocent.†

For ten full years had this persecution endured, when the authors of the nefarious edicts, in which it originated withered away, and all the children of Christ beheld the first bright gleams which lighted up the horizon, and which, like to those who have watched through a long and stormy winter's night, were the announcement to them, that there was coming a day of calm, of refreshing peace, and of tranquil holiness.

Where churches had been levelled to the earth, they were rebuilt; whilst chapels in honor of the holy martyrs were founded, were completed, and everywhere uplifted

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* BEDA Hist. Eccles. Lib i cap. 7. §. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. See also GILDAS, *Historia* §. 10, 11, HEN. HUNTINDON, Lib. i, p. 305, (Script. post Bedam). This author adds, "Hæc persecutio tam crebra erat, ut intra unum mensem 17 millia martyrum pro Christo passa inveniantur." See also ROG. DE WENDOV, (Coxe's edition) preface p.p. xix, xx, xxi, HARPSFIELD *Hist. Ang. Eccles.* p.p. 12, 13, 14, 15, *Britan.Sanct.* vol, i. pp. 374—376 TIERNEY'S *Edition* of DODD'S *Hist.* of the Church. vol. i. p. p. 8, 9, 10. ORDER. VITALIS Lib. i, p. 113 (Prevort. Ed).

† GILDAS, Hist. §. 11.

themselves as trophies of victories that had been won: the holy days of the church were strictly observed; and the sacred mysteries celebrated in all places, in perfect purity of word, and complete sincerity of heart. All children in Christ rejoiced, for all found comfort and consolation in the bosom of their Mother Church*

Such was the perfect peace, and such the sweet consonance amongst all the members of the church, and of Christ, its head, until the Arian perfidy appeared amongst them. This heresy, like a serpent with its slavering poison, was warmed into life in places beyond the sea. Its destructive power was, at once, exhibited, by separating from each other, those, who had dwelt in peace together, as brothers, living beneath the same roof. Then, making its way across the ocean, and bearing in its horrid mouth the virus of every furious, fatal and insane heresy, it fixed its deadly fangs upon a country which has always willingly listened to every novel doctrine, and has never been surely and steadily attached to that which it had previously received.†

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* "Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas; basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac velut victricia signa palam propalant; *dies festos celebrant; sacramenta mundo corde oreque perficiunt*; omnes exultant filii gremio ac si matris ecclesiæ confoti." GILDAS, Hist. §, 12.

† —"patriæ, novi semper aliquid audire volenti et nihil certe stabiliter obtinenti." GILDAS *Hist.* §. 12. This portrait of the fickleness of Britons in matters pertaining to religion is copied by Beda, as perfectly applicable to the Anglo Saxons, and strengthened by changing the word "*volenti*" to "*gaudenti*" See *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. 8. §. 22.

For proofs of the perfect community of the British Church,

Constantius, who had been for fifteen years the ruler over Britain, Gaul, and, Spain, upon the abdication of Diocleslan and Maximinianus Herculius, became Emperor of the West, whilst the eastern portion of the Empire was assigned to Maximin.*

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with the Church of Rome at this period, in faith, doctrine, and discipline, see DR. LINGARD'S *History and Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i. p.p. 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, and notes B and C. It may be observed that Dr. Lingard throws considerable doubt upon the spread of Arianism to any considerable extent in this island. The words of Beda might imply that it had crept amongst some of the clergy, rather than that it had been adopted by the laity—" non solum orbis totius sed et insularum *ecclesiis*, aspersit." (Lib. i. c. 8. §. 23).

In the strong language, applied by Gildas to the Arian heretics, there may seem to the ignorant to be terms used, which offend against charity, but it must be remembered that the Arians, like all heretics, possessed of power, were merciless persecutors—" Dumque sibi religionis officium videtur implere vim persecutionis exercuit: actique in exilium episcopi, sævitium in clericos, animadversum in laicos, qui se ab Arrianorum communione secreverant." SULPICIUS SEVERUS, *Sac. Hist.* Lib. ii, p.p. 393, 394. (Leyden, 1647).

* H. HUNTIND. Hist. Lib. i, p. 306. See EUTROPIUS, Lib. ix, c, 26, 27, 28.

" Eusebius mentions that Constantius tested, whilst in Britain, the sincerity of those officers who were known to be Christians by declaring he could not, in contradiction to the edicts of the emperor, retain them in his service. Some professed their willingness to abjure their faith, and he turned from them in disgust, declaring that the man who was not true to his God, could not be faithful to his prince.

" Diocleslan complained to him by his ambassadors, that he neglected to amass a public treasure to serve in time of need. Constantius promised the ambassadors, if they allowed him a little time to shew them a great treasure. He immediately made known his present necessity to his friends and the people, and desired to borrow what they could lend him for a few

Constantius, who was a man of great moderation and probity, had been united in marriage with the "Stabularia"* Helena,† the daughter of a British King named Coel, and who then reigned at Colchester.‡ Helena surpassed all her countrywomen in beauty, was unrivalled in her accomplishments as a musician, and unequalled as a scholar in the knowledge of every liberal science. The issue of her marriage with Constantius was a son, named Constantine, who upon the death of his father at York, succeeded him on the throne.§

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days. Immediately his apartments began to be filled with gold, silver, and jewels to an immense value. He then introduced the ambassadors, and seeing them astonished at what they saw, told them that they ought bear witness that the love and riches of a people are a prince's best treasures." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. viii, p.p. 249 and 250. See authorities quoted by him.

* Literally "the stable keeper." "They pretended," says St. Ambrose that she was a stable keeper. The good stable keeper St. Helena, hastened to Jerusalem, and searched for the place of our Lord's passion, and made diligent enquiry after our Lord's manger. The good stable keeper, who regarded herself and counted all earthly things as mere ordure so that she might gain Christ. "Bona stabularia, quæ maluit. Œstimari stercora, ut Christum lucri faceret." S. AMBROSIUS *in concione de obitu Theodosii* as quoted in the *Act Sanct.* (August) vol. iii, p. 552: (B) See also *Camden's Britannia*, vol. i, p. 102. note R. (Gough's Edition) PALGRAVES Rise and Progres of English Commonwealth, vol. i, p. 378.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. 1, §. 1.

‡ H. Hunt, p. 306—"Coel dux Kaercolvin id est Colecestriæ. GALF. MONUMET. Lib. v. c. 6.

§ GALF. MONUMET, Lib. v. c. 6.

Constantine was created Emperor in Britain.* This prince, the glory of Britain,† he, who was truly British, both by race and country, and of whom it may be said, that none, who either preceded or followed, were worthy to be compared with him, reigned for thirty years and ten months.

Constantine was still a Pagan when he marched the army which he had brought from Britain and Gaul against Maxentius. It was then that he saw the sign of the cross in the heavens, and that victory was promised to the true believer.‡

Upon the death of Maxentius he became sole possessor of the Empire—was cured at the time of his baptism by St. Sylvester, of a leprosy—built many churches, and amongst the rest one in honor of St. John the Baptist, at the place where he had been baptised; and another in which the wood of the true cross was deposited. He changed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantino-

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* Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 8, §. 23.

† "Flos Britanniæ." H. Huntingdon. *See Act. Sanct.* (August) vol. iii, pp. 552, 558, Harpsfield, pp. 17, 18.

Hic igitur Britannicus genere et patria. *Hen. Huntind,* Lib. 1, p. 306. (Scrip post Bed.) "Nobiles illic oriendo fecisti." *Incert. Paneg,* Lib. v. c. 4. p. 208. "Eumenius the favorite orator of Constantius and Constantine speaks of his assumption to the imperial dignity, when in his panegyric to Constantine, he says (Lib, 9, p. 330.) "O! fortunate Britain, now more happy, than all other countries of the earth, having first beheld Constantine Cæsar."

Butler's *Lives of the Saints,* vol. viii, p. 248. See Palgrave's rise and progress of English commonwealth, vol. i, pp. 378, 379.

‡ "His (Constantine's) army was inferior in number; but Constantine earnestly implored the protection of one supreme

ple; and by his order, the temples of the Pagans, were closed, whilst the persecution of Pagans was forbidden.*

God. After his prayers a little after noon, as he was traversing the country with a part of his forces, he saw in the sky a cross of light with this inscription, "In this shalt thou conquer." The night following he was favoured with a vision in which Christ ordered him to make a representation of that cross, which he had seen and use it for an ensign in battle. The Emperor did so; and this was the famous banner called the Laborum. Maxentius was defeated. * * *

The senate caused a triumphal arch to be built in honor of Constantine, which is still to be seen at Rome. A statue was also erected to him in one of the public places in the city, where he appeared holding a long cross in his hand instead of a lance and he caused this inscription to be made on the pedestal. 'By this salutary sign, the true mark of courage, I have delivered your city from the yoke of tyranny and restored the Senate and people of Rome to their antient glory" (Eus. in vita Constant, Codinus, Gillius, Du Cange et Ball) BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints,* vol. viii, p. 250—See Note.

*—Idem statuit citra ullam hominum cædem paganorum templa claudi. H. HUNT. See Excerpta *de Constantino Amm Marcel,* p. 615.

It was by a Briton, that the cross was elevated over all the crowns, and sceptres of the earth, and that which had once been employed as the degrading punishment of slaves was henceforth to be displayed as the noblest ornament of Princes,

"This virtuous Emperor had, whilst he was a pagan prohibited the persecution of the Christians; but when indebted to their prayers, for the momentous victory he had won, he issued many edicts in their favour. He "built stately churches, and munificently adorned altars," "Baronius says, that the same year, in which he conquered Maxentius, he gave to the Bishop of Rome, the imperial Lateran palace. In the following year, 313, Pope Melchiades held in it, a synod, in the apartment of Fausta, the wife of Constantine; and, accordingly we find the Popes in possession of it, in the fourth century. We may judge

Helena, the glorious child of Britain, is said to have surrounded London with a wall, the remains of which may yet be seen; to have adorned Colchester with fortifications, and amongst her many other good acts, to have rebuilt a portion of Jerusalem, from which she not only removed the idols of infidels, but also decorated it with splendid churches.*

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of this Emperor's liberality to the Bishops for the use of the church and poor from his letter to Cæcilian Bishop of Carthage, in which he sent him an order to receive from his chief treasurer of Africa three thousand purses, which amounted to above twenty thousand pounds sterling; adding, that if he found any man wanting, he should without difficulty demand it of his treasurer, who had an order to give without delay, whatever sum he should require. He distributed alms abundantly among the poor of all kinds, even among the Pagans. Those who were fallen from a better condition, he assisted after a more generous manner; giving land to some, and places to others; he was particularly careful of orphans and widows, and gave portions to virgins." (Butler's lives of the saints, vol. viii, p. 250.)

Such was the virtuous British emperor of Rome, Constantine. Indebted to heaven for many blessings, and even miracles in his favour, he endeavoured to evince his gratitude, by the protection he gave to the Pontiff—the respect he evinced for the clergy—the magnificence he displayed in the erection of churches—the boundless munificence of his donations for the poor.

"About four years before the Council of Nice, Constantine set forth the famous constitution, extant in the Theodosian Code (16 Tit. 2, l. 4) by which all persons are left to bequeath, what they think fit, by will, to the Catholic churches of Christians." (Collier Eccl. Hist. vol: i, p. 37. See also Dodd's history of the church, vol. i, p. 10, Tierney's edition).

* H. Hunt. Hist. Lib. i. p. 306.

If Englishmen may boast of Constantine the Great as their countryman, they have no less reason to exult in the true born

In the year of our Lord, 377, Gratian, the fortieth emperor in succession to Augustus, became possessed of supreme power, which he exercised for six years after the death of Valens.* He had, previous to that time, reigned conjointly with his uncle Valens, and his brother Valen-

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British Princess St. Helena (vero Britanniæ nobilis alumna) to whom heaven, amongst many other favours granted the discovery of the cross. (*Act. Sanct.* Mai. vol. i. p p. 361, 366, August vol. iii. p.p. 561, 568, SULPICIUS SEVERUS, Lib. ii, p.p. 390, 391, 392). She "adored not the wood, but the King, "Him who hung on the wood, she burned with an earnest "desire of touching the remedy of immortality." ST. AMBROSE, as quoted in BUTLER'S Lives of the Saints. vol. viii, p. 251. For an account of her zeal in founding convents and monasteries see *Act. Sanct.* (August) vol. iii, p.p. 569, (*e*) 570, (*ef*). The same authority tells us that there was a church in London dedicated to her honor, as well as in other parts of England, p. 577 (*d e*) As a holy widow, although the empress of the world, she passed her days in fasting and prayers, (Harpsfield, p. 24) and mistress of the treasures of the empire, she only made use of them in liberalities, and alms, distributing her charities even with profusion. BUTLER'S Saints. vol. viii, p. 252. See also CAPGRAVE *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fol. clxxi—vii, *Legendario de Santi*, p.p. 956, 957. Legenda Aurea, p,p, 303, 311, (Graesse Ed.)

* BED. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. 9, §, 24. An attempt is made by Geoffry of Monmouth to give an account of the proceedings in Britain between the death of Constantius and the reign of Maximus, (Lib. v. c. 7, 8,) which is shewn to be strongly corroborated by the statements of the British historians. See MILNER'S *Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i. p.p. 40, 41. In Nennius, it is said, that Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, died in Britain, and "was buried near a town that is called Cair Segeint, as the letters still to be seen upon his tomb testify. And he sowed in the streets of that city three seeds of gold, of silver, and of brass, so that there might never a poor man dwell in it." *Hist. Brit.* §. 25. Mr. Stevenson, in his edition of Nennius, p. 20, note 2, adds, "The chronicle of John of London (M.S. Herald's College) states that in A.D., 1283 the body of Constantius was found there by King Edward the First."

tinian; but then, beholding that his dominions were frightfully afflicted with foreign foes, and the commonwealth itself collapsing into ruin, by its internal commotions, he, with the hope of defending the first, and of renovating the latter, clothed with the imperial purple, at Sirmium, a Spaniard named Theodosius,* and entrusted to him as emperor, the entire government of the East and of Thrace.

It was, at this period of time, that Maximus, a man so distinguished for his bravery, and his probity, that he might well be regarded as worthy of the title of an emperor,† had he not, contrary to his oath of allegiance,

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* Theodosius had made himself known in Britain by his prudence, his justice and bravery in the years 367, 368, and 369. See AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Lib. xxvii, c. 7; Lib, xxviii, c. 3, 27, and CLAUDIAN as quoted in CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, pp. 60, 61. (Ed. 1600)

* Maximus was a Briton.—(Sax Chron. A. D. 381.) "Germen suæ plantationis amarissimœ" is the term applied to him by Gildas, *Hist.* §. 13. Sulpicius Severus gives to Maximus the same praise that Bede bestows upon him, and also offers, as an apology for his conduct, the maxim :—Magnum imperium nec sine periculo renui, nec sine armis potuit teneri." Dial, ii. §. 7, p. 552.

Maximus was not only a Briton but "he had married the daughter of a British Chieftian" (HENRY'S "*History of Great Britain*, vol. i, p. 12). We are told by Nennius, (Hist, §. 26, that it was at this time that St. Martin, celebrated for his virtues and miracles, had a conversation with Maximus. A fact that is confirmed by Sulpicius Severus, who also adds, that the wife of Maximus, when she held the rank of the Empress, insisted on waiting upon the old and venerable priest, whilst partaking of his scanty repast, as if she were a servant—"per omnia ministrantis modestiam, et humilitatem exhibens servientis: miscuit ipsa bibituro, et ipsa porrexit." Of this pious British lady and sovereign, the eulogy is pronounced by Sulpicius. "Beata mulier! * * ista regina, * * ministravit ut Martha, et audivit ut Maria." *Dial*, ii, §, 7, p.p. 553, 554, 555.

assumed to himself the supreme power, and allowed, almost unwillingly, the soldiers in Britain, to hail him as emperor.

From Britain, Maximus passed over into Gaul. He there slew the emperor Gratian as he was on the point of passing into Italy, from which he afterwards expelled Valentinian. The latter took refuge in the East, where he was received with generous and paternal affection by Theodosius, and upon the death of Maximus at Aquileia where he was taken prisoner and executed, Valentinian was restored to the throne.*

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* Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c, 9, §, 24. *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 381, Ethelwerd, Lib, i, p. 852. There can be no doubt that Maximus took with him from Britain to Gaul all his fellow countrymen fitted for warfare. See Gildas *Hist.* §, 14, Huntind *Hist.* Lib. i, p. 307, "Ex provincia omnem pene militem abrasit" is the strong phrase employed by W. Malmsbury, *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib i, §, 2, Nennius says (§, 27) that Maximus, or, as he calls him in this section, Maximianus, "was unwilling when he gained the empire of Europe to send back his British soldiers to their wives, their children, and their lands in their own country, but he bestowed upon them many districts from the lake on the summit of Mons Jovis, to the town which is called Cantquic (Quoentavic), and to the Western tumulus, that is Cruc Ochidient. These are the Amoric Britons, and they have never returned home from that day to this." See Palgrave's rise and progress of English Commonwealth, vol. i, p.p. 380, 381, 382.

"Geoffry of Monmouth, and Cardinal Baronius, from an ancient MS. found in the Vatican library, relate, that these British soldiers, when settled in Armorica, being desirous of having wives of their own nation, sent over to Britain for this purpose; several thousands of young women, some say 11,000, were accordingly collected together, and put on board of vessels to be conveyed to the new colony. Being under sail for the Armorican ports, a violent storm arose from the West, in which some of the transports, with all the women on board of them, were lost; the rest, being driven far to the East, were forced to seek refuge in a harbour at the mouth of the Rhine. Here they found two famous pirates, Malga, a Pict, and Gaunus, a

The son of Maximus, Victor, who had been elevated to the purple, was killed, the same year that his father lost his life.*

In the year 394, Arcadius, the son of the Emperor Theodosius, undertook with his brother Honorius, the government of the empire, and retained the sceptre for

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Hun, with a fleet under their command. In a word, these Christian heroines persisting with invincible fortitude to defend their honor, the barbarians put them all to the sword. This the learned cardinal supposes to be the true history of the celebrated virgins and martyrs, St Ursula and her companions; who are commemorated in the ancient martyrologies; and in whose memory churches were erected in Germany, within two centuries after the period in question. He brings some collateral proofs in support of this history, which it appears he would not have admitted on the credit of Geoffry alone. Vide notes Bellarmini in Martyrol, Roman, Octor. 21, also annales Mat. West, ad. an. 392. Other writers as Usher. Cressy, and Butler agree in the substance of this story, but refer it to a later emigration of the Britons into Armorica." MILNER'S History and Antiquities of Winchester, vol. i, p.p. 41, 42. See *Galf Monumet.* Lib, v. c. 16. CAPGRAVE, *Nova Legenda* Ang. fol. cccxvi, xxvii, NENNIUS, p. 21, note, i, (E. H. S.) Aurea Legenda, p.p. 701, 705, MEIBOM, Rer. German. Vol. 1. p.p. 200, 352, 354. A legend somewhat similar to that given by Geoffry of Monmouth, will be found in *Depping* Expeditions Maritimes des Normands, vol. 1. p.p. 50, 51, 52. See TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons,* vol. i, p.p. 161, 162, with what may we regard as a reply to Mr. Turner's objections as to the emigration to Britanny at this period. HENRY'S History of Britain, vel. i, p.p. 114, 115, CAMDEN'S *Brit.* p.p. 62, 63, 66, (ed. 1600.)

It would appear, from a passage in Procopius, that such emigrations were not merely frequent but of annual occurrence. "So great," says Procopius, "is the population of Britain, that not a few with their wives and children pass over, every year, amongst the Franks." De Bello Gothico Lib, iv, §, 20, vol. ii, p. 560, *Corp. Script. Byzant.* (Bonn, 1833).

* NENNIUS, *Hist. Brit.* §, 29.

thirteen years.* During his reign, Pelagius, a Briton,† spread far and wide over the world the poison of his heretical opinions against the assistance of divine grace to man. Pelagius was aided in his unholy efforts, by Julian de Campania, a priest, excited to a species of fury, by the loss of a bishopric, which he had at one time held. These heresies were exposed by St Augustine, and many other orthodox fathers, who overwhelmed them with thousands upon thousands of Catholic doctrines. The heretics themselves were not converted; on the contrary, their perverse opinions appeared to derive strength from the opposition they encountered, and the truth, which they impugned was contaminated by their unholy contact.‡

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* Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib, i, c, 10, §, 25.

† Pelagius was a monk of Bangor, in Wales. His first great disciple was Celestius, a Scotsman. See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol, viii. pp. 361, 362; Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, pp. 93, 98; Camden's *Britannia*, pp. 63, 536, (ed. 1600); Giles' translation of Bede, p. 350: Leland de *Scriptor Britan.* p. 60; Baronius, vol. vii, pp. 9, 11, 12; Lappenberg's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. i, pp. 64, 65, 66. De Courson. *Histoire des Peuples Bretons.* Vol. 1. p.p. 260, 265, 279.

‡ Bed. Lib. i, c, 10, §, 25.

Another lapse in British history occurs here, which is supplied in the pages of Ammianus Marcellinus. For instance, we find (Lib, xviii, c, 2, vol. i, p. 150) the army of Julian on the banks of the Rhine, supplied with corn from Britain—"Annona a Britannis sueta;" and the same authority tells us of the oppressions to which the Btitons were subjected by the Roman officers (Lib, xiv, c, 5, vol. i, p. 12,) and also of an invasion of the Picts; and of the visit to London, of Lupicinus, an officer of Julian's, (Lib, xx, c, i, vol. i, p. 202). "London, once known to the ancients by that name, although now called Augusta!" as we are assured by the same author (Lib, xxviii, c, 3, vol. i, p. 478). Of all the references, in this author, whether directly or indirectly to Britain, that in which we feel most interested, is the fact, that it was under the superintend-

In the year 407, when Honorius, the son of Theodosius the younger, was emperor, and two years before the irruptions of the Goths into Rome, Gratian, a burgher in a Roman colony, was elected as a ruler in Britain.* His countrymen who had elected him were however fearful that he might imitate the example of his predecessor, Maximus, and he was therefore, a short time after his elevation to the throne, put to death by them.†

The throne left vacant by the fall of Gratian was immediately filled by a person in the very lowest rank in the army; a man without any personal merits; but who was merely chosen for the sake of his name—Constan-

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ance of a former governor of Britain, the impious attempt was made by order of the apostate Emperor Julian, to rebuild for the Jews the Temple of Jerusalem, and thus render void the prophecy of our Saviour respecting it—"Verily I say unto "you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that "shall not be destroyed." Ammainus Marcellinus, a Pagan, and the panegyrist of Julian testifies that this impious attempt was prevented by a miracle. His words are worthy of quotation:

"Negotium maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque fei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaret provinciæ rector, *metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris adsultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum, hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum.*" (Lib, xxiii, c, i, vol, i, p, 311) ed, Erfurdt. Lips. 1808.

* Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib, i, c, 11, §, 26.

† Fordun, *Hist. Scot.* Lib, i, c, 52, p. 618, R. Higden *Polychron*, Lib, iv, p. 220, a plebanis interfectus est. R. Dicet *de Reg. Brit.* p. 556, (Gale). Geoffry of Monmouth describes Gratian as the commander of two legions (Lib, v, c, 16) and states that when he was made king he exercised such tyranny, that a mob fell upon him and murdered him. (Lib, vi, c, i,) None of the British historians refer to the brief reign of Marcus, the Predecessor of Gratian.

tine—a name indicative of hope and happiness to Britons.* He instantly passed over into Gaul, for the purpose of securing the imperial diadem, but baffled by the treacherous truces into which he was decoyed by the barbarians to whom he was opposed; his elevation ultimately proved a serious injury to his country.

Constantius, the general of the emperor Honorius, marched with an army into Gaul, invested the city of Arles, in which Constantine took refuge—at length gained possession of it, and there put the British King to death; whilst Gerontius, another of the Emperor Honorius's generals, seized upon and killed at Vienna, Constans, the son of Constantine, and who having at one time been a monk,† was dignified by his father with the title of Cæsar.‡

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* See TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 177.

† "Constans factus est Monachus in Ecclesia Amphibali infra Wintontam. R. DICET de Reg. Brit. p. 557. See GALF. MONUMET. Lib. vi. c. 5. "This event of a monk of Winchester church attaining to the dignity of a Roman Emperor (to which Camden and other great writers give credit) though in the end his ambition proved fatal to him, is singularly interesting, and otherwise important, as it proves that our cathedral, during this second foundation was served by Monks. It is certain there were many other monasteries at this period in Britain, as for example, those of Bangor, Glassenbury, Abingdon &c. Of the first mentioned monasteries, three abbots were famous; Pelagius the heretic, A.D. 400, Gildas, the writer in 550, and Nennius the historian in 620, "MILNER'S Antiquities of Winchester, p. 43.

‡ BED. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib, i, c, ii, §, 26. See FORDUN, *Hist. Scot.* Lib, i, c, 52, p. 618. R. HIGDEN, p. 220. (Gale).

Rome was plundered by the Goths (A.D. 409) in the year 1164 from its foundation.* The Romans then ceased to reign in Britain, about 470 years from the time that Julius Cæsar had first approached its shores.† The Romans had resided on the South side of the rampart which Severus had drawn across the island—a fact, that is testified, by the remains still to be found of towns and

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H. Hunt, p. 307. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §, 2. This portion of British history is most difficult, obscure, and confused. Those, who feel interested in unravelling, it will find much assistance, in doing so, by consulting the pages of Geoffry of Monmouth, (Lib, v, vi,) and comparing them with TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, pp. 168, 183. HENRY'S History of Britain, vol. i. pp. 117, 118, 119. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, pp. 63, 64, 65, (ed. 1600). LINGARD'S *History of England*, vol. i pp. 55, 56. LAPPENBRGG'S *Anglo Saxon King's* vol. i, pp. 58, 59, 60, 61. (THORPE'S *translation*).

It is, in our esti nation, the period of time, to which the following remarks of Mr. Kemble are peculiarly applicable—

"It must not be forgotten that we have no trustworthy record of any single event of English history, previous to the arrival of Augustine (A.D. 597) whatever precedes that great epoch, by whomsoever, and at what period so ever related, is nothing more than tradition, and liable to all the accidents by which tradition is affected, nay, which themselves constitute tradition."

KEMBLE'S *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. i, pp. v, vi. (Introduction). See also Palgraves' Rise and Progress of English Commonwealth, vol. i, pp. 369, 389, vol. ii, p. ccxxix.

* See *Rome under Paganism and the Popes*, vol. ii, c, 4, 5, 6, pp. 127, 157.

† BED. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib, i, c, ii, §, 27. See DION CASSIUS Lib, lxxvi, §, 13, 14, pp. 1202, 1203 AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Lib. xxviii, §, 7, vol. i, p. 479.

towers; of bridges and roads made by them. Although their occupation was restricted to that portion of the country, still they claimed the right of sovereignty over all parts of Britain as well as the isles beyond it.

Britain still bore a Roman name but had cast off the institutes and laws of Rome.* It was despoiled in all that part of the island occupied by Britons, of every species of armed force, and of all kinds of military accoutrements—its brave youths had been taken from their country to promote the ambitious projects of tyrants, and were never destined to return to their home—ignorant and incapable for warfare, it lay like a spoil before every hostile invader.† Its fields were occupied by none but semi-barbarous rustics, and in its towns were to be found nought but men whose faculties had been benumbed by luxury.‡ Thus defenceless did it remain for many years, paralysed and grieving beneath the repeated and cruel attacks both of the Scots from the West and the Picts from the North.‖ We may designate both of these—

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* Insula nomen Romanum, nec tamen mores legesque tenens, quin potius abjiciens. GILDAS, §, 13, NENNIUS, §, 28.

† *Bed.* Lib. i, c. 12, §. 28.

‡ "—Nullum in agris præter semibarbos, nullum in urbibus præter ventri deditos." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 2.

‖ BED. Lib. i, c. 12. §. 28. GILDAS. Hist. §. 14. Mr. Stevenson fixes the date of this description of Britain in the year 383. "What is certain," observes the Rev. Dr. Milner,

the Scots and the Picts, as transmarine nations—not because they were located beyond the boundaries of Britain; but because they were separated from that part of the island, inhabited by the Britons, by two inlets of the sea, the one running deep into the land from the East, and the other from the West, although not to such a point, as to meet each other. The city in the centre of the East was called Giudi—the Western has a city called Alcluith, which, in their language, means Rock Cluith;* and is close beside a river bearing that name.†

" is, that at the time of which we are speaking, namely the end of the fourth century, whilst the Goths were invading the heart of the empire, the Scots, Picts, and Norwegians,, with still increasing numbers from Scandinavia, carried their victorious, arms over the northern provinces of the island; whilst the Irish, under their King, Neill Nao—Gaillac, landing in the west, spread desolation to the very shores opposite to Gaul. Hence we see the grounds for supposing that our city was once possessed and plundered by the Irish." *Antiquities of Winchester*, Vol. i, p. 42.

* " *Giudi*, an ancient town or monastery upon Insh-Keth, probably built of wood, as no vestige of it has been seen for many years: *Alcuith*, now Dumbarton: *Cluith*, now the Clyde." STEVENSON.

† BED. Lib, i, c, 12, §, 28.

The distinction between the Scots in Britain and the Picts is here obvious, and strongly corroborates the view taken by Camden, who observes that these " ancient Britons " were first called *Picts* about the time of Dioclesian—and why Picts? *nisi quod se depingerent?* They, who refused obedience to the Roman Emperors, retained the custom of painting their bodies, which was observed by Cæsar, amongst their ancestors when opposing his invasion. The Picts disappear from history afterwards, in what might be considered an unaccountable manner, if we were not to attribute the obliteration of the name to the aban-

The Britons, benumbed by fear, regarded any and every expedient more safe, than that of defending themselves, and deciding their fate in battle. They fled, some of them to the mountains in the hope of preserving their existence, whilst others, having buried their treasures in the earth, (many of which are discovered from time to time, to the present day) repaired to Rome to beg for succour, assistance and defenders.*

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donment of the practice in which it originated. Upon this painting of the "Britons," the "Caledonians," and the "Picts." See CÆSAR *Comment*, Lib, v, c, 10. HERODIAN, Lib, iii, pp. 188, 190, and amongst modern authors *Camden's Britannia*, pp. 83, 87, TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 67, FABRIANO *Le vite dei diece Imperatore*, p. 167, (Venice, 1544).

Dr. Henry, and a host of others take a different view of this subject. They say that *Scots and Picts* were names of reproach applied by the civilized Roman-Britons to their neighbours, that *Sciute*, (Latinized *Scoti*) "signifies the wandering nation," and *Pictich* (Latinized *Picti*) "signifies thief or plunderer," for both "most cordially united in plundering the Provincial Britons." Dr. Henry adds. "the most ancient Roman authors who mention these nations by these names, often subjoin the epithets, vagrantes, raptores, feræ, and the like which are literal translations of the British words Sciute and Pictich." HENRY'S *History of Britain*, vol, i, pp. 295, 296.

* Turbati insulani, qui omnia tutiora putarent quam prœlio decernere, partim pedibus salutem quærentes fuga, in montana contendunt, partim sepultis thesauris, quorum plerique in hac ætate defodiuntur, Romam ad petendas suppetias ire contendunt. W. MALMSB, *Gesta, Rer, Ang*, Lib. i, §, 3.

See *Saxon Chronicle*. A.D. 418. Nennius states, that the Bretons brought with them to Rome magnificent presents as a compensation, for having destroyed three of the Roman governors, and that they promised, if relieved from the incursions of the Picts and the Scots, again to submit themselves to the

The Romans, forgetful of the past misconduct of the Britons, immediately dispatched a legion well supplied with arms. These soldiers, being transported across the sea into this country, met in close combat its bitter enemies, destroyed an immense multitude and drove the remnant beyond the confines of Britain; and thus freed the people from merciless spoliation and impending slavery. The Romans directed the Britons to construct a wall across the island from sea to sea, as a means of safeguard to themselves, and of terror to their foes; but the latter irrational in their proceedings, and unaided by a prudent leader, contented themselves with piling up a mound of earth, instead of erecting a stone rampart; and thus the work, in which they had been engaged, was found to be unsuited to the object, for which it had been intended.*

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jurisdiction and laws of Rome, although the one was severe and the other harshly administered—"et promittebant cum juramento accipere jugum Romanici juris, licet durum fuisset." (*Hist.* §, 30). For an account of the severity of the impositions of the Romans on the Britons—their land taxes, poll taxes, mine taxes, taxes on pasture lands, burial taxes, hearth taxes, taxes on internal trades, as well on external commerce, &c, See HENRY'S *History of Britain*, vol. i, pp. 351, 359. Of the harshness of their laws, one instance will suffice to shew what terrible crimes might be committed in the name of law, or as an imperial edict during the time of the Roman Emperors. "Itemque aliud audiebatur horreudum, quod, ubi debitorum aliquem egestate obstrictum nihil reddere posse dicebatur, interfici debere pronuntiabat." AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Lib, xxvii, c, 7.

* A description of this wall is given by Bede, Lib, i, c, 12 §, 29. See LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. i, p. 60 (translated by THORPE).

The Roman legion returned in great joy and triumph home; but the antient and inveterate enemies of the Britons—like ravening wolves, whose carniverous maws are parched and thirsting for blood, as they bound into a sheep-fold, unguarded by any shepherd—now urged onward to the devoted land, by eager rowers and a favouring wind—burst through every impediment, that lay in their way; and, as men entering a ripe field of corn, they mowed down, trampled upon, dashed through all before them.

Again Ambassadors were sent to Rome. They appeared there in the garb of woe—or as it may be said, their robes were rent, and their heads covered with ashes—praying in puling accents for relief and protection—flying like the timid chicken beneath the guardian wings of its parent—declaring that their miserable country would be utterly destroyed—and that, in its destruction, the Roman name, once so glorious, must become a reproach amongst the nations of the world. The Romans did, for their relief, all that it was in the power of human beings to accomplish. Moved by the details of that frightful tragedy, which was thus represented to them, their speedy aid came quickly and suddenly, as the flight of their eagles. Their cavalry hurried by land, their mariners by sea, and at the moment, when their arrival was most unexpected, their terrible talons were planted deeply in the necks of their enemies. The slaughter of their foes was as the raging of a storm in a leafy forest in the autumnal season—it strewed the earth with innumerable victims. Their descent upon their enemies was that of the mountain torrent, when

encreased by the swelling rivulets that contribute to its strength, and when overflowing its wonted bounds, it comes with rising billows, with enfuriated foaming speed, dazzling the eye as it dashes along with its bubbling eddies, and its flashing waves, and then roars, and rages, and crushes to the earth the barriers, that would impede its inundating, headlong mass of waters. Such was the assault of the gallant Romans as allies of the Britons, upon their foes, whilst the few, that escaped from their swords, fled speedily across the seas—those seas beyond which they were in the habit of carrying, and hitherto unresisted, the spoils which they annually collected in this country.

The Romans now resolved upon abandoning Britain—they declared that they could not any longer undertake such laborious expeditions—that they could not again permit a mighty army to be wasted by sea and land, nor the Roman standards to be disgraced, by wars, against wandering and cowardly thieves.* They bid the men of Britain to take up arms, to accustom themselves to the use of them—to fight in defence of their lands, their goods, their wives, their children, their liberty and their lives—they warned them, that those to whom they were opposed, were not a whit more brave, nor stronger than themselves; and unless they would, through their own tepidity and torpor permit every relation in society to be dissolved, they ought, instead of stretching out their defenceless hands to be bound as captives, take up

* "Imbelles erraticosque latrunculos." GILDAS.

arms—grasp their shields, and brandish their swords and their spears in the faces of their foes.

In addition to this advice, the Romans did that, which they conceived would be of advantage to the Britons, when they had left them. At the public expense, and aided by private contributions, with their own hands, and assisted by the miserable inhabitants, they built a wall, not like that of the Britons, a mere mound of earth, but of solid, Roman masonry, and one which ran in a direct line from one sea to the other, and passed through some towns, which a fear of their enemies had induced the people to construct, as places of refuge, from hostile incursions. The Romans, moreover, as if they would bequeath incitements to courage amongst a cowardly population, left them models by which they might know the proper means to manufacture the weapons fit for war. Along the South coast, where the Roman fleet was stationed, and at those points, where it was apprehended their brutal and barbarous enemies might land, towers, commanding an extensive view of the ocean, were erected at a certain distance from each other. These things having been done for the Britons, by the Romans, the latter took their departure from a land, which they were never to behold again.*

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* "There seems little doubt that the Romans were several times successfully applied to for assistance against the Picts and Scots. The learned however do not agree as to the exact time when these applications were made; upon this subject see Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, and Ussher's Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." T. D. HARDY Note on W. MALMSB, vol. i. pp. 7, 8. (E, H, S). See DE COURSON'S *Histoire des Peuples Bretons*, vol. 1. pp. 110, 167, 168, 169, 170.

Upon their departure, the enemies of the Britons quickly emerged from the boats* in which they had been wafted across the Cichicam valley.† As, when dark swarms of insects, warmed into life by the fervent rays of the noon-day sun, burst from the narrow cells in which they have been confined; so came the grim bands of the Picts and the Scots, dissimilar in their habits; but alike in their eagerness for bloodshed, and both displaying grizly and ghastly countenance, and both with shamelessly naked bodies. These, (now learning the departure of the Romans, and being assured those warriors had determined never again to return), became more bold than ever they had been before. They not only deprived the inhabitants of the land in the northern parts of the island, but advanced up to the very wall, which had been erected for the purpose of repelling their incursions. Upon the ramparts of this wall there were stationed as soldiers, men, who knew not either how to fight, nor to retreat, poor cowards, who with trembling hearts sat there, day and night, stolid, inapt, and incapable.‡ These

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* "Curicis," still called in Wales "Corricles."

† "O'Connor considers it as meaning the sea between England and Ireland." STEVENSON (Gildas p. 24, note 17).

‡ This miserable state of the Britons was attributable to the Roman policy, which deprived them of the use of arms in their own country, whilst the British youth, enlisted as soldiers, served in distant parts of the empire. (TACITUS *Annal*, Lib, xii, c. 31, *Agric*, c. 13, 31). The same wicked policy was followed, upon the accomplishment of the religious "reformation" in England and Ireland. See ANSTEY'S *Laws affecting Catholics*, p. 47 PARNELL'S *Penal Laws*, pp. 15, 41, 56. Catholics were for-

were incessantly assailed by their foes, who flung at them hooked javelins, wherewith they caught numbers of the miserable, undisciplined rabble, dragged them off the ramparts, and dashed them to the earth!* Alas! even thus snatched from life by a dreadful and premature death

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bidden to have arms, and they were not allowed even to fight in defence of their king and country, as the following extracts will testify :—

" 1745, September 9. It is the General's (Folliott) positive order, that no Irishman *nor Papist* be entertained in any of the four battalions of the guards. (The other three battalions abroad).

Coldstream orderly book.

" 1745, September 21.

Instructions to officers recruiting.

No Scotch, Irish, or vagabond will be approved of.

C. O. B."

Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, vol. ii, p. 341.

Latterly, the same prejudice does not exist. The law has been relaxed as far as Catholic officers and soldiers are concerned; but an " Arms Bill " in Ireland renders the possession of weapons of defence equally difficult and dangerous to the Catholic inhabitants of that country.

* " Misserimi *cives* de muris tracti solo allidebantur GILDAS. " Tum astuta gens Scotorum gnara quid faceret pro immininte muro, ac sudæ profundo saltu, ferreos in mensura arte mechanica struunt aculeos, superstantesque muro deorsum trahentes avide interimunt." ETHELWERD *Chronic.* Lib, i, p. 832.

As this author (Ethelwerd) will be frequently referred to, it may be here observed, that though generally included amongst the monkish historians, he was in fact a layman, who composed his history, for the information of his cousin Matilda, a descendant of King Alfred. A history written in Latin, by a layman to be read in that language by a female is one of those facts, which prove that learning was more generally diffused in former times, than it is now the fashion to believe.

they might be regarded as fortunate, for it prevented them from beholding the deplorable miseries, that were about to fall upon their families and fellow citizens.

The soldiers on the high ramparts abandoned them, betook themselves to flight; and in their desperate fear scattered themselves over the country. They were instantly followed by their enemies; and slaughters equally frightful and cruel took place. The unhappy Britons were torn by their foes, as lambs are devoured by wolves. The habitations of the Britons became as the dens of wild beasts; for like to them, citizen was soon found arrayed against citizen, each alike most miserable, and slaying his neighbour for the sake of a scanty sustenance. Internal anarchy was thus added to all the horrors of foreign war, until at last the only hope of subsistence left to the hapless Briton was that afforded by his dexterity in capturing and killing the untamed animals of the forest.*

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* GILDAS *Hist.* §. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, BED. *Hist. Eccles*, Lib, i, c. 12, §. 28, 29, 30, 31.

Beda here pauses in his narrative of the calamities that befell his country, to state that in the eighth year of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius—"Celestine, Pontiff of the Roman church, sent Palladius, as their first bishop, to the Scots believing in Christ."

Upon this passage a note is appended by the learned editor of Beda.

"Palladius was sent into Ireland A.D. 431, and appears to "have died about the end of that year." STEVENSON (Beda Hist. Eccles. vol. i, p. 31).

"This saint died at Fordun, the capital town of the little county of Mernis, fifteen miles from Aberdeen, to the south, about the year 450. St. Prosper in his book against the *author of the conferences* having commended Pope Celestine for his

In the twenty third year of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the younger, and the same year in which

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care in delivering Britain from the Pelagian heresy, adds that 'he also ordained a bishop for the Scots,' and thus while he endeavoured to preserve the Roman island *Catholic,* he likewise made a barbarous island *Christian.* Usher observes that this can be understood only of Ireland, for though part of North Britain was never subject to the Romans, and the greater part of it was then inhabited by the Picts, yet it never could be called a distinct island. It is also clear from Tertullian, Eusebius, St. Chrysostom, and others, that the light of the gospel had penetrated among the Picts beyond the Roman territories in Britain, near the times of the apostles. These people, therefore, who had lately begun to receive some tincture of the faith, when our saint undertook his mission, were doubtless the Scots who were settled in Ireland. The Irish writers of the lives of St. Patrick, say, that St. Paladius had preached in Ireland a little before St. Patrick; but that he was soon banished by the King of Leinster, and returned to North Britain, where, they tell us he had first opened his mission. It seems not to be doubted but he was sent to the whole nation of the Scots, several of whom had passed from Ireland into North Britain, and possessed themselves of part of the country since called Scotland. The Scotch historians tell us, that the faith was planted in North Britain about the year 200, in the time of King Donald, when Victor was Pope of Rome. But they all acknowledge that Paladius was the first bishop in that country, and style him their first apostle."

BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints,* vol, ii, p. 22, (St. Paladius). See also *Act. Sanct.* (Julii) vol. ii, pp. 286, 290.

"A.D. 429. This year, Bishop Paladius was sent from Pope Celestinus to the Scots that he might establish the faith. *Saxon Chronicle,* translated by J. Ingram.

The next notice in the same record is interesting and important as aiding to dispel a confusion, which has sometimes prevailed respecting St. Paladius and St. Patrick.

"A.D. 430. This year Patricius was sent from Pope Celestinus to preach baptism to the Scots." See *Act. Sanct.* (Mart) vol. ii. pp. 517—592, *Brit. Sanct.* vol. i, pp. 175 to 181. HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* pp. 32, 33, 34.

the illustrious Ætius acted as consul with Simmachus* the unfortunate, and the despairing poor people of Britain forwarded a letter to Ætius which commenced thus:—

"The lamentations of the Britons to Ætius, third "time consul."

The Britons in the letter itself described their calamities in these phrases:—

"The barbarians drive us into the sea—the sea casts "us back upon the barbarians—at either extreme we "find death. Between both, we are not permitted to "live—*here*, massacred; *there* drowned."†

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* "A.D. 446," STEVENSON. "A.D. 445," SMITH see Beda, vol. i, p. 31, note 11, (E.H.S.)

† A very different representation of all these transactions is given by Mr. Turner in his History of the Anglo Saxons. We follow closely the monkish historians—he repudiates them: he states that on the invasions of the barbarians, incited by Gerontius in 407, the "Britons displayed a magnanimous character; they remembered the ancient independence of the island, and their brave ancestors, who still lived ennobled in the verses of their bards: they armed themselves, threw off the foreign yoke, deposed the imperial magistrates, proclaimed their insular independence, and with the successful valour of youthful liberty and endangered existence, they drove the fierce invaders from their cities (Zosimus, p. 376, and Nennius, 25, 27). Thus the authentic history from 407 is, that the barbarians, excited by Gerontius, assailed both Gaul and Britain; that Constantine could give no help, because his troops were in Spain; that Honorius could send none, because Alaric was overpowering Italy; that the Britons, thus abandoned, armed themselves, declared their country independent, and drove the barbaric invaders from their cities; that Honorius sent letters to the British States, exhorting them to protect themselves; and that the Romans never again recovered possession of the island. To

This appeal to Rome was unavailing; for the Empire was then involved in ruinous and destructive wars against Blaedla and Attila, Kings of the Huns; and even though Attila had, in the course of the preceding year, treacherously slain his brother Blaedla, still he himself remained the inveterate foe to the greatness of Rome—was still engaged in laying Europe waste, in devastating its noblest towns, and destroying its fairest cities.*

In the year 435† the Archbishop of London, was Withelinus, a man distinguished for his piety, and his

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these facts, which we know to be authentic, it is with much distrust that we endeavour to adopt the vague lamentations of Gildas, which Bede has abridged. The account which he has left us, of men sitting on the wall to be pulled down; of the British nation cut up by the Picts and Scots, like sheep by the butchers; of the country becoming but the residence of wild animals; of the antithetical letter to Ætius in Gaul; of part of the natives enslaving themselves to the barbarians to get victuals; and of the remainder turning robbers on mountains, caves, and woods, can only awake our suspicion that querulous declamation has usurped the place of history, in his verbose yet obscure composition, or has converted local incidents into a national catastrophe."

Turner's History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, p.p. 180, 181. See pp. 179, and 182, and notes 54, 56, 57, 58, 59. See also Lingard's *History of England.* vol. i, pp. 56, 57, 58. De Courson *Histoire des Origines et des Institutions de la Gaule Armoricaine, &c.*, pp. 259, 260, 261. As to Ætius, See. Gregor. Turenens. *Hist. Franc.* Lib. i, c. 7, 8. Sigebert. Gemblac. Chron. A.D. 441, 451.

* Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 13, §. 32. Gildas. Hist. §. 20.

† Roger de Wendover. vol. i, preface, p. xxi. (E.H.S.) See Galf. Monumet, Lib. vi, c. 4.

learning This prelate, as soon as he understood, how calamitous was the condition and how lowly had fallen the power of the Romans, proceeded, (for the purpose of procuring assistance for his fellow countrymen) to Brittany, which was formerly called Armorica, or Lecania.*

The King of Brittany was Aldroen, the fourth descendant from Conan, who had been indebted for his crown to the tyrant Maximian. The monarch, upon seeing the Archbishop, was captivated by the appearance of a man whose very aspect inspired the beholder with reverence. The reception of the prelate was most gracious; but when Withelinus attempted to state the purport of his visit, his feelings so far overcame him, that he was for some time, deprived of utterance. At length he obtained a command over his feelings, and thus addressed his royal host: —

"It must, assuredly, be perfectly well known to your "Majesty, that Maximinian who bestowed this kingdom

* In introducing the description of the embassy to Brittany, the nomination of Constantine as king of Britain, and the subsequent proceedings of Vortigern, we follow the order of events, as laid down by Geoffry of Monmouth, and sanctioned by Roger of Wendover. The narrative may be considered valuable as depicting the manners of the times. Its authenticity is doubtful; and however difficult, it may be, in most points, and impossible in a few, to reconcile it, with the assertions of other historians, still we must remember, that Lappenberg, a very prejudiced Author, is forced to declare, "that this extraordinary writer Geoffry of Monmouth) must be supposed to have used ancient works no longer in existence" vol. i, p. 45, note 2. (Thorpe's translation).

"There is" observes the learned Catholic Bishop, Dr. Milner, "generally a foundation for the most inconsistent relations of our old British writers, which modern authors will not take the trouble of examining into." *Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i, p. 40.

"upon your family, deprived our island of its soldiers, "stript it of its noble families, males as well as females, "and left it to misery; that he abandoned us—your "countrymen—to hopeless wretchedness—that he exposed "us, and our native land alike, as a helpless spoil to "all the nations of the earth. Not only have we been "defeated by our foes, but our people are now perishing "with hunger, and their sole means of sustaining ex- "istence is to be found in the precarious results of the "chase. It is then deprived of every hope, that we ap- "proach your Majesty, to implore that you will aid us in "expelling from our lands, those barbarous enemies, "that now infest it; and that, having done so, you will "dispose of its sovereignty as you please—ruling over, "if you so choose it, a kingdom, a people and a country, "that once had others subjected to their sway."*

This was the substance of the discourse addressed by the Archbishop, to the King. Androen replied in the following terms:—

"There was, I will not deny it, a time, when I would "not have refused the crown of Britain; but now it is so

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* In this language, there will be found a great similarity to that, ascribed by Witichind, to the British ambassadors, when praying for the interference of the Saxons to save them, from the invasions of the Picts and Scots:

—"miseri Bretti * * crebris hostium incursionibus fatigati, et admodum contriti, auditis victoriis a vobis magnifice patratis, miserunt nos ad vos, *suplicantes, ut ab eis vestra auxilia non subtrahatis.* Terram latam et spatiosam, et omnium rerum, copia refertam, *vestræ mandant ditioni parere.* * * vestra virtute, vestris armis, hostibus tandem superiores inveniamur, *et quicquid imponitis servitii libenter sustinemus.*" Witichind. Ann. Lib. i, *Rer. Germ.* Meibom, vol. i, p. 630.

"miserable an island, that it is contemptible in my eyes, "as it is odious and despicable in the opinion of my "nobles—however, I cannot be forgetful that my ances- "tors have held dominion in that country. It is in- "fluenced by a recollection of the past, that I am induced "to give you the aid of my brother Constantine with "two thousand of my soldiers; trusting, with God's "permission, he will not only be able to free the country "from your enemies, but that elevated by you to the "crown, he may long retain it, to his glory and great "honor."

At the conclusion of the King's speech, Constantine, an approved warrior, was presented to the Archbishop, who inspired with hope and joy, smiled upon him and exclaimed—"Christ then conquers! Christ reigns! Christ commands! O! grant that Christ may lend his aid to the King our defender, and soon shall our miserable island be restored to its former freedom and happiness."

The stipulated number of soldiers were instantly selected, placed on board the vessels, which were ready to sail, and in the course of a few hours a prosperous voyage placed them in the port of Totness.

The Britons scattered through the country, and whose hiding places had been in dense forests and dark caves, upon hearing of the arrival of this auxiliary force immediately united with it. Both attacked the common enemy and gained over them a victory,* for which the

* Deinde promissus in Britanniam mittitur exercitus, et gratanter ab amicis susceptus, in brevi liberat regionem a latronibus, restituens patriam incolis. WITTICHIND, Lib. i, Vol. i, p. 636 (Rer Germ).

country was not less indebted to the generalship of the new sovereign, than to the piety, virtues and prayers of the Archbishop.*

At a council, which was subsequently held at Silcester, Constantine was elevated to the throne, and received in marriage, a noble young lady, of Roman origin, who had been educated under the special care of the sanctified Withelinus. The children of this marriage were Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uterpendragon. The first born, Constans was dedicated to God; he was placed in the church of St. Amphibalus at Winchester, in order that he might there become a monk, whilst his brothers were confided, for their education, to the care of the Archbishop of London.

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* Bede makes no allusion to Constantine, nor to any foreign aid being given to the Britons to repel their invaders. On the contrary, he declares that famine compelled the Britons to make depredations—that descending from the mountains, and issuing from the caves and woods, they robbed those who had plundered themselves, and inflicted such severe losses, that, "the audacious Irish robbers" (impudentes grassatores Hiberni) fled to their homes for a time, whilst the Picts for ever after remained quiescent in the most desolate part of the island—only occasionally levying contributions, and carrying off some petty spoil from their peaceful neighbours. BEDA Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. xiv, §, 33. Gildas agrees in this account with Beda; but does not abuse the Irish. He merely observes "the audacious invaders return to their winter quarters." (hibernas domos) *Hist.* §. 21. Henry of Huntingdon is particular in his abuse of the Irish. He says, "Scotti cum dedecore Hyberniam redeunt. Picti in extrema insulæ parte tunc primum et deinceps quieverunt: deditque Dominus victoriam populo suo, et confusi sunt qui eos confundunt. *Hist.* Lib. i, p. 308.

For a proof of the feelings of affection and respect that were long entertained between the Armoricans and the Britons, see *Act. Sanct.* (Mart) vol. i, pp. 246, 253.

Constantine had been king of the British for ten years,* when one day, that he was engaged in hunting, he was stabbed to death by a Pict, who had entered into his service.†

Upon the death of the King a great dissension arose amongst the nobility, as to which of them should be raised to the throne: for as to the two younger sons of Constantine, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uterpendragon, they were at the time absent in Britany, and even if they had been present, there was no chance of either being chosen on account of his infantile state. There was however one of the nobility, Vortigern.‡ Consul of the Gewissi, who had determined at every hazard to obtain supreme power; and in accordance with the plan that he then formed, proceeded to Winchester, and removed the young monk Constans the son of Constantine, from the monastery in which he had been placed. Constans was brought by him to London, and there contrary to the consent of the people, because he was a monk,

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* Gal Monum, Lib, vi, c, 5. See p. 56. and the remarks made in note. (‡)

† "The ninth was Constantius who reigned sixteen years in Britain, and according to report, was treacherously murdered in the seventeenth year of his reign." NENNIUS, §, 27, See GILDAS *Historia*, §, 21, where the same circumstance seem to be indistinctly referred to. Roger de Wendover fixes the time of the assassination of Constantine "anno gratiæ cccexlv."

‡ It is suggested by Mr. Sharon Turner, that Vortigern has been confounded by Geoffry of Monmouth, and other British writers, with Gerontius, who caused the death of Constans in the year 411, and was an officer of the empire. See *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p.p. 178, 179, which may be compared with passages in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* Vol. iii. p.p. 61, 62, 200, 321, 339, 358, 366.

proclaimed as king. It is to be observed, that the good Archbishop Withelinus was at this time dead, and as none could be found presumptuous enough to discharge the functions he had once performed, Vortigern took upon himself the enactment of those duties, that are assigned to a Bishop, and with his own hands, placed the crown on the young mornarch's head.

Constans, as King, left the entire management of the country to Vortigern. The latter, with the intent of accomplishing the project, he had long designed, gave the command of all the fortresses, and strong places in the kingdom, to his dependents; and then, advised the King to take into his service a hundred Picts—men that he knew to be ready for every crime, and willing instruments in every wickedness. To the king, his pretence for engaging these persons was, that they might constitute a trusty guard around the royal person, as competent as they were desirous to protect the sovereign, from foreign or domestic treachery. This insidious advice was at once followed. The hundred Picts were enrolled amongst the members of the king's household, and Vortigern so ingratiated himself in their favor, by magnificent presents and costly feasts, that in a short time they were completely devoted to his service.

As soon as Vortigern felt assured of their attachment he gave them, on a certain day, a banquet, and when he perceived they had become inebriated, he told them, with tears in his eyes, that he was about to abandon the country, since he could not procure in it the means to maintain fifty soldiers, in that manner, which he thought brave men ought to be treated. At length, as if he were overwhelmed

with grief, he tore himself from their society, and hastily retired to his own abode, leaving them still drinking in the palace. The Picts then rising in a fury exclaimed—"Why not kill this miserable monk, in order that Vortigern may become king?" with these words they proceeded to the apartment of the sovereign—at once dispatched him, and bore his head to Vortigern.

Vortigern upon learning these tidings, and seeing the head of the sovereign, burst into tears---for he wished to throw the false veil of grief over his real, and heart-felt rejoicing. He instantly summoned an assembly of the citizens of London---told them of the treason that had been committed, and ordered the Picts to be beheaded, as if they had been the only criminals. The instruments in guilt were punished with death, its concoctor was rewarded with a crown. (A.D. 445) He had none now to compete with him for the sovereignty; and once he had attained that dignity, his entire life became one of vice. He was cruel, mendacious, drunken, litigious, lewd; a hater of truth in his words, a despiser of God in his acts; a foe to the noble, a friend of the infamous; hateful in the eyes of man, and odious in the sight of Heaven.*

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* Such is Roger de Wendover's account of Constantine Constans, and Vortigern. See his work as published by the *English Historical Society*, vol. i, pp. xxi, to xxv, GALF, MONUM, Lib. vi, c, s, 5, 6, 7, 8. The monkish historians seem to vie with each other in pouring epithets of vituperation upon Vortigern's memory. See NENNIUS, §, 39, W. MALMESB, *Gesta, Reg. Ang.* Lib, i, §, 4, GILDAS, §, 23. It was believed by the monks, that he invited the Saxons to England, and his fate is that, which should befall, but has not at all times overtaken, every traitor who summons a foreign army to his country.

In the year 446, the country was free from hostile invasion, and it was blessed with such an abundant harvest, that none yet has ever occurred to be compared with it. With abundance came luxury, and with luxury every vice that the wickedness of man can suggest or execute.* Truth was hated, lying loved, and the virtuous persecuted. These vices were not confined to the laity---the flock of God, the shepherds of the people were contaminated. Even they cast from their necks the gentle yoke of Christ, and there were seen amongst them drunkenness, litigiousness, contention, envy, and other crimes of that nature.†

At the time, that the nation was thus sunk in vice, a frightful plague burst forth, and swept off such a multitude of persons, that the living scarcely sufficed to bury the dead; and yet this terrible visitation did not awaken the people to a sense of their sins; the survivors could neither be induced by the spectacle of the deaths of their friends, nor by the apprehension of their own fate, to tear themselves from crimes which

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* The enemy withdrew from the people, but the people did not withdraw from their sins," is the expression used by GILDAS, *Historia*, §, 20, " recesserunt hostes a civibus, nec cives a suis sceleribus."

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c, 14, §, 34. GILDAS *Hist.* §, 21, H. HUNTIND, *Histor* Lib, i, p. 309.

Thus it is that the much despised monks wrote history. With them, the first and paramount object beyond all others was truth, and that they would not conceal, even though it brought shame upon those, for whose fame they were most anxious, and in whose character, for purity and virtue, their own was in no slight degree involved. How lamentable it is to think that history has been falsified, for the purpose of tarnishing the memory of these excellent men!

bring eternal death to those who practise them. Upon a nation so immersed in sin, the divine vengeance was destined to fall heavily.*

There came to the ears of the people a vague rumour that their ancient and inveterate enemies were again about to attack them, to lay waste their country, and to retain complete possession of it. A council was then summoned† to determine upon the course the most advisable to be pursued, and to concert, if possible, the means by which these dreadful irruptions and constant spoliations could be repelled.‡ The result of the deliberation was that plan, suggested by some one, and approved of by King Vortigern, and the rest of the council; namely, to call upon the Saxon nation, from beyond the sea, to act as their allies—an arrangement that seemed to have the sanction of God, in order, as the event proved, that evil might overtake the wicked, and the vicious be punished in this world for their sins.‖

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* Beda Hist. Eccles. Lib, i, c, 14, §, 34.

† "Super statu publico in medium consulit, sententias magnatum suorum explorans." W. Malmsb. *Gest. Rer. Ang.* Lib. i, §, 4. See Tacitas *de Morib German*, c. §, *Hist.* Lib. iv, c. 14, and Cæsar *de Bell Gall.* Lib. i, c. 30, and Lib. vii, c. 33.

‡ Gildas, *Hist.* §, 22.

‖ Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c, , 14, §, 34. Ethelwerd, *Chron.* Lib. i, p. 833. Roger de Wendover, Lib. ii, pp. 5, 6, (Eng. Hist. Soc.) W. Malmsb, *Gest. Rer. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 4. He adds, "Probato consilio mittuntur in Germaniam legati, spectabiles sane viri, et qui digne personam patriæ induerunt."

At the time* that these occurrences were taking place the Pelagian heresy, introduced by Agricola, the son of

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Gildas *Histor.* §, 23. He speaks of the Saxons as a race hateful to God and man, "Deo hominisque invisi," and upon the invitation of those warriors to England, he cries in the true spirit of a British patriot, "Nothing was ever so pernicious to our country, nothing was ever so unlucky! What palpable darkness must have enveloped their minds! darkness desperate and cruel! (Translated by J. A. Giles, L.L.D.)

Nennius states that apprehensions were entertained of the rival competitor to the throne, Ambrosius. Roger de Wendover repeats the statement of Geoffry of Monmouth: that incursions were made by Picts, in revenge for their hundred countrymen decapitated by Vortigern; and Ethelwerd asserts the invaders were in the country, at the time, that the aid of the Saxons was sought for.

In the Saxon Chronicle this statement is made:—

"A.D. 443. This year sent the Britons over sea to Rome, and begged assistance against the Picts; but they had none, for the Romans were at war with Attila, King of the Huns. Then sent they to the Angles, and requested the same from the nobles of that nation."

Saxon Chronicle, translated by the Revd. J. Ingram. p. 13.

* "Prosper ascribes this mission (the mission of St. Germonus) to the spring of A.D. 429, with whom agree Usher, Pagi, *Bosch,* the authors of the Gallia Christiana, Lappenberg, and the best authorities; *Sermond* places it under the year 446, a position which is ably refuted by Dubois, Hist. Eccles. i, 54. The corresponding passage in the Legend by Constantius stands thus, Eodem tempore ex Britannis directa legatio Gallicanis episcopis nunciavit Pelagianam perversitatem in locis suis late populos occupasse, et quamprimum fidei Catholica debere succurri. Ob quam causam, &c. Stevenson, (Beda Hist. Eccles., vol. i, p. 38.)

Notwithstanding this weight of authority, we have preferred fixing the period of the first mission of St. Germanus, at 446, for these reasons...first, it is admitted that the mission was eminently successful—next, it is not probable, that being so, the people should have fallen into such a state of sin, that all the ancient writers should have agreed in attributing to it, the

the Bishop Severinus* was spreading like a plague through Britain, and contaminating the faithful. The Britons were indisposed to receive a perverse doctrine, which blasphemed the faith of Christ, and yet they found themselves incapable to meet in controversy those, who sheltered their propositions in sophisticated phrases, and had at their command a readiness of language, which the simple but honest-hearted Britons did not possess. They deemed it therefore wise to seek aid from the Galli-

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visitation of a plague, and the blindness of inviting the pagan and cruel Saxons to England—lastly, there can be as little doubt, that St. Germanus was in England, a short time before the arrival of the Saxons; for the "Hallelujah" victory was won by *Britons alone*, against the Picts and a wandering band of Saxons.

Beda says but a few years "ante paucos sane adventus eorum annos." Twenty cannot be called a *few years*. The second visit of St Germanus to England, is said to have occurred soon after the first, c. 21, §. 47. It is to be observed also, that Sir Henry Spelman and Wilkins place the synod of Verulam, held by St. Germanus against the Pelagians in 446.

"Paul the Deacon tells that an army of Picts and Scots invaded their (the Britons') territories, whilst the two bishops were in the island, and Bishop Usher takes notice that the Saxons and English who inhabited Sleswic, and all the German coasts from Denmark to the Rhine made descents upon Britain from time to time before the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in 449."

BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vi. p. 139 (St. Germanus) It must however be added, that Butler fixes the time of the first visit of St. Germanus to Britain in 429. Dr. Lingard, in our estimation, the best authority on every point of history, of which he treats, also places the same event in the year 429. We thus give the authorities against us, being quite prepared to find the reader decide in opposition to the opinion, we have ventured to express.

* "Agricola, the son of Severinus, who after the birth of this son was chosen Bishop." BUTLER'S Lives of the Saints, vol. vi. p. 138. (St. Germanus.)

can Bishops in this spiritual warfare. Upon this a great synod was held,* and when it came to be determined who were the persons best fitted for such a mission, it was, in the judgment of all, considered that those apostolic priests Germanus and Lupus, Bishops of Auxerre and Troyes, were peculiarly qualified to confirm the Britons in their faith. These prelates, whose devotion was ever prompt in obedience to the prayers and commands of the Holy Church,† proceeded on their voyage, and crossed, although not without toil and anxiety, the narrow sea, that divides Britain from the Continent.‡

The Apostolic priests soon filled the island with the fame of their preaching and their miracles. The word of God was daily expounded by them not only in the churches, but in the streets, and the high roads, so that

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* "The place as well as the date of this synod are undetermined, probably it was held at Troyes in 429" (STEVENSON Beda, vol. i. p. 38).

† "Pope Celestine nominated St. Germanus of Auxerre to go thither in quality of his vicar, in the year 429, as St. Prosper assures us. The Bishops of Gaul assembled in a numerous council, for the same purpose, and agreed to entreat St. Lupus, who had then been only two years Bishop of Troyes to accompany St. Germanus in this important mission."
BULLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vi, p. 138. (St. Germanus).

‡ ROGER DE WENDOVER. vol. i, p.p. xxv. xxvi. (Eng. Hist. Soc.) In BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i., c. 27, §. 29, a miracle is narrated, which is thus briefly told by the Rev. Alban Butler.
"St. Germanus and St. Lupus, embarking in the winter season, were overtaken with a furious tempest, which St. Germanus appeased by casting some drops of blessed oil, according to St. Constantinus; but according to Bede, of holy water, into the sea, having first invoked the adorable Trinity." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vi, p. 138. (St. Germanus.)

everywhere the faithful Catholics* were confirmed in their religion, whilst the depraved admitted their error. The influence and authority of these missionaries were like to those of the first Apostles—for both were administered by men, whose consciences were free from sin, whose doctrine was upheld by their erudition, and whose power to work miracles was given through their merits in the sight of Heaven. In every place that they appeared, the entire community speedily evinced its readiness to receive their counsels, and its promptness to obey their commands. The malignant propagators of the heretical doctrines for a long time hid themselves from the public view—like evil spirits they groaned to behold the good they could not prevent; but, at last, they took courage, and ventured to enter into a contest with the holy priests.† They came to it, arrayed in rich attire, making a display of their great wealth, and supported by the opi-

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* "Fideles Catholici." Beda.

The term "Catholic" is that preferred by St. Pacian. It is, he says, a name learned from the holy doctors, confessors, and martyrs —"Christianus mihi nomen est; Catholicus vero cognomen: illud me nuncupat, istud ostendit; hoc probor, inde significor."

We have seen, in an anti-Catholic periodical, this sentence plagiarised, from Pacian by Jeremy Taylor, distorted by him, and made applicable to the purposes of schismatics. A perverted plagiarism is a fitting motto for those, who assail the Church they have spoiled, and who denounce those as ignorant, upon whose care for learning, their own and only claim to scholarship can be founded.

† "This meeting, or synod, as it is styled by some, is said by Camden, col. 298, to have been held at St. Albans, in 429, where a chapel was built and dedicated to St. Germanus." STEVENSON.

nions of many.* They preferred the perils of controversy, to the shame of being reproached by those, they sought to pervert, as self condemned by their own silence. An immense and an excited multitude of men, with their wives and children, assembled to hear this dispute between the two parties—the people were listeners, and judges—the litigants were most unequally matched; for here was divine faith; there, human presumption:. on this side, piety; on that, presumption: with the one was Christ; with the other—Pelagius!

The most blessed priests afforded to their adversaries the advantage of first addressing themselves to the multitude, and these availed themselves of the opportunity by long, tedious and verbose disquisitions; whilst the prelates replied to them in moving discourses, and sustained every argument they used with such cogent texts of scripture, that vanity was at length confounded, and perfidy appalled. The opponents to the truth were unable to give an intelligent reply. They appeared to be so manifestly perverters of the truth, and so audaciously opponents to the gospel, that the people could scarcely refrain from laying their hands upon them. The indignation felt against them was however soon lost in admiration of the good priests, and universal applause proclaimed the victory of Catholicity.

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* "Procedunt conspicui divitiis, veste fulgentes, circumdati assentatione multorum." BEDA. This description of the first favourers of heresy in the fifth century is applicable to schismatics and heretics at most periods of history.

† Hinc divina fides, inde humana præsumtio; hinc pietas, inde superbia; inde Pelagius auctor, hinc Christus." BEDA.

It was at this moment, that a person vested with the powers of a tribune, and accompanied by his wife, on a sudden presented himself in the midst of the multitude, and tendered his daughter, a child ten years of age, to the priests; in order that they might cure her of the blindness with which she was afflicted. The priests desired the child might first be brought to their adversaries; but these, now completely conscience-stricken, joined their prayers to the request of the parent, for the cure of the young girl. The priests seeing that their opponents were disposed towards the truth, gave vent to their piety in a short prayer. Germanus, filled with the Holy spirit, invoked the aid of the Divine Trinity, and then removing from his side the small casket containing the relics of Saints, he, in the view of all, applied it to the eyes of the child, and instantly the darkness that had clouded her vision was dispersed, and the light of truth shone upon them.* The parents rejoiced; but the people trembled at this miracle: and, from that day forth, the pernicious error was obliterated, whilst the doctrines of the Church were imbibed by all, who now showed an eagerness to receive, and a determination to retain them.

The priests, rejoicing at this triumph over a baleful heresy, proceeded to the tomb of the martyr St. Alban, so that their thanks to God might be the more gratefully

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* "Nec mora, adhærentem lateri suo capsulam cum sanctorum reliquiis collo avulsam manibus comprehendit, eamque in conspectuo omnium puellæ oculis applicavit, quos statim evacuatos tenebris lumen veritatis implevit.

Beda. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. 18. §. 41.

received, when tendered by one, who had suffered for the love of the Redeemer of mankind. Germanus, who had with him relics of martyrs and apostles, desired the tomb of St. Alban to be opened, in order that the remains of the Saints, gathered from different quarters of the globe, might on this earth be united with him, whose soul was joined with theirs in the eternal mansions of Heaven. These relics were then deposited with every mark of honor in the tomb of St. Alban; and from the spot, where he had been martyred, Germanus took a portion of the earth,* which still appeared to be reddened with the blood of him who had given his life in testimony of his faith.†

The Saxons and Picts had at this time united their forces, for the purpose of making war upon the Britons.‡ The latter compelled by necessity took up arms, but feeling they were unequal to the conflict with their adversaries, they repaired to the holy Bishops, to beg their assistance and their prayers. The latter appeared speedily in the midst of the Britons, and their presence in the encampment, gave as much courage to the trembling soldiers, as if they had been joined by an immense

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* "This he carried away with him, and at his return built at Auxerre a church, in his (St. Alban's) honor, where he placed these relics." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vi, p. 139. (St. Germanus).

† ROG. DE. WEND. vol. i, pp. xxv, xxvi, xxvii. BED. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 17, 18, §. 39, 42.

‡ Bed. Lib. i, c. 20, §. 44.

army. It was Lent: that season, peculiarly devoted it may be said, to the conversion of sinners; and as the Bishops were daily engaged in exhortations—as they were hourly calling upon men to repentance, the happy result of their labours was speedily seen, by the numbers that repaired to them, to be baptised as Christians. The greatest part of the army was purified in the cleansing waters of that great sacrament; and by the hands of the neophytes, a Sylvan chapel, was composed in the forest, for the solemnities of the happy time of Easter.

Then there advanced to meet the enemy, an army of soldiers, whose brows were freshly bedewed by the waters of the baptismal font, whose hearts were filled with faith, whose dependence was not upon the weapons of this world for their defence, but whose entire confidence rested in the power and the mercy of God. The enemy, apprised of the strength and condition of the British army, calculated upon an easy victory over those whom they despised, as if they were an unarmed multitude, and against whom, they hurried on their march for the purpose of defeating them.

Germanus declared that he would act as the General of an army, who were now truly Christians. He selected an active troop, and with them having reconnoited the adjacent country, he chose, as a proper position for his followers, a valley surrounded with hills, which lay on the road, by which the foe was advancing. *

* " Usher states that in the neighbourhood of Mold, in Flintshire, is a place, called Maes Garmon (i. e. the field of Germain) where this battle was fought, and that the converts were baptised in the river Allan. Primord, p. 333.) STEVENSON.

The ferocious enemy was seen, by those who lay in ambush, marching onwards in great numbers. Germanus who bore the standard of the army, commanded that all should with one voice respond to the word that he proclaimed; so that, at the instant the enemy came in sight, and fancied they could at once fall upon men taken by surprise, the priests three times repeated the word "Halleluiah," and with one voice the same words burst forth from their followers—the sounds reverberated through the hills, and came back again in the thundering clamours of a thousand shouting echoes. The enemy was panic-stricken with terror—it seemed to them, as if not merely the rocks were falling down, to crush them, but as if Heaven itself were descending to annihilate them. Confused—amased—horrified, they fled from the field, cast down their arms, and sought in their speed, their only security from the danger that impended over them. Many of them were lost in the river that impeded their flight, and into whose waters they had plunged, to save them from the greater danger, that hurried on in their pursuit.

An army that did not strike a blow beheld a greater vengeance inflicted, than it had the power to execute—it was an idle spectator of a victory, which it had not won; but that had been conceded to it. Spoils were gathered

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(BEDA, Hist. Eccles. vol. i, p. 44.) *Eng. His. Soc.*

"The name may answer, but not the locality; for it is very improbable that Germanus ever travelled so far as the North of Wales, or that the Saxon adventurers should land on the western; instead of the eastern or southern coast of Britain."

LINGARD'S *History and Antiquities of the Saxon Church*, vol. i, p. 11.

and laurels gained by the pacific. The triumph was that of the Bishops—faith had conquered and strength failed—a courageous enemy had been shamefully routed, in a bloodless victory!*

Spiritual and temporal enemies had thus been signally defeated by these illustrious Bishops—peace was restored by them to the Church, in their defeat of the Pelagian heretics; and peace to Britou, in the defeat of the united army of Picts and Saxons.† A happy voyage shortly afterwards restored them to those dioceses, which Providence had confided to their care.‡

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* "Triumphant pontifices, hostibus fusis sine sanguine; triumphant victoria fide obtenta, non viribus" BEDA.

† "Vicissent pelagionistas, et saxones." CONSTANT.

‡ BEDA. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. 17, 18, 20, §. 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, NENNIUS. §. 32, 33, 34, 35, 39, 47. ROGER DE WENDOVER. HUNTIND. HISTOR. Lib. ii, p. 311. See also CAMD.-BRIT. p. 305.

"A Chapel near Verulam, in which Sir Germanus had preached was a place of great devotion to him among our ancestors, and was afterwards dedicated under his name. From him the Parliamentary borough of St Germans is called." St. Germanus had been a duke in his own province, but when he became a Bishop, he "gave all his landed estates to the church. In this manner he reduced himself to great poverty, and to perpetuate the divine honor, and the relief of the indigent, enriched the church of Auxerre, which he found very poor. By many like examples, it appears, that *the great endowments of several churches were originally owing to the liberality of their Bishops.*" BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.*

The following extract will shew, that in his second mission to this country St. Germanus conferred great benefits upon it. Could his name ever be forgotten in France, gratitude alone should make his memory dear to a Briton:—

"St. Germanus considering that ignorance could not be banished, nor the reformation which he had established maintain its ground without regular schools for the instruction of the clergy; instituted schools of learning, by which means, "these churches continued afterwards pure in the faith, and free from heresy," as Bede observes. In South Wales having ordained St. Iltutus priest, and St. Dubricius archbishop of Landaff, he charged them with the care of several schools, which soon grew very famous for the numbers, learning, and eminent sanctity of those that were there educated. Two of these, under the immediate direction of the latter, were seated at Hentlan and Moch-ros, places lying on the river Wye, where he had one thousand scholars, for years together. The names of the most eminent among them are mentioned in the life of St. Dubricius, wrote, (as some maintain) by St. Thelian's own hand in the ancient Landaff register. The schools of St. Iltulus at Llan—Iltut (now Lantwit) near Boverton, and at Llan-elty near Neath in Glamorganshire, were in like repute, and equally filled with the sons of the nobility from all parts of the island. Among his disciples we find St. Gildas, St. Leonosius bishop and confessor, St. Samson, St. Magloire, St. Malo, St. Paul, afterward bishop of Leon, and Daniel, whom St. Dubricius made bishop of Bangor, where he likewise instituted a seminary for the Britons. Paulinus, another disciple of St. Germanus, did the like at Whiteland in Caermarthenshire, where St. David and St. Thelian studied. The seminaries of Llancarvan near Cowbridge, and the famous school of Bencor, in Flintshire, were also noble monuments of St. Germanus's zeal.

BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vii, p.p. 137–140. See also HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Angl. Eccles.* p.p. 31, 32. *Act. Sanct.* (Julii) Vol. vii, pp. 184, 302. *Legenda Aurea*, pp. 448, 451.

CHAPTER II.

From the arrival of the Saxons in ENGLAND *to the* MISSION *of* ST. AUGUSTINE.

Hengist and Horsa. The Origin and Religion of the Angles, Jutes and Saxons. The British King Vortigern.—His Marriage with Rowena. Battle of Ailesthorpe. Irreligion of the British. Death of Vortimer by Poison. Meeting of Saxons and Britons—The latter treacherously assassinated. The Massacre of Catholic Priests and the Destruction of Catholic Churches, by the Pagan Saxons. Death of Vortigern. Aurelius Ambrosianus. Battle of Wyppeds-fleot. New Invasion of Saxons. Battles of Andredsleige, and Mercredesburne. Piety of the British King. Siege of Andred Ceastre. Arrival of Cerdic and Cynric. Death of Ambrosius Aurelianus by Poison. Disastrous Battle of Charford. Priests and People persecuted. King Arthur and his Twelve Great Battles. Decay of Piety amongst the Britons. Rise of Saxon Kingdoms. Saxon Children exposed to be sold as Slaves in Rome. St. Gregory the Great. His anxiety to convert the English. Ceawlin and Ethelbert. First Saxon Civil War. Three British Kings killed in Battle. The Munificence of Catholic Bishops and Abbots in the Building and Repairing of Churches, aided by the *Voluntary Offerings* of the Laity. Battle of Tretherne. Defeat and Expulsion of Ceawlin. The Saxon Octarchy. The Name of "England" first applied to Britain. Saints Columb-kill and Columba.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 449–596.

In the year 449, the Saxons, or Angles, who had been invited to this country by Vortigern, arrived in three ships,* at the shores of Britain.† Their pretence in coming, was to fight in defence of Britain against others, but their real purpose was to conquer it for themselves.‡

To these strangers a place of habitation was not only assigned, but the king also agreed that they were to be supplied with pay and provisions, on condition, that they

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* "Tribus ut lingua ejus exprimitur, *cyulis*" (keels) GILDAS *Histor.* §. 123. Tribus longis navibus" BEDA. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 15, §. 35. W. MALMSB. Lib. i. §. 5. "The time ef the landing of the Saxons is fixed by Usher in the year 450." COXE. Roger de Wend. *Flor. Hist.* vol. i, p. 7. Considerable uncertainty attends the exact date of the arrival of the Saxons in England. Pagi attempts to shew that Beda, when calculating dates from that event, reckons from 447, when they were invited, and not from 449, when they actually arrived." STEVENSON, Beda, vol. i, p. 33. See also note on *Marcianus*, p. 34.

† The place of their landing was Ebsfleet, Isle of Thanet. *Sax. Chron.* COXE. (Roger de Wendover, vol. i, p. 7.)

‡ "Quasi pro patria pugnaturus, sed eam certius impugnaturus." GILDAS *Histor.* §. 23. BEDA *Eccles. Hist.* Lib. i, c. 15, §. 35.

gave their aid, as warriors, in maintaining the peace, and guarding in security the country against the aggressions of its foreign enemies.* These strangers were members of the most powerful tribes, or nations of Germany,† and severally designated themselves, as Saxons, Angles, and

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* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 15, §. 35.

† William of Malmsbury puns upon the name of *Germany*—he says, it is properly so called, because it *germinates*, such a profusion of men. "Quia tantum hominum *germinat* non injuria *Germania* vocatur." Lib. i, §. 5.

"Through the migration of the Germans to the South, Scandinavia, unknown before, at once attained greater consideration, and by them its renown was diffused as the-parent-land of many nations.....When after the emigration of the Gothic tribes, the Franks and Saxons became powerful in Northern Germany, and thence extended their dominion further, the same tradition is repeated; both derive their origin from the Northern nations (Witchindus de rebus gestis Saxonum, &c.) The nation of Scandinavia, as a cradle and workshop of nations, (officiana gentium, vagina gentium) recurs in like manner perpetually in history.....A tradition bruited in so many quarters demands some explanation. Nothing authorises us to conclude that the Northern counties have ever been more populous than they are now; rather the contrary might be safely laid down. But it is not the less certain that Scandinavia formerly contained, if not a great, yet a redundant population, larger than the land was able to support, and that this warlike multitude, of whose lofty stature, strength and fecundity, so many witnesses speak, deemed themselves necessitated to live, and a great part actually lived at the cost of the rest of the world." GEIJER'S *History of Sweden* Part i. p. 4. (translated by J. H. TURNER, M. A..) See also DEPPING'S Histoire des expeditions maritimes des Normands vol i, c. i. p.p. 7–25. ch. 4. p.p. 86, 87.

In the *Roman de Rou* we find the forced expatriation of the younger sons of families thus referred to. "Costume fu jadis lonc tems en Danemarche, entre païens, quand homme avait plusors enfanz, et il les avait norris granz, l' un des fils retenait par sort qui ert son her apres sa mort; et cil sur qui le sort tornait, en autre terre s' en alait."

Jutes.* The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are the descendents of the Jutes, and even the persons, living in the province of the West Saxons opposite the Isle of Wight are to this day called Jutes. The East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons are descendents of the Saxons; of those persons who came from what is designated old Saxony. From the Angles—or the inhabitants who came from that land —Anglia, (and who arrived in such numbers as to leave their own country completely deserted from that time to the present), are descended those who are known as the East Angles, the Midland Angles, the Mercians, the entire of the Northumbrians—that is all those dwelling to the north of the river Humber, as well as the other tribes of "the English."†

"This successful people (the Saxons) diffused themselves into the interior of Germany so victoriously, that the vast tracts of country embraced by the Elbe, the Sala, and the Rhine, became subjected to their power, in addition to their ancient territory from the Elbe to the Eyder.....But those allies of the Saxons with whom the history of Britain is most connected were the Jutes and Angles. The Jutes inhabited Jutland, which is now known as the duchy of Silesia. The little band first introduced into England by Hengist and Horsa were Jutes." The Angles, "at the era of the Saxon invasion were resident in the district of Anglen in the Duchy of Sleswick."

* TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i. p.p. 150, 151. See also CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, p.p. 96–107. (ed, 1600) p.p. cl. to clxxvi. (GOUGH) LAPPENBERG'S Anglo Saxon Kings, vol. i, p.p. 87—92.

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 15, §. 36. This is the account by BEDA but however intelligible in this day—it now requires further explanation. The descendants of the Jutes were the inhabitants of Kent, part of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. The Saxons were divided into East, South, and West

The leaders of these strangers were two brothers named Hengist and Horsa. They were the sons of Wichtgisius, the son of Wecta, whose father was Woden,* from whom the royal families reigning over many provinces derive their origin.† Upon these chieftains being presented to

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Saxons. The first were to be found in Essex, Middlesex, and the South part of Hertfordshire, the West or Gewissians in Hampshire, (the site of the Jutes excepted) Berkshire Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire, and part of Cornwall; the South Saxon in Sussex, and a part of Surrey, the East Angles were in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and a portion of Hertfordshire; Mercians in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Salop, Stafford, Warwick, Leicester, Northampton, Rutland, Chester. Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Worcester, and Gloucester. The Northumbrians were divided into the provinces of Deira to the south, and Bernicia to the north, comprising Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, and the south part of Scotland, as far as the Firth of Forth. See TURNER'S History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, p.p. 320, 321, 322. 323. Sir F. PALGRAVES Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i, p. 38.

* In Beda, these names are *Victgilsus, Vitta, Vecta, and Voden.*

† War piracy and pillage were claimed as privileges that belonged to those of royal descent; and the claim is thus put forward by one of those marauding champions of the North:— "Qui jaciunt, qui tela rotant, *nisi regibus orti?* Surgit ab ingenuis bellum, clarissima martem stemmata conficiunt, nec enim vulgaribus ausis res agitur, quam sola ducum discrimina tentant." Saxo. *Hist. Dan.* Lib. ii, as quoted by DEPPING, vol. i, p. 32. See also Snorro, by whom we are told amongst many others, of "Ericus Jarlus Haquini filius, com fratribus suis, et consanguineis eximimiæ dignationis viris pluribus, patria solo excessit.....suum navibus imposuit militem in piraticam expeditionem profecturus, opes et divitias sibi acquire volens. *Konung Olaf Tryggwasons Saga,* c. 95, vol. i, p. 316.

King Vortigern, he enquired what was their faith, and what the nature of the religion they had learned from their fathers?

"We worship," said Hengist, "the Gods of our fathers "—that is, Saturn, Jupiter, and the other Deities who "rule the world—but beyond all others, we pay particular "veneration to Mercury, to him, who in our language is, "Woden.* It is to him, that our forefathers have dedi- "cated the fourth day of the week, and that, by us, is "accordingly called 'Wodenesdai.' Next to him, we "worship as the most powerful—a goddess—Frea, to

* This conversation between Vortigern and Hengist is taken from ROGER DE WENDOVER. *Flor. Histor.* p.p. 8, 9. (Eng. Hist. soc.) who has abridged it from Geoffry of Monmouth, Lib. vi, c. 10. It is, as given by the latter, inconsistent with the allegation that Vortigern sent for Saxons—but perfectly agrees with that which NENNIUS intimates as to their accidental arrival on the shores of Britain. §. 31, and with the object of their coming as stated by Malmsbury, *Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 5. The words of Hengist in Geoffry of Monmouth are, "Fueramus etenim expulsi a patria nostra, nec ob aliud, nisi quia regni consuetudo expetebat.....Superfluente igitur novitur in regno nostro hominum copia, convenerunt principes, sortem projicientes elegerunt juventutem istam quam in præsentia tua cernis .....Obedientes ergo decretis ab ævo sancitis, ingressi sumus maria, regnumque tuum duce Mercurio petivimus." This statement of Geoffry of Monmouth is consistent with facts that are now ascertained to be true—and when he has been so much abused for his *inventions*, it is at least but justice to show, that amidst his fables many circumstances illustrative of ancient customs can be discovered. In ETHELWERD *Chronic.* Lib. i, 838. Vortigern is designated *Wrthern*. ETHELWERD affirms that it was at the express desire of the British king and people, the Saxons came to this country: "explentes petitionem regis senatusque." See also PONTICUS VIRUNNIUS Lib. vi, p. 52. (Edit. J. A. GILES, L.L.D.)

"whom we have allocated another day of the week, the "sixth—in our tongue, Fridai.*

"Vortigern replied in these words, "I do, in sooth, "deeply grieve, to hear from you, what is the nature of "your creed, or I ought rather to say, of your incredulity; "but from your coming amongst us, I am most joyful. "Whether sent by Heaven, or some inferior power, you "have arrived at an opportune moment for me, placed as I "am in great difficulties. Upon every side I am assailed— "nay, even overwhelmed with foes; and if you will aid me "in my wars, I shall maintain you honorably, bestow upon "you rich gifts, and endow you with noble estates."

The barbarians immediately agreed to these terms. They were instantly ratified and they remained, as attached, to the kingly household.†

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* In Geyer's *History of the Swedes*, chapter i, will be found a most interesting account of the ancient mythology and traditions of the northern nations. See also Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. v, p. 680. (St. Augustine).

† Roger de Wendover *Flores. Histor.* Lib. ii, p. 9. Galfred Monum *Hist.* Lib. vi, c. 10. Upon the subject of Aurelius Ambrosianus, Vortigern's invitation to the Saxons, the legend of Rowena, See Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, p.p. 386, 393, 394, 395. The same learned author remarks, as to Hengist and Horsa, that "the names bestowed upon the sons of Wightgils seem to be poetical epithets, rather than real denominations; both have the same meaning, and both only designate the snow-white steed, from whom their ancestors sought the omen before they entered the conflict, and whose form still constituting the heraldry of Kent, adorned the standard, which led them forth to victory." This passage is supported by the following notes:—

"Both *Hengest* and *hors* were employed in Anglo Saxon to designate the same animal (Lye). Usage distinguished them in later dialects: the German *Hengst* is a stallion: the Danish *hors* is a mare.

A short time subsequent to the Saxons being retained in the service of Vortigern, the Scots and Picts invaded Britain. They advanced to Stamford, within forty miles of Lincoln, when they were encountered by the Saxons. The first fought with javelins and spears—the arms of the

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" Proprium gentis, *equorum* quoque præsagia ac monitus experiri: publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis, *candidi*, et nullo mortali opere contacti, quos pressos sacro curru, sacerdos ac Rex vel Princeps civitatis, comitantur; hinnitusque ac fremitus observant, nec ulli auspicio major fides, TACITUS *Germ.* c. 10. *Palgrave's* Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. 1, p. 395, notes 10 and 11.

To this quotation from Sir Francis Palgrave, we may add the following extract from Gobelinus:

" The generals of that expedition from Saxony to Britain were the sons of the Duke Angaria, or, of the House of Engere: one of those, according to Beda, was called Hengist and the other Horsa. Their names in the vernacular mean a royal steed, of superior strength and symmetry, which the princes particularly use in tilt and tournament. Hence perhaps is the origin of a white horse being the armorial bearing of some of the Dukes of Saxony; as such heraldry was transmitted to them, from time immemorial, through a long line of ancestry. And thus from the first, the names of the princes agreed with the names of their heraldry. Even to this day in Westphalia the names of some of the knights coincide with the device or legend of their " bearings." All those who were in possession of Britain, the lineal descendents of those generals, or at least of their army, by the change of R into L, were called in the vernacular *Engleschen*, although they would be called *Engerchen* in the mother-tongue. Others say that the Duke of the House of *Engere* had one daughter, who was named *Enghele*, as many women. to the present day are called in some parts of Westphalia, and in Latin are called Angelus or Angela. One of the above-mentioned generals, her brother, after the fall of the other, gave her in marriage to the king of Britain. Afterwards all who had come from her country, and who, having routed some and enslaved others of the Britons, had taken possession of Britain were named English from that queen." GOBELINUS *Cosmodromium*, Ætas vi. c 23 (Rer. Germ. Script. Meibom. vol. i. p. 216.

latter were a long sword and the battle-axe: weapons the weight of which neither Picts nor Scots could bear, and were therefore speedily compelled to fly.* The Saxons were not merely gratified with the empty name of victors, for they gained on the field a rich booty, and Vortigern bestowed upon them rich gifts, whilst he assigned large tracts of land, in Lincolnshire,† to Hengist for his own subsistence, as well as that of his fellow warriors.

Hengist was not only a soldier, but he had also that cunning and prudence which are deemed indispensable requisites in a statesman. He took advantage of the favor, with which the King regarded him and thus addressed him:—

"You are, Sir, disquieted by enemies on all sides; "and I am told, that you are even threatened with the "claims of a rival—Aurelius Ambrosius, who it is said is "about to come here from Armorica,‡ for the purpose of "deposing you and placing the crown upon his head. If

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* Hen. Huntind. Lib. ii. p. 309. Ethelwerd, *Chron.* p. 883.

† "According to Geoffry of Monmouth, Wyrtgeorne granted to Hengist, so much land, as he could encompass with an ox's hide cut in small thongs, whence the castle which he built was called Thuang castre, or Thong castre. It was situated according to Camden six miles from Grimsby." Coxe. (*Roger de Wend.* vol. i, p. 10, Eng. Hist. Soc.) Geoffry describes this transaction as *subsequent* to the bestowal of land for the sustenance of the soldiers of Hengist. In the British tongue he says the name of the place was *Kaercorri*. See Lib. vi, c. ii.

‡ "Il est certain que cette appellation, qui primitivement s'etait étendue à tout le littoral gaulois, s'appliquait au Ve siècle encore, au territoire situé entre la Seine et la Loire." De Cours on *Histoire des Peuples Bretons* vol. i, p. 218.

"then, it meets your approval, I think, we ought to send "to our country, for an additional number of soldiers, in "order that by their increase, your power may be still "further strengthened."

This suggestion was approved of, and Hengist was authorized to invite others of his countrymen to Briton.*

Meanwhile, intelligence of the victory had been conveyed to the land of the Saxons, and with it, information as to the fertility of the soil of Britain and the incapacity of its inhabitants for warfare.† Instantly a larger fleet was fitted out—and with it were sent a great number of warriors who, when united to the ranks of those who had preceded them, constituted an invincible army.‡

With these chosen warriors, there came a maiden—the daughter of Hengist—upon whose charms and exquisite

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* Roger de Wend. *Flor. Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 10.

† Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 15, §. 35. H. Hunt, *Hist.* Lib. ii, 309. "Segnitia" is the word used by both; but the language of Ethelwerd, is stronger: "pavidi inertia populi." p. 833. We prefer the phrase of Nennius "gentem sine armis" §. 37.

‡ "Invicibilem exercitum." Beda.
Cui supsadicta genetrix, prinio comperiens agmini fuisse prosperatum, item mittit satellitum canumque prolixidren catastam, quæ ratibus advecta adunatur cum manipularibus spuriis. Gildas *Historia.* §. 23, W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 7. Beda, Lib. i, c. 15, §. 35. Ethelwerd Chron. Lib. i, p. 833. Nennius *Hist.* §. 37 states that the second immigration of Saxons came in sixteen "ciulas"—long ships. It is calculated by Mr. Turner, vol. i, p. 255, that each of these ships carried one hundred men. Geoffry of Monmouth and Roger de Wendover state the number to be "eighteen" ships.

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beauty, the wily chieftain calculated as much, for the success of his schemes, as upon the valour of his soldiers. At a banquet given by the Saxon to the British King, he directed, that his daughter should act, as cup-bearer to Vortigern. The British guests were plentifully supplied with wine and ale; Vortigern's reason was bewildered by intoxication, and his senses captivated by the face and form of his lovely attendant.* The King was seated at the royal feast, when the maiden emerged from her chamber, bearing in her hand a golden goblet filled with wine. She advanced to the King, and bending on her knee before him, she said—"*Laford King wacht heil.*" He looked at the maiden—and charmed with her beauteous features, his heart was warmed with love. He then demanded of his interpreter what it was the young girl had said to him, and what was the fitting reply, he should make to her. The interpreter answered. She has called you Lord and King, and expressed her desire to drink your health, and your reply to her ought to be, *drinc heil.* Vortigern accordingly said "drink heil," the maiden drank of the cup—gave it to the King—who kissed her, and then drained it to its dregs. From that day to this, the custom has continued in Britain, that at all banquets, when one wishes to drink to another, he says "Watcht heil," and he who accepts the pledge, replies "drinc heil."†

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* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, § 7. Polydore Vergil. *Hist. Ang.* Lib. iii, p. 75. (Leyden 1651).

† Galf. Monumet, Lib. vi, c. 12. See Turner's *History of the Saxons*, vol. i, p. 260, note 23.

Vortigern demanded Rowena* in marriage from her father—declaring that his bridal gift should be whatever that monarch might choose to demand. For such a request, Hengist was already prepared; and he therefore replied that she should be the wife of Vortigern on condition that there was transferred to him that province, in the Saxon designated "Centland," and in the British known as Ceint. Vortigern assented to the stipulation—and then without the consent, and even without the knowledge of the Guoyrancgno (the sub King)† who then ruled in Kent, that person's kingdom was taken from him, and he himself delivered over to the power of Pagans.‡

This marriage entailed upon Vortigern the contempt of his children, and the hatred of his nobles. He was a Christian, and to be married to a Pagan, he had sacrificed the welfare of his subjects, and the integrity of his Kingdom. His children, by a former marriage, were

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* Geoffry of Monmouth is the first writer who gives the name of Hengist's daughter; he calls her Ronwen, a name by no means common among the Anglo Saxons. In capitulo historiæ Nennii (xxxvi) the daughter of Hengist is called Romwena, but in the text the name is omitted." HARDY, (W. Malmbs. vol. i, p: 12) E. H. S.

† "Guorong, Camden, col. 187. This is generally supposed to be a generic, not a proper name, and to mean a governor, or sub-king." STEVENSON (Nennius Histor. Briton, p. 29. Eng. His. Soc.)

‡ Nennius, §. 37. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 7. GALF. MON. Lib. vi, c. 12, ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 11, (E. H. S.) H. HUNT, p. 315.

Katigernus, and Pascentius.* He had a fourth son who was subsequently adopted by St. Germanus. †

In the year 453,‡ Vortigern was united in marriage with the daughter of Hengist; and shortly after that event, it was suggested to the King by the Saxon, that he should invite to Britain, Hengist's son Octa, as well as his brother Abissa, in order that they and their attendant warriors might place themselves in the northern parts of the country—close to the wall (of Severus) and in that

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* Galf. Monument. Lib. vi. c. 12.

† Nennius. §. 39. This son's name was Faustus. He is twice referred to by Nennius §. 39, and 41. In the first the boy is described as desiring his father, at the command of St. Germanus, to "shave and cut the hair of his head" as a monk; and in the second, as having "built a large monastery on the banks of the Renis." It is not necessary to state, why Vortigern was excommunicated by St. Germanus. See note 3. p. 11 W. MALMSB. vol i. (*Eng. Hist. Soc.*) ROGER DE WENDOVER. *Flor Histor.* Lib. ii. p. 11, (E. H. S.)GALF. MON. Lib. vi. c. 12,

‡ In this passage we follow Roger de Wendover, and adopt his chronology—although it is impossible now to ascertain precisely the dates of every transaction, which occurred between the first invasion of the Saxons, and the coming of St, Augustine. It is a portion of English history, which is involved in great obscurity; and is generally passed over cursorily by those who have written on the early stages of our annals. We think however it is deserving of more notice than has been bestowed upon it: for in it, will be found some curious traces of manners—and at all events it is worthy of being known, as that, which the Britons for a long time clung to, with the firm belief, that *it was history.* See PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the Commonwealth.* vol. i,. p. 59, vol ii, pp. 229, 340. KEMBLE'S *Codex Diplomaticus.* vol. i, pp. v, vi, xxii, (Introduction) "Historic doubts concerning the generally received traditions of the arrival and settlement of the Anglo Saxons and Jutes in England" *Monthly Prize Essays,* vol. i, pp. 69, 89.

district which spreads between Deira and Scotland—because as he suggested, occupying such a position, they would be able to repel the incursions of the barbarians, and to preserve in peace all those dwelling on this side of the Humber.* The suggestion was adopted; and it was speedily afterwards carried into effect. A new settlement of Saxons was made. Octa, Abissa and Cerdicius arrived with three hundred vessels filled with armed men; and all were gladly received by Vortigern, and munificent gifts bestowed upon them.

The Britons remonstrated against these proceedings—they represented to the sovereign that he was sacrificing those who were Christians, for persons who were Pagans, and a communication with whom was forbidden by the Christian law—that those, who had been intended as a protection, had now become a terror to his people—and the result would speedily be, that he would be deprived of his crown, and they of their lands. These representations were of no avail with a sovereign, whose affections were besotted, by the charms of his young wife, and who esteemed Pagan soldiers, because he loved a Pagan woman.†

The Britons finding that their advice was neglected, and their counsel scorned by Vortigern for the sake of

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* See TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons* vol. i. p. 300. "That part nearest the Humber was called Deifyr by the ancient natives, which after the Saxon conquest was named Deira; and north of Deifyr was Bryneich which became latinised into Bernicia." See also PALGRAVE, vol i, pp. 424, 425.

† ROG. DE WEND. *Flor Hist.* Vol. i, p. 13. GALF. MON. Lib. vi, c. 13.

his wife and her kindred, instantly abandoned him, and determined upon elevating his son Vortimer to the throne.*

The new sovereign proved by his valour that he was worthy of the confidence that had been placed in him by his countrymen. He was constantly engaged in hostilities against their enemies.† He collect d a number of the Britons, encountered the Saxons at Darent,‡ and obtained an important victory over them. Vortigern fled with his Saxon wife, and her Saxon countrymen, to whom for her sake he had afforded all the assistance in

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* "At Vortegirnus diffugiebat consilio eorum acquiescere: quia super omnes gentes propter conjugem suam ipsos diligebat. Quod cum vidissent Britones, deseruerunt ilico Vortegirnum, et unanimiter Vortimerum filium ejus in regem erexerunt." GALF MONUMET. Lib. vi, c. 13.

In this instance we see that the ancient Britons exercised the right of deposing their kings. Here Vortigern is deposed by the "magnates," ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 13, as the Saxons afterwards in the case of Eadwig, abandoned him to elect (eligere) Eadgar as their sovereign. See on this point Turner's *History of the Anglo Saxons.* vol. iii. p.p. 148, 149. Also Tacitus de Morib German, c. 7, 42, 43. *Hist.* Lib. iv, c. 12. CÆSAR de Bell. Gall. Lib. vii. c. 4.

† NENNIUS §. 43, and note 1, p. 35.

‡ "By some said to be the Derwent, in Derbyshire; but much more probably the Darent, or Derwent, in Kent. The Saxon annals, A.D. 457, call this the battle of Creccanford, or Crayford, the Darwent and Cray joining at the spot." STEVENSON, (Nennius, p. 35, Eng. Hist. Soc.)

"Hengistus et Æsca, in loco qui dicitur Crecanford, cum Britonnibus proelium commisere, et ex eis quatuor millia vivorum in ore gladii periere, reliqui Cantian penitus dimisere, et cum magno metu ad Lundoniam fugere."

FLORENT. WIGORN. p. 545, *(Frankfort ed.)* See *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 457.

his power to give them; whilst Vortigern employed the authority, that this triumph had gained for him, in restoring to his people the lands of which they had been dispossessed, in repairing those churches which the Pagans had injured, and in providing the means, to encrease that respect which is due to the priests, on account of the sacred functions they exercise.*

In this year, 445,† the *English* warriors‡ having increased their numbers, and resumed their former strength recommenced hostilities against Vortimer, the King of the *Britons*. The armies met at Ailesthorp,‖ and the engagement was long and severely contested; but the Saxons were at length forced to give way. The Britons vigorously followed up the advantage they had gained—pursued the enemy, and destroyed an immense number of them. It was in this battle, that Horsa, the brother of Hengist, upon whom Vortigern had conferred the province, and was named by his countrymen, as "King" of that district, encountered in the field Katigern the brother of Vortimer. Katigern was on horseback when an awful blow, from Horsa, prostrated him to the earth,¶

*Roger de Wend. *Flor. Hist.* vol. i, p. 14. Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 15, §. 37.

† Roger de Wend. vol. p. 14.

‡ "Gens Anglorum."

‖ "It is clear," says Mr. Coxe the Editor (E. H. S.) of Roger de Wendover, "that Eaglesford, or Ailesford is here intended. the Elstre of H. Huntingdon, and Episford of Nennius, the scene of the second battle; its site was upon the banks of the Medway." Vol. i, p. 14.

¶ "Est ad modum pulveris dispersa prosterneretur." H. Hunt, p. 310. "Dissiparetur." Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 15.

and whilst he lay senseless on the ground, he was slain by the Saxon. King Vortimer beheld the death of his brother —he rushed upon the slayer, and instantly killed him. The ranks of Horsa fell back upon those of Hengist. The latter made for some time resistance, but they too were compelled to give way. Hengist, in despair, abandoned the field of battle, and he who had never fled before was now compelled to fly from the pursuit of a victorious foe.*

In three different battles were the Saxons again defeated,† although commanded by the new King Hengist, elected to rule over them on the death of Horsa.‡ Their last place of refuge was Thanet, where they were so constantly harassed by attacks made on them, from the sea, by the Britons, that they determined to abandon the country.§ They took to their ciulas, and leaving behind them their wives, and their children, they sailed for those lands, from which they had originally emigrated.‖

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* Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 15. Nennius §. 44. H. Hunt, p. 310. Beda Lib. i, c. 15. §. 35, Horsa is believed to have been buried at Horstead in Kent. "monumentum suo nomine insigne." Camden says Catigern was interred near Ailesford. *Britan,* vol. i, p. 311. (Gough). See Palgrave's *English Commonwealth,* vol. ii, p. cclxvi, note i.

† Nennius §. 44.

‡ "And aefter tham feng Hengest,to rice." *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 455. See Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 15.

§ Galf. Monumet, Lib. vi, c. 13.

‖ "Et barbari victi sunt, et ille (Guorthemir) victor fuit, at ipsi in fugam versi usque ad ciulas suas reversi sunt." Nennius §. 44. "relictis mulieribus et filiis, in Germaniam redie-

Britain was delivered from the oppressions inflicted upon her by foreign invaders; but she was not restored to domestic peace.* Civil wars desolated the land, and citizens who had escaped the arms of the enemy, fought with each other, in the ruins of the very cities that strangers had wasted. Amid the fury of this national madness there were some few—kings, priests, nobles and persons in humble life—who remembered the miseries they had witnessed, and the carnage they had escaped; and these few did their utmost to inculcate the lessons of peace, and to point out the blessings attendant upon

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runt." G. MONUMENT. The last author mentions that the Saxons finding they could no longer withstand the attacks of the Britons, sent Vortigern who was with them, to his son Vortimer, to desire leave to return in safety to their native country, and that whilst this conference was going on, the Saxons went on board their ships and abandoned their wives. These wives, it is to be observed, were British women, accordiug to the same authority. "Pagani filias et consanguineas eorum sibi associaverunt."

Referring to the victory gained over the Saxons by Vortigern, Camden remarks—"The Saxons made their first landing here (at Thanet) with leave of Vortigern; here they made their first settlement; here was their retreat; here Vortimer the Briton made a great slaughter of them, driving them in the utmost confusion to their boats, at *Lapis Tituli*, for so Nennius calls the place, which we now call '*Stonar*.' *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 316. (Edited by Gough).

* This paragraph is taken from Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 22, §. 50, and adapted by him from St. Gildas. It can only be applicable to a period, when the Saxons had left the country, and that period is solely to be found in the escape of Hengist, and his reappearance on the shores of Britain. From thence forward, the Saxons could not be wholly expelled from a country, which they were destined to make their home.

tranquillity...but when they had passed away, and were succeeded by those ignorant of the ills, their fathers had endured, then all the bounds of justice were transgressed, and all the restraints of honor and truth set at nought. Virtue became a tradition—and there were few, very few who seemed to have any recollection of it. Amongst the other inexpressible crimes of that generation, mentioned by the historian, Gildas, in his pitious Complaint respecting his countrymen, this, too, must be added, that they never preached the true faith to the Saxons or English, who were in the country.* Divine grace was not for a people, who thus neglected the great gift entrusted to them—and therefore was it reserved for a nation more worthy of the favor and the blessings of Heaven.†

The Saxons had been expelled from England in the year 456, by Vortimer, and in four years afterwards‡ that monarch—the King of the Britons—their noblest warrior, was in the very bloom of youth deprived of life. He was, through the diabolical contrivance of his step-

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* "Desides et inhonestos sacerdotes, et non bene populum tam exempla quam verba docentes." GILDAS EPIST. §. 76. See from §. 66, to the end of the Epistle.

But how could Saxons and Angles be instructed in the Christian religion if they had been expelled from the country? Assuredly this passage from Beda if properly inserted here, (and it is very doubtful) must refer to Saxons and Angles, who had been captured in war, and according to the practise of antiquity retained as slaves—for in the wars of the olden times, he who was a soldier on the day of battle, if living the next, must be either a victor, a slave, or a runaway.

† BED. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 22, §. 50.

‡ These are the dates given by Roger de Wendover

mother, Rowena, poisoned by one of his servants, and his body afterwards interred in London.*

Vortigern, upon the death of Vortimer, instigated by his wife, despatched a messenger to Hengist,† requesting him to come back privately to Britain, and only accompanied by a few of his warriors, lest the appearance of a large force should again arouse the animosity of the Britons.‡

As soon as Hengist heard of the death of Vortimer, he determined upon returning to England. He landed in the year 461, with an immense army;§ but when Vortigern

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* ROGER DE WEND. vol. i, p.p. 15, 16.

Before his death he told his friends to place his sepulchre in that port at which the Saxons first came to land—"I commend you to do this," said he, "for although they may disembark at another harbour, and dwell in a different place yet their abode in the land will never be permanent." That injunction was neglected. They did not inter him in the spot which he had desired. NENNIUS, §. 44. "Dicebat enim, neminem illorum (the Saxons) audere propius accedere, si etiam bustum ipsius aspicerent." GAL. MON. Lib. vi. c. 14. See CAMDEN'S Britannia, vol. p. 316.

In one M.S. of Nennius, it is stated that Vortimer was buried in Lincoln. See Nennius (Eng. His. Soc.) p. 36, *note* 11.

† "There are some foreign traditions of his having founded Leyden, during his absence from England. His temporary expulsion, and the successful exertions of the Britons at this period seem entitled to our belief." Turner's *Hist. of Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 262.

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 17.

§ According to Geoffry of Monmouth an army of three hundred thousand—and of Mathew of Westminster of "three" or "four thousand." (p. 8, Frankfort edition).

and his nobles heard of the vast multitude he had brought with him, they were equally indignant and alarmed; and were determined to give battle to those, who came as invaders, and not as friends. This determination of the Britons was privately communicated to Hengist, through his daughter Rowena, and he therefore resolved to secure by treachery, that which he might not be able to accomplish by force of arms.*

Messengers were sent by Hengist to King Vortigern to say, that the reason for landing so large a force in Britain was, that he had supposed Vortimer to be still living—that his desire had been to encounter him, in the field of battle; but now, that Vortimer was no more, the Saxons were perfectly willing to submit themselves to the pleasure of him, whom they regarded as the rightful sovereign—that Vortigern might retain as many Saxons as he desired to have in his service, and the remainder would return to their own country—that all therefore that was wished, was, that the King should fix a time and place, where the leaders of both armies might meet, and settle the terms of an amicable arrangement.

This was a message most grateful to the King, to receive, and he ordered, that the Saxons and Britons should unite in friendship on the Kalends of May, at the village of Ambrius.†

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* "Confestim cogitavit quid potius contra id agendum esset. Diversis igitur machinationibus peragratis unum ex omnibus elegit, ut gentem regni sub specie pacis adoriretur prodere." G. Monumet. Lib. vi, c. 15.

* Rog. de Wendover, vol. i, p.p. 17, 18. G. Monumet. Lib. vi, c. 15.

It was agreed that both parties should meet unarmed; but Hengist desired his friends, that each of them should have a knife concealed beneath his foot,* "and when," said he, "I shall cry out to you '*Eu Saxones, nimith eure "saxes,*' draw then your knives,† slay them, but do not "touch the King, first, because he is the husband of my "daughter; and next, because it will be for our advantage, "that a large ransom should be paid for his release."

The Saxons and Britons met together. The Saxons used the terms of friendship, whilst in their hearts there rested this basest treachery. Man sat with man—the slayer with his victim feasted side by side until at length the fatal words were pronounced by Hengist, and on the instant, three hundred of the nobles of Britain lay bleeding and lifeless on the earth! The King was seized, and fettered; and for his ransom from his betrayers he was compelled to yield to them the lands of Kent; of East, South, and Middlesex.‡

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* "Unusquisque artavum suum sub pede in medio ficonis sui poneret." NENNIUS, §. 46. "Longum cultrum *intra* caligas absconditum." G. MONUMET.—"*infra* caligas." R. de Wendov.

† "Cultelli enim nostra lingua sahs dicuntur, ideoque Saxones nuncupatos, quia cultellis tantam multitudinem fudissent." WITICHIND. *Annal*, Lib. i, p. 630. See notes by MEIBOM, *Rer. Germ.* vol. i, p. 667. Gobelinus describes them as razors—"Apud nos senioribus novacula qua pili raduntur dicitur sass. *Cosmodron* Aetas vi, c. ii.—"Cum cultris validis, quos vulgo *scramasaxos* vocant, infectis veneno." GREGOR TURON Hist. Franc. Lib. iv, c. 52.

‡ NENNIUS, §. 46. See also Gal. Mon. Lib. vi, c. 15, 16. Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 18. Geoffry of Monmouth mentions that amongst the Britons was a *Consul* of Gloucester, Eldol, who with a staff slew seventy Saxons! He also states that the bodies

The Saxons, not content with the execution of this perfidious plot, attended with such a lamentable success, proceeded to waste the country with fire and sword.* These impious barbarians were permitted to be the executioners of the Divine Will, upon a nation, that seemed to have been negligent of its religion, and forgetful of its God. They plundered all the towns they entered—they destroyed all the cultivated lands they passed through—they filled the island with conflagrations from the Eastern to the Western shore. Public and private buildings were

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of those who had been treacherously slain were interred at Salisbury, in a burying-place near the monastery of Ambrius. Upon this transaction the following remarks are made by Mr. Turner.

"A feast, inebriation, an unpremeditated quarrel, and a conflict may have taken place; and the battle may have ended in the destruction of the Britons. But this is all that is credible of this celebrated catastrophe; and even this statement is rather a concession to an ancient tradition than the admission of an historical fact." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 265.

"The whole appears to be a fable invented by the natives to account for the first settlement of the Saxons, without the admission of conquest." LINGARD'S *History of England*, vol. i, p. 65. See also LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. i, p. 69. (Translated by Thorpe).

Upon the title of Consul which is here applied to Eldol, and in Ordericus Vitalis, to the father of Pope Honorius, "Honorius Campanus ex patre Petronio consule," the explanation is given by the editor, M. Le Prevost: "Nous supposons qu'il s'agit ici de quelque magistrature locale, a laquelle on aura jugé convenable de transferer ce nom." vol. i, p. 431, note 2.

* Probably, it was at this time, and not on their first visit to the country that they formed that league with the Picts which has been referred to by Bede. Lib. i, c. 15.

destroyed—the priests were murdered at the altars,*—the magistrates were massacred with the people—the dagger spared no man's life, and the torch was mercilessly applied to the most sacred places of worship—even the dead were not respected; for their bodies were allowed to rot unburied in the streets and highways. Crowds of wretches were slaughtered as if they were cattle—some wasted by famine surrendered themselves as slaves to the invaders on condition that they might be fed, and counted themselves as fortunate, that in making the base proposition they were not massacred—others sought for a home in foreign lands;† whilst the remainder lived as trembling fugitives in their country, and having as their only security against bondage or death, the hollow cave, the steep mountain, and the wild morass.‡

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* "Omnes coloni cum præpositis Ecclesiæ, cum sacerdotibus ac populo." GILDAS *Hist.* §. 24. "Sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur." BEDA *Hist. Eccls.* Lib. i, c. 14, §. 37. Roger de Wendover adds—"They placed the sacred scriptures in the fire and burned them; whilst such of *the religious* as could make their escape, fled, taking with them the relics of the saints." *Flor. Hist.* vol. i, p. 19.

† "Principally in Armorica; concerning the colonization of which by the Britons, See Usher's Primord, pp. 421, and 1008 Bouquet, Rer. Gal. Script. i, 785, note c." STEVENSON. (Beda vol. i, p. 36, note 29).

We find also the Dutch historians attribute to the same expulsion of the Britons. their settlements along the Rhine, and the erection of fortresses, the *Britton, Brittenberg* and *Huis te Britten.* WAGENAAR *Vaderlandsche Historie* Boek iii, §. 32. Compare this statement with DE COURSON'S *Histoire des peuples Bretons,* vol. i, p. 151 note 3.

‡ BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 15, §. 37. GILDAS Hist. 24. 25.

Vortigern finding he could no longer resist the Saxons, and unable to devise the means of subduing them, fled to the most distant parts of Wales, where he shut himself up in a fortress. There he lived hated and despised, and there the vengeance of Heaven visited him, for he and his family were all burned to death.*

According to the views of Sir Francis Palgrave, the principle sufferers in the wars that afflicted England, for so many years, were the British princes, their nobles and free tenants—whilst those who had been tillers of the ground, attached to the soil, remained to perform their servile labour for new masters. Amongst other passages on this subject, see "*The Rise and Progress of the English Constitution,*" vol. i, pp. 25, to 30, and 411. See also ANSTEY'S *Lectures on the laws and constitution of England,* pp. 65, 66.

We do believe that in this change of masters from Britons to Saxons, the unfortunate slaves of both, were benefitted by the expulsion of the British. Henry of Huntingdon says truly of the Saxons--in their conquest of England, and their conduct as rulers:—Saxones autem pro viribus paulatim terram bello capessentes, captam obtinebant, obtentam ædificabant, ædificatam legibus regebant." *Histor.* Lib. v. p. 347. For a comparison between the number of slaves in those parts of England. where Saxons and British predominated, See LAPPENBERG, vol. 11. p.p. 320, 321, 322, (*translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, F.S.A.

* "Rex autem Vortigernus in occidentali parte Britanniæ inter prærupta montium et sylvarum omnibus exosus degebat * † * quadem nocte ignis de cœlo cecidit super arcem, in qua rex erat; rex autem tam ruina quam igne destructus nusquam comparuit." HEN. HUNTIND *Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 310. See also NENNIUS, §. 47, and in §. 48, where he says, that Vortigern was alike detested "by slave and freeman, by monks and laymen, by strong and weak, by great and small." We omit Vortigern's rencontre with the wonderful Merlin---Vortigern's vision, and Merlin's prophecy, all of which are detailed with great minuteness by Geoffry of Monmouth, and as scrupulously copied by Roger de Wendover. In the marvels, that are told of this unhappy monarch, there will be found a strong resemblance to those that presented themselves to the luckless Roderick "the

last King of the Goths," and which are so graphically described by Mariana—(*Historia de Espana.*) Lib. vi. c. 21.

A similarity can be discovered between him, and another great monarch, whose inquisitioners and tyranny are alluded to inan an cient Saga. Geoffry of Monmouth states (Lib. vi, c. 16.) that when Vortigern found himself in so perplexing a position from the ravages and ruthless barbarities of the Saxons, that he knew not what to do--- "inscius quid contra nefandam gentem ageret"—then called his "wise men" around him—Vocatis denique Magis suiis—for the purpose of commanding them to inform him, as to the proceeding most suitable to be adopted--having done this, and meeting with an unexpected difficulty, there is next an account of his again questioning them—"iterum Magos suos consuluit, ut causam rei indicaret," and these interrogatories at length brought him in contact with the wonderful Merlin, who answered such questions as were never put to mortal man before. (Lib. vi. c. 17, 18. Lib. vii. c. 3, &c.) In these particulars at least, there is a strong resemblance, between Vortigern and the great King Olave, of whom the following account is given by Snorro :—

"Vestibus itaque indutus consiliarios suos and se vocari jussit. Habebat rex Olavus apud se duodecim prudentissimos viros, qui rerum dijudicandarum arbitri in judicio una cum regi assidebant. Munus hi arduum sustinebant ; *quippe contortas et a causæ veritate alienas sententias summopere detestari solebat rex, ipse vero sibi ab ullis contradici minime passus.*"

SNORRO (Konung Olaf Heliges Haralsons Saga). Vol. i, p. 522.—PRINGSKIOLD. (Stochholm, 1697).

Mr. Turner in his "History of the Anglo Saxons" (vol. i, pp. 178, 179) fancies that in the real history of Gerontius, he has discovered the facts, which Geoffry of Monmouth has distorted, when describing the life and miserable death of Vortigern and his family by fire. We are not the defenders of Geoffry's veracity ; but, we believe, that he is the preserver of many old British traditions ; and that whatever he states is more likely to be borrowed from the Welsh bards, then from Greek or Roman historians. Thus, it may have happened, that what he states of Vortigern, his undue attachment to his wife, his alliance with foreigners, his defeat in their society, and his being burned to death, with the members of his family, may have been transmitted, as a story, suggested by the fate of Chranmus, the son of Clotaire, who having allied himself with the Armoricans, or

In the year 464,* the Britons sent to Britany to beg the assistance of Aurelius Ambrosianus, and his brother Uterpendragon, tendering to them the crown, on condition, that they should expel Vortigern and the Saxons from the country.† This invitation was accepted—Aure-

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continental Britons in the year 560, made war against his father, was defeated, his British soldiers destroyed, and himself with his wife and children burned to death. See AIMOIN *De Gest. Franc.* Lib. ii, c. 30. *Chronique de Saint Denis,* Lib. ii. c. 19, *Chron.* HERMAN *Contract,* A.D. 558, *Chron Virdunens.* HUGO. *abb. Chron.* S. MEDWARD. Rer. Gall et Franc. Script. vol. iii. pp. 62, 199, 321, 339,, 358, 366.

Considering the doubts, that are thrown upon the entire history of Vortigern or Gwrthern, we feel that we have to use the words of Nennius, said sufficient respecting him, "Satis dictum est de Guorthegirno et de genere suo." *Historia Britonum.* §. 49, See DE COURSON'S *Histoire des Peuples Bretons,* vol. i, pp. 88, 170.

* ROGER DE WEND. vol. i, p. 19.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 20. He agrees with Geoffry of Monmouth in making Ambrosius Aurelianus the son of the King Constantine, and brother to Constans, who had been killed at the instigation of Vortigern. Gildas *(Histor.* §. 25*)*, on the other hand, that he was "a man distinguished alike for his bravery and his virtue—affable in his demeanour, faithful in his friendships, simple in his habits—that his ancestors had for their merits been adorned with the purple—but that they had been killed in these contentions—and that he alone of all the Roman nation was alive at this period." Nennius (§. 48) declares that he was "*the king* amongst all the kings of the British nation," (qui fuit rex inter omnes reges Britannicæ gentis). William of Malmsbury. (Lib. i. §. 8), that he was "the sole remnant of the Romans."—an expression that corresponds with that made use of by Bede (Lib. i, c. 16, §. 38) and Henry of Huntingdon mentions his name, as if he had distinguished himself in the first battles fought by the Britons against the Saxons. (Lib. ii, p. 310). Two facts respecting him are certain, that he fought with some skill, if with no

lius Ambrosianus arrived with a large army, and then, the Britons who had been dispersed over different parts of the country, assembled together, and having convoked a synod of the clergy, Aurelius was, with the joint assent of both priests and laymen elevated to the throne.* Expert as a foot soldier, still more expert as a knight, he was as a general, accomplished in all the arts and devices of war.†

Ambrosius had been crowned in the year 466, and in 473,‡ he encountered, on the field, the Saxons led by Hengist and his son Osric, bearing the cognomen of Aesc.

For this conflict the entire strength of the British nation had been collected. Upon the Saxon side appeared an army that seemed to be invincible; whilst that of the British was admirably arranged into twelve distinct phalanges. A long and desperate engagement ensued, and it was not until Hengist had killed twelve

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permanent success against the Saxons, and that the claim to a petty sovereignty involved him in a civil war, for; omitting Geoffry of Monmouth's account of his besieging Vortigern in his castle in Wales (Lib. viii. c. 2.) we find Nennius saying (§ 65) "from the reign of Vortigern to the quarrel between Ambrosius and Guitolinus are twelve years." See PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the British Commonwealth*, vol. 1, p. 393.

* GALF. MON. Lib. viii, c. 2. ROGER de WEND. vol. i, p. 34.

† "Fortis pede, fortior equo, et ad regendum exercitum eruditus.' GALF. MON. Lib. viii, c. 3.

‡ These are the dates given by Roger de Wendover. "The battle at Wypeds-Fleot, on the coast of Thanet, is by the Saxon Chronicle placed in the year 465, whilst the scene of the action of 473 is not recorded." COXE. (*Rog. de Wend.* vol. p. 36, note 5).

of the leaders of the compact masses arrayed against him; and driven down the standards around which they rallied, that the Britons could be forced to give way. The field of battle was all that was left to the Saxons; for the Britons had inflicted upon them severe loss—killing many of their generals, and a great number of their soldiers. Amongst the former was a distinguished warrior, named Wipped, and from him, the place of the battle was afterwards called. It was to the Saxons a tearful victory-- and to both parties attendant with such severe loss, that the Saxons did not for a considerable time attempt to pass beyond the boundaries of Kent, nor the British to attack them there.* Both were tranquil because each was weak. Their animosity had not diminished; but their capacity to inflict mutual injury had been lessened. Those who were not sufficiently strong to encounter the invader, involved themselves in civil wars, and rendered themselves less able to meet and defy a foreign foe.†

Four years after the battle of Wypedsfleet (in 477) a new body of Saxons arrived on the coast of Britain, under

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* Hen. Hunt. *Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 311. The account in *Flor Wigorn*, (p. 544) is very different from this, for there it is said of Hengist, "Unus tantum miles, cui nomen Wipped erat, ex suis in acie corruit." See *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 465.

† "Dum cessarent externa bella, non cessabant cilivia." H. Huntind. "Cessantibus licet externis bellis, sed non tamen civilibus." Gildas *Hist.* §. 26. See De Courson's *Histoire des peuples Bretons*, vol. i, pp. 139, 171, 243.

the command of Ella, and his three sons, Cymen, Plenting and Cissa. From one of these, Cymen, the place where they landed was called, and still bears the name of "the port of Cymen," or Cimenshore.*

These foreigners † were men remarkable for their size, their vigour, their bravery, and their discipline. They came prepared for war, and as they landed on the coast, the defying shouts of the natives rang in their ears. The Britons, from all the surrounding country, hurried to the conflict: their attacks were as bold, as they were irregular, and ill conducted. They rushed upon those warriors, who stood in a compact mass together, and as blind fury drove the Britons on in detached parties, each was encountered, repelled and defeated. Their war was that of an infuriated crowd, upon a body of disciplined soldiers,‡ —their superiority in numbers was of no avail to them; for they did not attempt to make a combined attack upon their foe. The invaders were superior to each small body that assailed them, and hence it happened, that crowds were killed, and yet the Saxons not shaken in their ranks. It was at the moment, that the Britons saw the field covered with the bodies of their countrymen, that a clamour or some shouts were heard; and stricken with panic,

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* Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 38. Flor. Wigorn, p. 545. Cimenshore near Wittering between Arundel and Shoreham. Coxe.

† Hen. Huntind. Hist. Lib. ii, p. 311.

‡ Vir veteris militiæ non difficulter arietantem multitudinem contudit et fugere compulit. W. Malmsb. Lib. i. §. 16.

they fled from the contest, and sheltered themselves in an adjoining forest—that which is designated "Andredesleige.*) The Saxons did not attempt to follow up the victory they had gained; but settled themselves as colonists on the sea-shore, and there, having secured a safe position they proceeded gradually but securely to extend their possessions.† For eight years they had thus continued, when (in 448)‡ Ambrosius, knowing that they were daily increasing in numbers, collected an army, and advanced with the hope of destroying them. The Saxon and British armies met at Mercredesburne. The Kings and petty tyrants of Britain might be said to have obtained a victory§ over the invaders, but they were them-

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* H. HUNT. Lib. ii. Hist. pp. 311, 312. "Andredus-wode" ROG. DE WEND. "Andredesleage" *Sax. Chron.* "The great wood which stretched from the South of Kent into Sussex and Hampshire." TURNER'S History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, p. 269. "The forest of Andradsweld, called by the Britons Coed Andrad, from the neighbouring city Anderida, extended 120 miles in length, and 30 in breadth hereabouts." CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA, vol. 1, p. 267.

† HEN. HUNT. Hist. Lib. ii, pp. 311, 312.
There is great verisimilitude in this description of the long and desperate battle of Ella, his sons and their few warriors, against the multitude of courageous Britons, and their final dispersion of the latter by a panic. The conquerors were the sons of Odin, themselves animated with the *Berserksgangur* ferocity, whilst their enemies were made, like to the foes of Odin, "blind, deaf, and timid, and their swords blunted as if they were so many rods." See SNORRO *Yngliuga Saga*, c. 7. Hist. Reg septent. (Ed. Peringskiold Stockholm, 1697.) Vol. i, p. 7.

‡ Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 39. Hen. Huntind. says "nine years."

§ "Et fere dubia fuit victoria." Hen. Huntind. Lib. ii, p. 312.

selves so severely handled, as to be unable to follow up their success, to the complete extirpation of their opponents. Both armies retired from the field of battle—the British to recruit their strength, Ella to forward to his country, a pressing demand for additional soldiers.*

In the year 487† Ambrosius collected an immense army of Britons, with the determination of forcing the Saxons to a general engagement, and in the hope, that he might utterly destroy them. He first advanced towards the North, where he met Hengist and his adherents on the other side of the Humber.‡ Hengist had

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* Hen. Hunt. Lib. ii, p. 312. Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 40.

† Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 40.

‡ "The account of this northern expedition, with the success of Ambrosius and the death of Hengist, Wendover has taken from Geoffry of Monmouth. Upon it the Saxon Chronicle is altogether silent; and Marianus Scotus, and Will. Malmsbury seem to imply that Hengist died a natural death, according to the latter in 488, thirty-nine years after his arrival in Britain. See Speed. Chron. 1611, p. 291." Coxe. (Rog. de Wend. vol i, p. 40. note 2. E. H. S.) All that Henry of Huntingdon says of Hengist, is, "Mortuus est Hengist Rex Cantiæ 40 anno post adventum suum in Britanniam." p. 312.

Roger de Wendover has not copied into his history, the reason which Geoffry of Monmouth assigns for the Saxons crossing the Humber. It is worthy of being noticed as indicating that dislike to the Scots, ("qui Britanniam inhabitant") which for so many years pervaded the public mind in this country, and that was so discreditably displayed in the early part of the reign of George III.

prepared for the conflict; and at a place called Maisbeli he attempted to take the army of the Britons by surprise; but in this attempt, the watchfulness of Ambrosius, as a general, disappointed him. A desperate conflict ensued—great numbers were killed on both sides; but at last, Hengist and his followers were compelled to retreat. They retired first upon the town of Kaerkonon now called Coningsborough (in Yorkshire); but they only made a short stay there, as Hengist felt, that by enclosing his forces within the walls of that place, he must eventually be taken. Upon the advance of Ambrosius, he again fled, and such of his soldiers as the Britons were able to overtake, they at once despatched.*

The first use that Ambrosius made of his victory, was to repair the mischief, which the Pagan Saxon had done to the property of the priests. He found on his line of march, in pursuit of the enemy, the churches destroyed, and in many places levelled to the ground. Carpenters and masons were immediately collected—the churches repaired, or rebuilt, and divine service restored to its former state. Wherever he found temples and idols, he endeavoured, in his destruction of them to extirpate infidelity from the land. The course of justice was restored, and peace secured—honor was rendered to priests and churches—munificent gifts were bestowed upon them—and their prayers constantly directed towards the

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" Vicinitas etenim Scotiæ adhibebat tutelam; quæ in omne damnum civibus imminere consueverat. Natio namque ad inhabitandum horribilis, evacuata civibus, tutum receptaculum alienigenis præstiterat." Lib. viii, c. 3, p. 133. *(Giles's ed.)*.

* Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 41.

purification of the kingdom, and the successful progress of religion.*

Ambrosius in the year 489† addressed letters to all parts of Britain, directing that every one capable to bear arms should congregate under his orders, for the purpose of driving the Pagans out of the country. The wishes of the sovereign were obeyed, and Ambrosius at the head of his native army again proceeded to a conflict with Hengist and his Saxon soldiers, whose lines were drawn up on the banks of the river Don.‡

In the course of the engagement, which was long and desperately contested, one of the British leaders, Eldol, Duke of Gloucester,§ whose sole desire it was to engage in personal conflict against Hengist, bursting with his phalanx through the Saxon line, grasped Hengist by the visor of his helmet,‖ and then by main force dragged him

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* Rog. de Wend.

† Ibid. and Matt. Westminst. p. 91.

‡ "The *Dane* commonly called Don and *Dune* seems to have its name from remaining in a town and more depressed channel, which is the meaning of the British word *Dan*." Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii. p. 235.

§ "*Glocester*, in modern Latin *Glovernia*, by others *Claudiocestria*, from the Emperor Claudius, who they pretend gave it this name when he married his daughter Genissa here to Arviragus the British King." Camden's *Britannia*, vol i, p. 381.
"Gloui"——"Ædicavit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis Sabrinæ, quæ vocatur Britannico sermone *Cair Gloui*, Saxonica autem *Glocester*." Nennius, §. 49.

‖ "Nasale cassidis."

amongst the British soldiers, exclaiming, "this day has God fulfilled my wishes—now, in sooth is the victory ours." The Saxons deprived of their leader instantly fled in all directions. They were followed by the eager and vengeful warriors of Ambrosius and no quarter granted to any amongst them.

Octa with the greater part of the defeated army retreated to York; whilst Eosa fled to Dumbarton. Meanwhile Ambrosius took possession of the town of Conisborough, where he halted for three days. There, a great Council was called, for the purpose of deliberating upon the fate of Hengist.

The decision of the Council was determined by the advice of Eldad, Bishop of Gloucester, and brother of the chieftain who had taken Hengist prisoner. "Although," said the Bishop, "all should be willing to restore him to "freedom, I never would sanction such a proceeding. "My justification for assenting to the death of a man so "ruthless, as Hengist has proved himself in this country, "is to be found in the words pronounced by Samuel re- "specting Agag when made a captive in war—As thou," cried Samuel; "hast made mothers childless, so this "day shalt thy mother be childless amongst women:" "such too should be your treatment of this Agag of "Britain."

Hengist was immediately taken outside of the town wall, by his captor, and beheaded with the sword of Eldol.*

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* Roc. de Wend. vol. i, p.p. 40, 41, 42. The river *Don* passes in sight of the old castle of *Conisborough*, British *Caer Conan*, situate on a rock, into which, when Aurelius Ambrosius

Hengist was succeeded in the kingdom of Kent by his son Osric, surnamed Aesc, and from him the succeeding monarchs of that district were denominated by the Saxons "Aeskynges.*"

In the year 490,† Ambrosius conducted his army to York, for the purpose of besieging that city, then held by Octa, and the Saxons under his command. As soon as the British army had set themselves down before the

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had given the Saxons so complete a rout at Maibelly, that they fled in the utmost disorder, their general Hengist retired, and a few days after drew up his army before his camp against the Britons, who pursued him and fought a second battle fatal to himself, and his troops, great numbers being there cut to pieces, and himself taken and beheaded by the Britons, if we believe British History in preference to the Saxon Chronicle, which says that he died a natural death, worn out with fatigue.

CAMDEN'S *Britannia*. vol. iii, p. 235.

Upon this passage, there is the following note :—

"Mat. Westm. Florilegus ad A.D. 489. The second battle was fought two years after the first. But all this story rests solely on the authority of *this one author*. All the rest say he died a natural death. So Huntind ii, p. 179."

This is a mistake...for we find that the statement of Hengist's violent death did not originate with Matthew of Westminster; but with Geoffry of Monmouth and it is copied from him, by Roger de Wendover as well as Matthew of Westminster.

The character of Hengist is thus briefly but strongly drawn by William of Malmsbury :—

"Vir qui successus suos non minus fraudibus quam viribus urgens; multum genuinæ sævitiæ indulgens, omnia cruentius quam civilius agere mallet." Gest. Rer. Ang. Lib. i. §. 8.

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 42.

"Oeric cognomento Oisc---a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare." BEDA *Eccles. Hist.* Lib. ii, c. 5, § 101.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 43.

city, Octa, acting under the advice of his council, presented himself with his nobles in the camp of the Britons; and thus addressed their leader—"my idols, and my "army must yield before your God, who has created for "you so many friends, and given to you so many "victories. We yield ourselves to your will—to your "mercy, if you will bestow it; to your severity if you choose to exercise it."

The mercy they hoped for, was granted to them;* and Eosa following the example of Octa was not only pardoned, but both brothers with their followers were permitted to occupy all that tract of the country, which adjoins Scotland.† Those who had been pursued as

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* Geoffry of Monmouth states that the manner in which Octa presented himself to Ambrosius, was "with a chain in his hand, and sand upon his head:" (gestans categem in manu, et arenam in capite) and he describes Ambrosius as induced to grant the Saxons mercy, upon the advice of Eldad, the Bishop of Gloucester, who referred to the example given by the Jews, when the Gibeonites yielded themselves to their compassion. The words ascribed to the Bishop are:—Erimus ergo Christiani pejores Judæis, abnegantes misericordiam? Lib. viii, c. 8, p. 138. (Giles's ed.).

† "Supposed to have been Galloway. See Holinshed, part ii, p. 84." Coxe.

In this chapter the writer has up to this point adhered as closely as he could to the authority of Geoffry of Monmouth, and Roger de Wendover; but here it is necessary to omit the long account both have given of the erection of the stones at Stonehenge; which, they agree in saying, were brought from a mountain in Kildare, but originally transferred from Africa to Ireland by giants! To obtain these stones, they declare that a war was waged against the Irish, and that the Irish remonstrated against the folly of the expedition. Such a war might be regarded as symbolical of that long contest which has been vainly

enemies were permitted, by virtue of a treaty, to style themselves the friends and allies of Ambrosius.*

In 492 the Saxon King Ella laid seige to the town of Andred-ceastre.† The kingdom of Sussex which had been formed by Ella, and maintained by force, had latterly become most powerful‡ in consequence of the number of warriors, that had been received into his ranks from Germany. There lay, in the neighbourhood of the Saxon colony, the British city of Andred-ceastre, abutting upon that vast wilderness of forest, the Weald of Kent. The Saxon sovereign, desirous to obtain possession of this place, endeavoured to invest it; but the Britons

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and wickedly carried on against Ireland—in which her ancient monuments of art have been destroyed—her feelings outraged —her resentments excited, and yet no change produced in what her assailants still call her "*superstitions.*" To the cruel and fanatical invaders of Ireland, may still be applied the words, which the old Irish cheiftain Gillomanius is reported to have used, with respect to the sage Merlin, the ferocious Pendragon and his besotted soldiers :—

"Britones bruti sint et stulti. Quis enim hujusmodi stultitiam audivit? Numquid meliora sunt saxa Hiberniæ, quam Britanniæ; ut regnum nostrum pro ipsis ad prœliandum provocaretur? Armate vos viri, et defendite patriam vestram, quia dum mihi vita inirit, non auferent nobis etiam minimum lapidem Chorœ. GALF. MONUM. Lib. viii, c. 12, pp. 141, 142.

* ROGER DE WEND. vol i, p. 43. GALFRED. MONUM. Lib. viii. c. 8.

† ROGER DE WEND. vol. i, p. 48. "In the Saxon Chronicle it is placed in the year 490. Holinshed speaks of Andredeschester, as a place where Roman coins were found, but 'now decaied.' Descript. Engl. p. 217." COXE.

‡ BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib ii. c. 5, §. 100.

resolved to frustate him in such an effort, swarmed around his encampment, and actually besieged the besiegers.* If the Saxons moved against their adversaries, their path was beset by parties in ambush—if they remained within their entrenchments, they were exposed to constant attacks. The day was occupied by assaults, the night with alarms; and when the Saxons, enfuriated by these repeated incursions approached towards the walls of the town, then they found themselves attacked in the rear, by darts and spears and arrows from the British soldiery: if they turned from the walls, and marched against the foe, then the Britons retired, and concealed themselves in the wood—sure however to become again the vigorous assailants of the Saxons, the instant they renewed their attack upon the town. By a war, thus skilfully conducted on the part of the British, severe loss was inflicted on the Saxons. Art was met by art—the Saxons divided the army into two bodies—the one drawn up in such a firm position that it could defy the attacks of the light armed Britons, whilst the other pressed on the siege, and prevented the towns-people from receiving supplies. The latter were exhausted by famine; and the victorious Saxons forced their way into the town, when enfuriated by the losses they had sustained, they massacred every soul to be found within the walls. Even the women and children were victims to a brutal rage, which did not spare the walls, that had helped to withstand their assaults. These were levelled to the earth, and all that was left of what had once been a fair city,

* "Expugnabant obsidentes." H. Hunt.

was the site it formerly occupied, and the memory of those barbarous destroyers who had accomplished its ruin.*

Cerdic and his son Cynric, with five vessels, landed at a place since called Certicshore, in year 494.† The Saxons were attacked by the Britons, the instant their feet touched the beach. The Saxons stood in a close body in front of their ships, and there awaited the assault of the inhabitants. The British rushed madly upon the compact ranks of the enemy—but the latter stood the shock unshrinkingly—beat down the British soldiers—slaughtered them as they came within their reach, and compelled them to fly from the conflict. The Saxons never moved from their position—the Britons frequently assailed, and were as frequently forced to retreat. The battle was one made up of an attacking, and a defending party—the former always advancing or retreating, and the latter passive, destructive and formidable—neither yielding one inch of ground, nor seeking to take an inch from its foes. Thus was the conflict

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* H. HUNTIND. Lib. ii, p. 312.
"It was shewn in this desolate state for many ages" says Henry of Huntingdon, till under Edward I. certain Carmelite friars lately come from Carmel in Palestine, and seeking solitary places, erected a monastery here at the expense of Sir Thomas Albugar, and a town presently sprung up, which with respect to the antient ruined one was called Newenden, q. d. *New town in the valley.*" CAMDEN'S Britannia vol. i, p. 322.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 50. FLOR. WIGORN 546, states the year to be 495. "*Certichesora*—Camden and others place this at Cerdicsand, near Yarmouth in Norfolk, but Carte with greater probability imagines it to have been in Hampshire." COXE.

carried on until the darkness of night separated the combatants, leaving the victory, for which each had fought, still disputable.* The solid fruits of success were however with the Saxons, who, from that day forth, settled themselves down as inhabitants of the lands, of which they had taken forcible possession, and laid the foundation for the West Saxon kingdom, which, in course of time, was destined to rule over every other in the country.†

Whilst the Saxons were thus making aggressions, and securing habitations and lands for themselves, the British were engaged in civil wars. Pascentius the son of Vortigern had returned to the country, a pretender to the throne, and at his instigation, the brave Ambrosius was basely poisoned by a Saxon named Eopa, who gained access to him disguised, as a monk.‡ It is also stated that

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Higden in his Polychronicon, makes Cerdicesore that quæ nunc dicitur Gernemouth, p. 224, which, (if we could rely upon it) would decide that Yarmouth was the spot. Camden mentions a speaking fact in favour of the claims of Yarmouth, "the place is called by the inhabitants at this day, Cerdicksand." TURNER'S History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, p. 271, note 7.

* HEN. HUNTIND. Histor. Lib. ii, p. 312.

† "Quod scilicet regnum cætera omnia sibi processu temporum subjugavit, et monarchiam totius Britanniæ obtinuit." H. HUNTIND. *Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 313.

‡ "In the German Chronicle compiled by Mutius, Ambrosius is said to have fallen at the time of the Emperor Zeno. Ed. Pistor. p. 34." COXE. See Rapins History of England, vol. i, p. 37. (Tindal. fol. 1737). Camden's *Britannia*, pp. 96, 221. (Ed. 1600) and vol. i, p. 165. (Gough's ed.)

Ambrosius was succeeded as supreme monarch over Britain by his brother Utherpendragon, the father of the celebrated Arthur, and that having destroyed Pascentius, and his ally, the Irish King, Gilliomanus, he subsequently defeated Octa and Eosa, the sons of Hengist, and finally was, like his brother Ambrosius, poisoned, and interred with him at Stonehenge.*

In the year 501, a small body of Saxons landed in this country.† They were led by a chieftain named Port, and his two sons Bleda and Magla, and from the first, the place, at which they disembarked was afterwards designated "Portesmouth."‡ Their appearance

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* Abridged from Galfred. Monument. Lib. viii, c. 13—24, pp. 143 to 156. (Giles' ed.) Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 51, to 61. Mat. West. pp. 94, 95, 96, 97. The first states, that Utherpendragon was poisoned by drinking of spring water—that there was near to his palace a spring of very pure water, which he was in the habit of using; that this was poisoned, and the next time the king drank of it, he died immediately, and hundreds along with him; and this being discovered, the spring was covered up. The two last agree in stating that this was the spring of water, that had gushed forth from the earth, in obedience to the prayer of St. Alban, at the time of his martyrdom.

† Rog. de Wend. vol, i. p. 55.

‡ "Portesmouth—Saxon Chron. where it is not however said that the place was so called from the Saxon leader. Carte thinks that the place of their landing was at Portland or Portsham, near Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire. Hist. i, 99." Coxe.

'Athelfleda, wife of King Edgar, gave this island (Portsea) to the new Minster at Winchester, and at the mouth of the harbour our ancestors built a town, which they called from

produced great confusion in the district in which they arrived. The Britons urged on by their native ardour attacked them, not with the steady courage of an army; but with the blind rage of a furious mob—they fought as individuals against a compact body, and as they thus assailed it, were put to death. Their imprudence destroyed them—and a population slaughtered, or routed, gave a certain and easy victory, to the invader Port and his sons.*

The year 508† was remarkable for one of the most desperate battles in which the Saxons and Britons had been engaged against each other. It was fought in the sixtieth year after the coming of *the English* to this country. The leader of the Britons was their supreme monarch Nazanleod; in whose honor that district was then designated "Nazaleoli," which is now Certichesforde.‡ An army

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thence, *Portsmouth*. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 270: Camden declares that it is not from Porta the Saxon, we have the word as applied to Portchester, but because "Ptolemy calls it 'Megas Limen,' or the great port, from its spaciousness."

* H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 312.

In this desperate and successful battle of Port and his sons against the Britons, we have illustrated the rules which governed those savage pirate warriors, and to which reference is thus made by Depping :—

"Dans les lois que le Roi Frode VII donna au pays de Garderige, il est dit que l'homme pui veut acquerir de la gloire par sa bravoure doit attaquer un ennemi seul, se defendre contre deux, et ne pas ceder á trois, et qu'il peut sans honte fuir devant quatre." *Histore des Expeditions Maritimes des Normands.* Vol. i. pp. 38, 39.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 57.

‡ *Chardford.* "At Chardford, he (Cerdic) was met by the British King Nazanleod, whom Carte takes for Aurelius Ambrosius, deriving the name from two Welsh words—*Nad*, defence,

was collected by him, from all parts of Britain, in the hope that he might crush Cerdic, his son Cynric, and their adherents. The latter obtained aid from Esk, the King of Kent; from Ella, the supreme monarch of Sussex; and from Port and his two sons, who had recently arrived in the country. The right wing of the Saxon army was led by Cerdic, the left, by his son, Cynric.

The battle began, and Nazanleod observing that the right wing of the Saxons was the stronger, directed his entire force against it, in the hope, that having destroyed it, he might with comparative ease compel the left to retreat. The charge of the British soldiers broke the Saxon line—its standards were beaten down—its leader Cerdic compelled to fly, whilst the routed soldiers were mercilessly slaughtered. It was, at the moment, that the Britons were thus occupied, that Cynric took the British army in flank—assailed them, as they were scattered in pursuit of their adversaries, and then not only was the British King Nazanleod slain, but the bodies of four thousand of his followers strewed the field of battle. The remainder of the British forces owed their safety to a disorderly retreat. The result was to the Saxons most important. It crowned their arms with the lustre of victory, and left them free to secure to themselves all the substantial enjoyments of success; it afforded to them new possessions; it encreased their dominion by the acquisition

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and *Leod*, people q. d. the defender of the people. *If* Ambrosius reigned 45 years, as Nennius says he did, and Arthur served under him, he will reach the time of this battle. The same author takes the tract of Hants from the border of Wilts, to the edge of Tanley, by Andover to Charford, to be the Natanleage of the Saxon Chronicle."

CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 177, See note (a) same page, and p. 178, for curious speculations on this point.

of new districts; and as it added to their strength, it rendered the natives less capable of contending against them for the future.*

The Saxons were not content with victory; nor did they long remain quiescent in the possession of their new territories; for they fancied that by uniting their entire strength, they would be able to expel the Britons from the island, and to hold for the future in peaceful security, the rich lands, and the noble pastures that the chances of war had bestowed upon them.† In the year 511,‡ they attempted to carry this project into effect. Province after province was invaded by them—a war of extermination was waged against the inhabitants, and of persecution against the Christian religion. The lands of the natives were laid desolate...the people slaughtered...the prelates and the priests massacred...the emblems of their faith struck down...and Christianity itself, might be said, to be extirpated from every spot, that the sword of the Saxon could reach.§

Such was the war, that was carried on, when new reinforcements, added by their numbers, and encreased by their bravery, the strength and courage of the Saxons.‖ In the year 514,¶ that is six years after the battle of

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* H. Huntind. Histor. Lib. ii, pp. 312, 313.

† H. Huntind. Lib. 2, p.213, Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 58.

‡ Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 58.

§ "Christianitatem pæne totam in insula deleverunt." Roger de Wend.

‖ "Quies data est eis annis non multis adveneruntque eis adjutores fortes et multi." H. Huntind.

¶ Roger de Wend, Vol. i, p. 60.

Chardford, the nephews of Certic, Stuph and Withgar, came with two ships * to the western coast of Britain.† The leaders of the British troops in the neighbourhood, of the place at which this new body of Saxons had arrived, determined upon attacking them. The lines of the British army were drawn up with skill and judgment by their generals. A portion of their force marched along the hills, and another advanced through the valley, to the attack of the Saxon host. The advance of the Britons was marked by caution, and deliberation, and as they moved onward the sun arose; its beams glancing on their golden burnished shields made mountain and valley glitter with the martial array of the British army as it proceeded to the conflict. The Saxons, feared for a moment, the result of the battle in which they were about to be engaged; but as the lines closed—as the weapons of death crossed each other, the fortitude of the Britons forsook them—God, whose graces, they had neglected, frowned upon them—and they who marched to battle, like sturdy soldiers, fled from the face of foe, as cowards.

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* "Duabus navibus." Roger de Wend. "Tribus," Sax. Chron. H. HUNT." COXE.

† "The Saxon Chron and Hen. Huntingdon call the place of their landing 'Cerdices-ora,' probably the coast of Dorsetshire. See Carte, i, 199. Tindal supposes it to have been Calshot in Hampshire. Eng. Hist. Rapin. p. 37. Coxe

"Obscure as these leaders" (Stuph and Withgar) "now appear they evidently held a prominent station in Anglo-Saxon tradition, and the grant made to them by Cerdic explains the formation of dependant appanages held by the junior branches of the Royal families. Of their kin was Orlac, 'Pincerna' of King Ethelwulf, and father of Osburga, mother of Alfred." PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. ii, p. cclxi, note 33.

The victory of the Saxons was complete. The lands that was theirs, by right of conquest, they retained—by their bravery they were themselves enriched, whilst the fame of their exploits added to the strength of Cerdic.* It enabled him, as an enemy, to traverse the entire country; and it deterred the Britons from offering to him any effectual resistance. It encreased the power of the Pagans, and compelled the British princes and people to become wanderers and fugitives from their ancient possessions and their former homes.†

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* H. HUNT. HIST. Lib. ii, p. 313.

† The migrations from England to Brittany about this period of time—the Fifth Century—afford to M. De Couïrson the opportunity of proving the existence of a feudal system amongst the insular and continental Britons.

M. De Courson quotes Cæsar (De Bell. Gall. Lib. vi, c. ii.) and observes :—

"Ainsi, des la plus haute antiquité une contume tout-à-fait analogue à la *recommendation* des Germains avait pris naissance chez les Gaulois; et cela, dit le conquerant des Gaules, afin que ceux qui n'etaient pas assez puissants pour se defendre eux-memes pussent se refugier sous l'egide d'un protecteur. (ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilio egeret; suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur)

Cette contume etait encore en vigueur dans la Gaule romaine du temps de Salvien :—

"Tradunt se ad tuendum protegendumque majoribus; *dedititios* se divitum faciunt, *et quasi in jus eorum ditionemque transcendunt.* (De Gubern. Dei. Lib. v, c. 8).

Ce n'est pas tout. Vers la meme epoque, un usage semblable existait chez les Bretons nouvellement etablis dans la peninsule armoricaine.

"Sub eodem tempore, emit Harthoc *transmarinus* quemdam tribum, xxii villas in plebe quae vocatur Brithiac, per trecentos solidos argenteos in aeterna haeredite a Gradlono rege Britonum. Et ille hon habebat filios neque parentes nisi tantum se ipsum solum, et ideo se ipsum *commendavit* praedicto regi atque omnia sua. Sed tamen dum ille defunctus esset, ego Gradlonus

In the same year, Ella,* regarded as the supreme monarch of all the Saxons, expired. He was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Cissa, by whom the town of Chichester,† called after him, (Cicestria) was founded.

At the time, that the British nation seemed on the point of being overwhelmed with ruin, and that the spirits of the people were broken down by misfortune, and discouraged by repeated disasters in battle, the cele-

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accepi ipsam terram, quæ vocata est TREF HARTHEC, cum omnibus ei appendenciis, pratis, silvis, aquis, cultis et incultis, Sancto—Wingaloco, in dicumbitione, do et affirmo propter sepulturam meam atque pretium sepulcri mei." *(Cartulaire de Landevenec, M.S. du XIc siecle).*

Voilà donc des le Ve siecle. la *recommendation* en vigueur chez les Bretons armoricains, comme elle l'etait dans l'ile a la meme epoque. Or, il faut be redire, c'est cette institution vraiment fondamentale qui nous explique et l'origine des benefices et la conversion des terres libres en benefices, et enfin, *dans la derniere periode de la feodalite,* l'etablissment des fiefs proprement dits." DE COURSON Histoire des peuple Bretons, vol. i, pp. 68, 69. Upon the emigrations of the Britons to Armorica, See vol. i. pp. 213, 214, 237, 242, 254.

* H. HUNT. speaks of him as King of the South Saxons, in which kingdom he was succeeded by his son, Cissa. He reigned in Sussex thirty-two years, and as monarch of the Saxons, twenty three. This monarchy was afterwards conferred on Cerdic." See Speed. pp. 295, 326.

† Cissanceaster means nothing more that the *City of Cissa.* It was of little note before the Norman government, and remarkable only for a monastery of St. Peter, and a small nunnery. See CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* vol. i. p. 267.

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 60.

brated Arthur was elected by the Bishops and nobles as their sovereign,* in the hope that the fallen fortunes of the country might be upheld, and the Britons inspired with sufficient bravery to encounter and defeat their oppressors.†

The Saxons had greatly increased in numbers, and in strength,‡ when Arthur, as the general of the British armies, and aided by the kings of Britain, fought against them. His first battle took place at the mouth of the river Glein.‖ His second, third, fourth, and fifth battles were on the banks of another river, the Duglas,§ and in the region of Linnuis.¶ His sixth battle was fought on

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* Dubritius urbis Legionum archiepiscopus associatis sibi episcopis et magnatibus, Arthurum. ....in regem erexerunt." ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 61.

† Qui labantem patriam diu sustinuerit, infractasque civium mentes ad bellum acuerit." W. MALMSB. *Gesta. Rer. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 8.

‡ The description of the battles in which Arthur was engaged is taken from Nennius. We have been induced to prefer it to that given by any other historian, because we find it closely followed by Henry of Huntingdon—a monk, who seemed to have studied the ancient battle fields of his country, and from whom we have endeavoured to translate hitherto, his graphic pictures of the conflicts between Saxons and Britons.

‖ " The Glen in Northumberland, the Glen in Lincolnshire, the Lun in Westmorland, and the Leven in Cumberland are severally supposed to be here alluded to, but the last conjecture appears upon the whole to be the most probable." STEVENSON. (Nennius, p. 48. E. H. S.)

§ " *Flumen Duglas*—supposed by Camden to have been near Ormskirk in Lancashire. Nennius tells us that four of Arthurs' great battles were fought upon this river. For an illustration of their localities. See Whitaker's Hist. Manchester, ii, p. 43, *segg.*" COXE.

¶ " *Linnius*-Lindesey. Carte, however assigns a different locality to this district. See Hist. Eng. i, 205." STEVENSON.

the river Bassas.* His seventh was in the wood of Cliedon, that is, Cat Coit Celidon.† The eighth battle took place near to the Castle of Guinnion.‡ It was in this battle, that Arthur bore upon his shoulders an image of the ever blessed Virgin Mary,§ and by her intercession, and the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Pagans were not only routed, but great numbers of them were slain, in the conflict. His ninth battle was at Chester.‖ The tenth was on the bank of the river called Tribruit.¶ The eleventh was a battle on a mountain now called Agned.** The

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* "*Bassas.* Probably in Hampshire, near Basingstoke, and Basing. STEVENSON."

† *Cat Coit Celidon*—It is presumed by Usher, p. 978, that this was near the city of Lincoln; but this opinion is opposed by Carte, who imagines that it was in Cumbria, (Cumberland). See Hist. Eng. i. 205. Stevenson.

‡ *Guinmon*—This is supposed to be the Vinonia of Ptolemy, now Binchester, in Durham. Stevenson. (Nennius, p. 48. E. H. S.)

§ "Fretus imagine Dominicæ matris quam armis suis insuerat." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 8.
"Upon this subject see Usher Primord, 639." In the Annales Cambriæ, these words occur: lxxii, annus (A.D. 516) Bellum Badonis in quo rex Arthurus, portavit crucem Domini nostri Jesu Christi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in humeros suos et victor fuit." HARDY. (Malmsbury, vol. i. p. 15[illegible] E. H. S.).

‖ *Urbe Legionis*—now Chester. Stevenson. See also Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 40.

¶ *Tribruit*—presumed to be Arthuret, on the Solway. See Carte, Hist. Eng. i, 205. Stevenson.

** *Agned*—' the eleventh is placed at the mountain of Agned-Cath-Regenion, which Camden takes for Cathbregion, or Cadbury, in Somersetshire; but Lloyd and others, more probably for Edinburgh, the old British name for which was Agned, and the east part of the town is overlooked by a high mountain

twelfth was the battle of Mount Badon,* in which Arthur, the conqueror in every one of these engagements, killed with his own hand nine hundred and sixty of the enemy.†

The foreign enemy was repelled in his advances upon the Britons for a period at least of forty years; but the country which he had traversed no longer presented its former aspect—the cities, that had once been inhabited, lay desolate, and defaced with ruins, and the anarchy of civil war raged in the hearts of those, who had previously trembled, when the shout of the conquering Saxon rang in their ears.‡

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which is now called Cadr Arthur, perhaps formerly Cadr Brenion, words signifying either Arthur's, or the King's chair, castle, or fortification." Carte Hist. Eng. i, 205. Stevenson.

* "*Badonici montis*—Carte, i, 204 imagines that this was Mount Badon, in Berkshire, not Caer Badon, or Bath; and that the passage in the M.S., which places it near the Severn, is the interpolation of some later copyist." STEVENSON, (Gildas. p. 34. note i. E. H. S.) "In the Annales Cambriæ the year in which the battle was fought is stated to have been 516. COXE.

† NENNIUS *Hist.* §. 56. H. Hunt. *Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 313, gives the number of men killed in one day by Arthur as 440. "nullo sibi Britonum in adjutorium adherente." GAL. MONUM. states the number at 470, and Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 65, at 480, all put to death by his sword—*Caliburne.* This sword was afterwards given by Richard I, to Tancred, King of Sicily :—

"Rex Angliæ dedit regi Tancredo gladium illum optimum quem Britones *Caliburne* vocant, qui fuerat gladius *Arthuri* quondam nobilis Regis Angliæ. ROGER DE WEND. *Annal.* p. 688.

Of the leaden cross that was found in the grave of Arthur, we are told by Stow: "The crosse of lead, with the inscription as it was found, and taken off the stone was kept in the treasury or reuster of Glastenbury church, *till the suppression thereof* in the reign of King Henry VIII." *Annales*, p. 55.

‡ GILDAS, *Hist.* §. 26. It does not suit the object of this work to enter into the controversy as to whether such a prince

Defeat to the Saxons had hitherto brought fresh soldiers to their aid; success had induced additional numbers to make aggressions, with the hope of founding settlements

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as Arthur was not a coinage of the imagination. The probability is, that he was a petty king, or prince, remarkable for his personal strength, his courage as a soldier, and his skill as a general, and on account of these qualifications accepted by the Britons as their leader in war, as Cerdic was by the Saxons, even at the time that Ella was acknowledged as the supreme sovereign over all the minor Saxon princes in England. The discovery of his remains in the Abbey of Glastonbury, with those of his wife at the time of Henry II, proves that which some, following Higden in his Polychronicon, had denied, that such a person as Arthur ever had existence. See on this subject, Palgrave, vol. i, pp. 400, 401. Turner's *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol i, p. 283-297. Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i, pp. 71, 72. Rapin (by Tindal), vol. i, pp. 34 to 39, and 243. *Vita. Sanct. Gildæ.* §. 5, 6, 7, in the works of GILDAS (E, H. S.) Nennius §. 56, (E. H. S.)W. MALMSB. (E. H. S.) vol. i, p. 14, note 2, and Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 61, to 75. Other writers might be quoted, but we refer to these, as particularly valuable, from the authorities they cite, and the full information they afford respecting a British chieftain who has been the hero of a thousand romances.

Labbæus, on the faith of Ranulfus Cestriensis, (Lib i, c. 52) assigns a council in Britain to the year 519, during the reign of Arthur against the Pelagians. See *Concilia*, vol. iv, p. 1589. Spelman vol. i, pp. 61, 62.

In the epistle of Gildas written at this period, we find recorded the lamentations of a patriot and a priest over the vices of kings, the unworthy conduct of clergymen, and the crimes of a nation, fast hurrying on to perdition, socially and spiritually. The saint bewailed the wickedness of those who had become the slaves of their appetites, the serfs of Satan, instead of being the faithful servants of Christ.

"Qui serviunt non solum ventri, sed et diabolo potius quam Christo." GILDAS *Hist.* §. 26, See also his Epistola, §. 27, &c. Examples of the crimes committed and sacrilege perpetrated by British princes are given by Rog. de. Wend. vol. i, pp. 73, 76, 77.

in the country.* They came without intermission, until at length Saxon kings reigned in Britain.†

In the year 527‡ a body of Pagans arrived and took possession of East Anglia, whilst others were engaged in frequent conflicts with the inhabitants of Mercia, and in the same year the kingdom of East Sussex was founded by Erkenwinnus.§ The year following Cerdic and his son Cynric, with an immense body of forces attacked the Isle of Wight, slaughtered a vast multitude of the British, at Carysbrook Castle,‖ and made the entire island subject to their power.¶

A few years after this victory had been gained, Cerdic King of the West Saxons died (A.D. 534) leaving to his son Cynric all the dominions he had gained in Britain,

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* NENNIUS. *Hist.* §. 56.

† "Et reges a Germania deducebant, ut regnarent super illos in Britannia." *Ibid.*

‡ ROGER DE WEND. vol. i, p. 68.

§ "According to Florence Æscwinnus. Henry Huntingdon mentions Sledda, as the first King, omitting Erkenwine, as Speed observes, because he held the kingdom as feodary of the Kings of Kent. Malmsbury calls him tenth in descent from Woden." COXE.

‖ *Withgaresbi*—so called from Withgar, brother of Stuph now Caresbrooke Castle. The Saxon Chronicle places this action in 530. COXE.

"Lluyd, in his fragment, says' there was a city there formerly called *Caerbro*, i. e. *Cassium Tractus*. Others derive it from the Celtic Caerbroc, the City of Yew." CAMDEN'S Britannia, vol. i. p. 209.

¶ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 68, 69.

with the exception of the Isle of Wight, which he bestowed upon his nephew Withgar.*

The kingdom of Northumberland dates its commencement from the year 548. The nobles of the Angles had, with much toil and continual battles, at length subdued the native Britons, and then unanimously placed at their head, as king, Ida, one of the many descendants of Woden.† Ida had twelve sons—and these with their father, accompanied by sixty ships, had landed at Flamborough. He subsequently built Bamborough Castle‡—a place that he first surrounded with wooden palisades, but afterwards encircled with a wall.‖

Saxons and Britons became involved in frequent contests, in which numbers on both sides were destroyed,

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* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Rer. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 16.

"The foundation of the Kingdom of the West-Saxons is assigned to the year 519, by the Saxon Chronicle. Cerdic and Cynric took the Isle of Wight in the year 530, and gave it to their two nephews, Stuf and Withgar. Sax. Chron." HARDY.

See also H. HUNT. p. 314, ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 76.

† NENNIUS § 61. H. HUNT. Lib. ii, p. 314. Mr. Turner (Hist. Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 308.) attaches some credit to the assertion of a Welsh bard, that Ida fell in battle against a Welsh hero, Owen of Reged, because "Huntingdon calls him at his accession "Juvenem nobilissimum." The man certainly cannot with any justice be designated "a youth," who has twelve sons capable of bearing arms.

‡ "Bamborow, sometyme a huge and great castle, one of the strongest in these parts." Here was a cell to Nostel Abbey, York, valued at £116 *per ann.* granted at the dissolution to John Forster; a house of pious preachers founded by Henry III; "a fayre college a little without the town, now clean down," and an hospital of St. Mary Magdalen. Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. vii, fol. 77, 78, vol. viii, fol. 113. See Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 519. (Gough).

‖ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 77, 78

but the results were generally to the advantage of the former.*

In the year 560,† Ida king of Northumberland died; and upon his death the Kingdom became divided into two parts—the one part named Deira was held by Ella, the son of Yffa, a distinguished general, who reigned over it for thirty years. The other part, Bernicia, was governed by Adda, the son of Ida, who reigned for seven years. Ella, the King of Deira is the monarch, whose name is mentioned in the life of the Pope St. Gregory.‡

The cause, that led St. Gregory to take an anxious and earnest interest in the salvation of our nation, is one, that derived as it is, by tradition, from our ancestors ought not to be buried in the silence of oblivion.‖ It is stated, that on a certain day some foreign merchants, recently arrived at Rome, exposed a great variety of things for sal , in the Forum; and amongst the number of persons, who had gathered there as purchasers, was St. Gregory;§ but his attention was instantly attracted towards a few boys, about to be sold as slaves.¶ These hapless young

* Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 80. "The battles of Salisbury and Banbury are probably here intended, in which Cyrnic, and his son, Ceaulin were the victors. They are placed in the Saxon Chronicle in the year 552 and 556." Coxe.

† Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 81.

‡ Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 81. In W. Malmsb §. 45, and Saxon Chron. he is called Alla : see Acta Sanctorum. (Mart) vol. ii, pp. 133, 134.

‖ Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 1, §. 89.

§ He was then Archdeacon of Rome. W. Malmsb. *Gesta. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 45.

¶ The utter brutality of infidelity, into which the English had sunk, and from which a Pope of Rome rescued them, is fully exhibited in the terrible spectacle of children remarkable for

creatures were remarkable for their dazzling white skins, their bright complexion, their beauteous figures, and their fair and flowing ringlets of hair. He enquired from what country they had come, and he was told from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were as fine and beautiful in their appearance as these youths. Again, he enquired, if these Islanders were Christians, or still immersed in the errors of Paganism, and when he was told, that they were Pagans, he sighed heavily, and deeply, as he exclaimed. "Oh! grief, of griefs, that the author of "darkness, should lay claim to beings of such fair forms "—that there should be so much grace in the counten- "ance, and the soul still so completely destitute of it." He next asked of what race were these men, and, when

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their beauty, being sold by their parents, in order that they might be disposed of, as slaves—and this too in accordance with a *national custom*—"Nationi consuetudine," W. MALMSB. To that spectacle, affecting, as it did, the tender heart, and the pious soul of the Sainted Gregory, England was indebted for its knowledge of salvation. "Venales ergo ex Anglia pueri, Romam deducti, saluti omnium compatriotarum occasionem dedere." W. MALMSB. See vol. i. p. 63, note 1, by MR. HARDY. (E. H. S.)

St. Gregory's efforts to mitigate the pains of slavery, and in some cases to prohibit it, as actually sinful, were not confined to England, see *Acta Sanct.* (Mart.) vol ii. pp. 195, 196. S. GREGOR. *Oper. Omn.* pp. 668, 689, 868, 929, 930. His sanctioning the sale of church-plate to redeem fellow christians from slavery is thus expressed.

Et sacrorum canonum, et legatia statuta permittunt ministeria Ecclessiæ pro captivorum esse redemtione vendenda. * * * Nam sicut omnino grave est frustra Ecclesiastica ministeria venumdare, sic iterum culpa est, imminenti hujusmodi necessitate, res maxime desolatæ Ecclesiæ captivis suis præponere, et in eorum redemtione cessare, Lib. vii, Ep. 38.

S. GREGORIUS. *Oper. Om.* vol. ii. pp. 886, 887.

he heard that they were "*Angles*"—"Justly indeed are they," he observed, "so named, for their face is *angelic*, "and they themselves ought to be co-heirs of the *angels* "in heaven."

"But how," asked he, "is the province called from which they come? It was replied, "Deira."

"*De ira Dei*, (from the wrath of God,) they must indeed be torn," he again observed, "and called to the mercy of God. But what is the name of the King of that Province?"

It was said "Alla."

"Then," rejoined St. Gregory, alluding to the name of Alla, or Aella "*Alleluia*, in praise of God, the Creator of all, shall yet be hymned in that portion of the earth."*

Hastening to the Pope of Rome,† (for he was not at the time elected Pontiff), he besought his Holiness, that some ministers of the gospel might be sent to Britain to the

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* In this account we have followed Bede literally—perhaps, some may prefer, the recital of Malmsbury, for its brevity and neatness—viz. "angli *angelis* similes, *de ira* eruentur, et *alleluia* cantare docerentur." St. Gregory was not content with well turned sentences—he performed good actions. We learn from ETHELWERD (Lib. ii, c. 1, p. 835) that he took these children, instructed them as christians, and was determined to depart with them to their country. Upon the text in Bede, the following note is given by his editor, Mr. STEVENSON (E. H. S.)

"The conversation here detailed must have happened before A.D. 588. According to the Saxon Chronicle, Ælla commenced his reign in 560 (Florence says 559) and died in 588. In the Saxon version he is called Ælle."

† "According to Paulus Diaconus, this Pontiff was Pelagius. A.D. 578,-590, but Johannes-Diaconus asserts that Pope Gregory applied to Pope Benedict, A.D. 574-579." STEVENSON.

W. MALMSB., says positively it was from Pope Benedict that permission was demanded. Lib. i. §. 45. This is confirmed by the Rev. ALBAN BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. v. p. 333 (St. Gregory).

English race, in order that the people might be converted to Christianity; and at the same time declared, that if it were the will of God, and sanctioned by the Apostolic head of the church, he was prepared to assist in the accomplishment of the good work. The Pontiff assented —St. Gregory was prepared to act as a missionary; but the citizens of Rome would not permit his departure from the city.* The task, he was desirous to perform, he was obliged to entrust to other hands: and as soon as he was raised to the Pontifical chair, his long thought of, long wished for project of converting Britain was carried into effect. He sent priests thither—he aided them in every way—but most of all by his exhortations and his prayers. These facts derived from ancient documents, we have considered it right to insert in this history.†

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* "Although he was at this time only a simple monk his extraordinary virtues and endowments had so endeared him to the Romans, that on discovering his intention and that he had left his convent, they pursued, and having overtaken him, when already advanced upon his journey, constrained him, notwithstanding all his efforts and entreaties to the contrary, to return to Rome again." *Rome under Paganism and the Popes* vol. ii, p. 233.

The conduct of the Roman citizens on this ocaasion is designated by Wm. Malmsbury as "factiosus civium amor," Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 45. Upon finding that St. Gregory had left Rome, they are said to have thus addressed the Pontiff— "Petrum offendisti, Romam destruxisti, quia Gregoriam dimisisti," BROMPTON. *Iornal Hist.* p. 726, see GREG. MAGNI *opera omnia.* vol. ii, p.796. (Paris. 1705) LAU. *Gregor* 1, *der Grosse.* pp. 35, 36, 37.

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. i, §. 89. 90. NEN. Hist. §. 63. S. GREGOR. *oper. omn.* vol. ii, p. 1110. In his Epistle (Lib. vi. Ep. 7) he desires Candidus to purchase garments for the poor, or English boys, in order that they might, in monastries be instructed in the Christian religion—"Vestimenta pauperum, vel pueros Anglos, * * ut in monasteriis dati Deo proficiant, comparet."

About the same period of time, and nearly in the same year, Ceaulin, King of the West Saxons, and Ethelbert the great, King of Kent, commenced their respective reigns.* The former had distinguished himself by his victories over the Britons, at Salisbury,† during the lifetime of his father Cynric, and again in a second battle at

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* ROG. DE WEND. vol i, p. 80, 81. The Saxon Chronicle gives the accession of both in the same year, 560. Rog. de Wend. places the first in 559, and the second in 562. See note by Coxe, vol i, p. 83. "(Rog. de Wend. E. H. S.) "Although the Saxon Chronicle states (under the year 565) that Aethelbert held his kingdom fifty three winters, yet, under the year 616, it states, that he died in A.D. 616, after he had reigned fifty-six winters. There is still, however, a discrepancy, for if Aethelbert ascended the throne in 565 (according to all the manuscripts now known) and died in 616, his reign would only have been fifty-one years. Wheloc and others however assign the year 560, but upon what authority it has not been ascertained." Hardy (W. Malmsb. vol. i, p. 16, note 7).

The words of Rog. de Wend. under the date of 560 are these: "Eodem anno, Athelbertus rex magnus Cantuariorum, *secundum quosdam* regnare incepit, quibus etiam Beda consentet; verumtamen aliorum sententia probabilior esse videtur."

† "Kenric the Saxon, having defeated the Britons in 553 was the first Saxon that took it—(old Salisbury). Canute the Dane in 1003 did it great damage by burning it.....In the reign of Richard I, the inhabitants began to abandon the place, both on account of the insolence of the soldiers and the want of water, and settled about a mile off to the South-East.....Petrus Blesensis mentions this removal in his epistles, where he writes thus of old Sorbrodunum: "It was a spot exposed to the winds, "barren, dry, desart, confined, where stood a tower, which, "like that in Siloom, *oppressed the inhabitants* under the "weight of a long bondage, and afterwards, on that hill, *the "church of Salisbury was in captivity.* Let us go down then in "God's name, unto the plain, where the valleys abound with "corn, and the spacious fields are fruitful."

And the poet above cited sings of it:

Quid domini domus in castro? nisi fœderis arca
In templo Baalim; carcer unterque locus.

Barbary-hill,* upon which occasion, the Britons had not only fortified their position, but arranged their army, in the manner of the Romans. The British force was divided into nine lines of infantry—three in the front, three in the centre, and three in the rear, and these were supported by strong bodies of cavalry, of slingers and archers. The Saxons seemed to despise the arts of war, and to rely solely upon their personal strength; for, collecting their entire force, into one compact mass, they boldly rushed upon the British lines, and by the weight and impetus of their charge, dashed down the standards, pierced their enemies' line, and flinging away their spears, hewed at them with their swords. The Britons, broken and dispersed, continued the conflict for the remainder of the day, and although defeated gave fearful proofs of their vigor, their courage, and their determination.†

" When they came down, that they might begin with the altar of God, Richard Poore, the Bishop, laid the foundation of a beautiful church, in a very pleasant place, before called Merifield. The building with its lofty spire and double transept, venerable by a kind of sacred cheerfulness and majesty, was finished at prodigious expense in forty years, and dedicated in 1258, in the presence of Henry III.....The citizens, while the bishop was raising the house of God, applied themselves to building the city, *settling the form of its government,* and conveying canals into every street." CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* vol. 1, pp. 132, 133.

There is much of the *unknown history* of England in this extract—we see the oppressors of the people, are also the oppressors of the Church—then, both laymen and churchmen uniting together, and the result of their union, prosperity, happiness, liberty, and the advancement of piety.

* See CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* vol. i, p. 164. He gives the date of this battle, in the year 556.

† H. HUNT. Lib. ii. p. 314. Writing in the twelfth century this sage monk remarks, that the men of his time, could never

In the year 568,* Ceaulin, and his brother Chuta, were compelled to take up arms against King Ethelbert, who invaded their kingdom, with an army that was confident of victory. The hostile forces encountered at Wimbledon, where Ethelwerd's two generals, Oslaf and Cneban,† were killed; and he himself compelled, (after suffering a severe loss in men,) to retreat back to Kent. This was the first battle that took place between the Saxons, in Britain.‡

In 578 Vortipore succeeded Aurelius Conran, as King of the Britons. He reigned for three years, and was frequently victorious over the invaders. His successor was Malgo, a man distinguished for his talents, and his victories, but consigned to eternal infamy for his vices.‖

In the year 580, the conflicts between the Saxons and Britons were renewed with greater rigour than ever.¶ Cutha, as leader of the army of his brother Ceaulin, fought with and defeated the British at Bedford, and the result of the victory, was the immediate capture of four fortified places, Leighton, Ailesbury, Bensington,

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be able to fight such a battle as that of *Beranburi*—that one or other would have run upon the first charge, "Viris scilicit modo parvæ staturæ et vigoris, et audaciæ existentibus."

* Rog. de Wend. "In the ninth year of the reign of Ceaulin" H. Hunt.

† "From which last probably the arcular fortification to be seen here (at Wimbledon) was called *Bensbury for Cnebensbury.*" Cam. *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 244.

‡ H. Hunt. *Hist.* Lib. ii. p. 315.

‖ Rog. de Wend. vol. i. pp. 86, 87, Gildas. *Epist.* §. 31, 33.

¶ Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 86.

and Eynsham;* and in a few years afterwards Ceaulin and his son Cuthwine, (for Cutha had died the same year the battle of Bedford took place) encountered the forces of the British, at Derham.† Three of the British kings, Commagil, Candidan, and Farinmagail arranged the men, dazzling with armour, under their command, in close lines, and in accordance with the strict rules of war. The Britons proved themselves to be stout as well as properly disciplined soldiers; but Heaven, offended against them, would not bless their arms with victory. Their three kings fell on the field of battle; the British forces then fled—the Christians were routed, and a frightful massacre

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* See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, pp. 42, 249, 256. Amongst the notices of these places, the following are worthy of being extracted:

"St. Osith, daughter to Fredwald, was born in Queredon (one mile and a half from Ailesbury.) There was a house of Grey Friars in the town of (Ailesbury) towards the south, founded about the tyme of Richard II. The lord of Ormond was in tyme of men's mind counted Chief Lord of Alesbury, since Bolein by partition of land.

"There was, as some say, a nunnery or other house of religion, whereas the parsonage is now, and record yet remaineth that this house should be of the Maturines or *fratres ordinis Sanctæ Trinitas.*" (Leland) James Earl of Ormond, founded the priory, the only one for friars in the county, which was valued at £ 3. 2s. 5d. per annum, and *granted to Sir John Baldwin, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas* (Tanner.) Here were two hospitals afterwards united and sunk, so early as Edward III. The manor was held by William de Ailesbury by the tenure of finding litter for the King's bed, straw for his chamber, and three eels when he came in winter: in summer, besides straw for the bed, he was to find sweet herbs for the bed, and two green geese, and all thrice a year, if the King come so often." CAM. *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 42.

† See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 383.

inflicted upon them; whilst the Saxons obtained possession of three noble towns, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath.*

Another battle took place between the West Saxons

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* Hen. Huntind. Hist. Lib. ii, p. 315.

"Osric King of Northumberland built here (at Gloucester) by leave of Ethelred the Mercian, a house for nuns, over whom Kineburga, Eadburga, and Eva, Queens of Mercia, successively presided. Edelfleda, that famous lady of the Mercian, adorned this city with that church in which she is buried. Not long after, when the Danes had ravaged the whole country, these holy virgins were turned out, and the Danes in 871, according to the old historian Ethelwerd "fixed their tents, in the town of Gloucester, after various turns." At which time the other churches, being destroyed, Aldred Archbishop of York, and Bishop of Worcester, *built the monks another*, now *the cathedral*, having a Dean and six Prebendaries. But this in the later ages received an additional ornament. For *the abbotts* T. Hanley and T. Farley *added the lady chapel.* N. Morvent *built the beautiful west from the ground; Abbott* G. Horton *the north transept, Abbot* Frowcester *the very neat cloister*, and *Abbot* Lebroke *added the lofty tower.* The south side was *repaired with the offerings of the people at the tomb* of King Edward II., buried here under a monument of alabaster."

CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 381, (Gough's Ed).

It would be well, if some of the Protestant Dissenters, who of late years have suffered, for non-payment of Church rates, would reflect on these practices of monks and abbots, when "Popery" was predominant in this country. The facts are quoted on *Protestant* authority. We take from the same, the annexed reference as to Bath:—

In the year 577, "it surrendered for the first time to the Saxons, and in a few years recovering itself assumed the name of *Akemancester*, and acquired much splendour. For Osbrick in 666, *founded a nunnery*, and soon after when it fell into the hands of the Mercians, King Offa built another church. Both were destroyed in the Danish wars. From their ruins afterwards arose a new church, dedicated to St. Peter, in which Edgar the Peaceable was crowned. He granted many privileges to the city, the memory of which the citizens still preserve by annual games .....Soon after the arrival of the Normans, Robert Mowbray, nephew to the Bishop of Coutance, who had raised a powerful rebellion against William Rufus, plundered and burnt it. It recovered in a short time by the help of John De Villula, native

and the British in the year 584.* The scene of conflict was Fretherne,† in which one of the leaders of the Saxons, after a dreadful and destructive engagement was overwhelmed with numbers, and killed by the British. The English seeing their leader had fallen took to flight; but King Ceaulin rallied his scattered troops, brought them a second time against the British, and in so doing changed the fortune of the day—the conquerors were

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of Tours in France, who being Bishop of Wells, bought this city, according to Malmsbury, for five hundred marcs, and transferred hither the episcopal see, retaining also the title of Bishop of Wells, and *built a new Church for his seat here.*" Vol. i, pp. 84 85.

To Camden's information the following may be added, as to the Bishop, by whom the Church of St. Peter at Bath, was built in the time of the Normans. Its founder was Robert, who became Bishop of Bath in the reign of King Stephen. This Robert was a monk of Lewes ("claris parentibus exstitit oriundus, vir religiosus, et omnibus omnia factus.") He built at a great expense, the Church of the blessed Peter the apostle at Bath, and *also a chapter-house and cloister, dormitory, refectory and infirmary;* whilst the Church of Wells was built by his counsel and assistance ("Capitulum quoque et claustrum, dormitorium et refectorium, et infirmatorium nichilominus edificari fecit.")

Historiola de Primord's. (Edited by the Rev. Hunter Camden Society.) pp. 23, 24.

"These conquests are placed in the Saxon Chron., in the year 571; the taking of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath six years afterwards." The three Kings defeated are "supposed by Mr. Turner to have been the Caranmail, and Cyndylan mentioned in one of the elegies of Llywarch Hen. p. 71, and Fernvail, then reigning in Gwent, or Monmouthshire." Coxe.

* Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 88.

† "*Frithenleiam*—Fretherne, in Gloucestershire. Malmsbury tells us that Cuth and his three sons of the same name were killed at this battle, Ussher with less probability, places the scene of this action at Stanmore in Westmoreland, from Fordun, Scoti-Chron." Coxe.

conquered—their lands laid waste, and the Saxons enriched with an immense spoil.*

By his conduct and his victories, Ceaulin had rendered himself an object of fear to his fellow countrymen, of detestation to the Britons, and the source of evil to both.† The Britons, who in the time of his father and grandsire, had been permitted either as their assumed tributaries, or allowed, under the protection of their fortresses at Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath, to escape the worst evils of war, were persecuted by him into resistance; defeated in battle; deprived of their cities, and driven as their last places of refuge to the marshes, and the mountains.‡ The tyrant, who had afflicted them, at last rendered himself so detestable to his own subjects; that English and British, alike conspired against him, and in a great battle that took place at Wodnesdic,§ Ceaulin was, in

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* "Victores vicit." H. Hunt. p. 315. Ethelwerd, Lib. ii. p. 835. Flor. Wigorn. p. 553.

† "Anglis stupori, Britonibus odio, utrisque exitio." W. Malmsb. Lib. i, §. 17.

‡ Rog. de Wend. (vol. i, p. 80) describes a general persecution of the British, as Christians, under the date of 586. He fixes that as the period, when the remnant of the British nation who would not become *the slaves* of the Saxons fled into Wales and Cornwall, whilst "priests and monks were driven in a body into exile, and their churches delivered over to the flames." It was too at this time that the church of St Alban, built in a style of magnificence worthy of the merits of the great protomartyr, was levelled to the earth. (p. 91) See the notes (2) and (1) by Mr. Coxe. (Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 89 and 91).

§ H. Hunt. depicts this battle, which he calls, of *Wodnesbirre*, as one between Britons and Saxons, in which the latter were defeated with immense loss—because the Saxons though conquered were slow to retreat—"in fuga segniores, valde contriti sunt."

the thirty first year of his reign, defeated, driven into exile, and there shortly afterwards died, despised by those who had feared him—a spectacle of triumph to those he had once mercilessly persecuted.*

With Credda, the kingdom of the Mercians commenced in the year 585,† and in its establishment was perfected the number of Saxon monarchies in this country. There were eight of these kingdoms—Kent, Sussex, Essex, East Anglia, Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria, divided into Deira and Bernicia. The capitals of these kingdoms were Canterbury, Chichester, London, Norwich, Winchester, Lincoln, and York.‡

(p. 315) Flor. Wigorn. (p. 554) calls the place of battle Wodnesbeorth, and states the result to be the expulsion of Ceaulin, after a reign of thirty-three years.

* W. Malmsb. Lib i, §. 17. "Miserandum sui spectaculum hostibus exhibuit."

"The locality of the battle is uncertain, by some supposed to be at Wandsdyke in Wiltshire; by others at Wemborough. The Saxon Chronicle states that there was a great slaughter at Woddesbeorge in the year 591, and Ceaulin was driven from his kingdom. He died in the year 593." Hardy.-(W. Malmsb. vol. i, p. 28. E. H. S.)

† Rog. de Wend. vol. 1. p. 88. H. Hunt. Hist. Lib. ii, p. 315.

‡ R. Wend. p. 89. The kingdom of Kent was established in 457 by Hengist; Sussex by Ella in 500; Wessex by Cerdic in 519; Essex by Erkwennin in 530, East Anglia by Wffa in 571; Bernicia by Ida in 547.; Deira by Ella in 560; and Mercia by Credda in 585. Turner's *History of the Saxons*, vol. i, pp. 265, 316, 323. 324. Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 88. See also W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §, 49, and for the ancient divisions of their kingdoms and their several bishoprics, Lib. i, §. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104.

A curious mistake by an ancient monk is thus pointed out in the *Acta Sanctorum*:—

The Bretwalda,* over the other Saxon kings, in the year 596, was Ethelbert king of Kent—the third of the

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"Ita apud monachum Egolismensem in vita Caroli magni, Eardulphus Rex Nordanimbrorum, id est *de Irlanda* insula (imo de *Deirlanda* provincia) Britanniæ pulsus, &c." vol. ii, (mart) p. 134, (c).

* "The Saxon Chronicle calls him one of the seven Bretwaldas who preceded Egbert. Whether this was a mere title assumed by Hengist, and afterwards by Ella, and continued by the most successful Anglo-Saxon prince of his day, or conceded in any national council of all the Anglo-Saxons; or ambitiously assumed by the Saxon King, that most felt and pressed his temporary power; whether it was an imitation of the British unbennaeth, or a continuation of the Saxon custom of electing a warcyning, cannot now be ascertained." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i, pp. 331, 332.

"The title of *Bretwalda*, ruler or emperor of Britain, placed the possessor as much above the kings as each king was above his aldermen. The title was evidently assumed in imitation of the Roman imperial dignity, whether as exercised by the legitimate emperors, or the British tyrants; and the idea of such a supremacy is wholly foreign to any species of government existing amongst the Saxons bofore they came to Britain. The coin of the Bretwalda, rudely copied from the medal of Carausius, exhibits the wolf and bears the ensigns of old Rome. PALGRAVE'S Hist. of England, vol. i, pp. 76, 77.

The later kings who possessed the same kind of authority as the Bretwalda, generally took the title of '*Basileus*, or some other equivalent implying imperial sovereignty." PALGRAVE'S Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. ii, p. cccix.

There seems to have been a title or authority like to that of the Bretwalda amongst the Britons and Gauls anterior even to the Roman Emperors:—

"Suessiones, suos esse finitimos; latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere: apud eos fuisse *regem* nostrâ etiam memoriâ Divitiaticum, totius Galliæ *potentissimum;* qui cum magnæ partis harum regionum, tum *etiam Britanniæ imperium* obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam; ad hunc, *propter justitiam prudentiamque, summam totius belli, omnium voluntate,* deferre." CÆSAR *de Bel. Gal.* Lib. ii, c. 4.

English monarchs, that was recognized as the supreme sovereign over all the provinces south of the river Humber. His predecessors in this dignity were Ella, king of the South Saxons, and Ceaulin of the West Saxons; his successors were Redwald, king of the East Angles, then three kings of the Northumbrians—first, Edwin, a powerful monarch, commanding the Saxons as well as Britons, inhabitants of Britain— with the exception of Kent, and who by his arms subdued the Mehâvian islands;* next Oswald and Oswy--both equalling him in the extent of their dominions, and the last making the Picts and Scots in the Northern parts of Britain, tributary to his throne.†

Britain was subjugated—its old inhabitants proscribed —the Kings of the Angles and the Saxons occupied the lands—secured their domains, and pushed to the uttermost limits their respective sovereignties. They resolved that in their new possessions, Britain and the memory of the British should perish; and therefore by common consent determined that this island which had been known as *Britain*, from its founder Brutus,‡ should henceforth only

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* The Isles of Man and Anglesea.

† Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 5. § 100.

‡ "Britannia insula a quodam Bruto, consule Romano vocatur." Nennius § 6. We have purposely omitted the ancient romance of English History which traces as the first settler in Britain, the Trojan Brutus. (See Geoffry of Monmouth, Roger. de Wendover, Matthew of Westminster, &c.) The romantic story, which has been dilated upon by Hollinshed (see first, second and third book of his Historie, vol. i.—427 to 467,) and other veritable abominators of Popery, is thus treated by the monk, Henry of Huntingdon.

"Nunc a quibus, et quo tempore primum inhabitata fuerit dicendum est: quod in Beda non inventum in aliis authoribus reperi: scripserunt enim a *Dardano* principium emanasse Brittonum. *Dardanus* autem pater fuit Troii, *Troius* autem pater

be called "England."*

Priami et *Anchisæ; Anchises* pater Æneæ; *Æneas* pater *Ascanii; Ascanius* pater Silvii; Silvius aut cum uxorem duxisset; et prægnans esset, prædixit magus quidam filium, unde prægnans erat, interfecturum patrem suum. *Occiso mago pro vaticinatione illa*, natus est filius, et vocatus est *Bruto*. Post multum vero intervallum, dum ipse luderet cum pueris, ictu sagittæ occidit patrem, non industria sed casu. Quamobrem expulsus ab Italia pervenit in Galliam; ibique condita civitate Turonorum, quæ vocatur Turonis, invasit tractum Armoricanum: de tractu autem Armoricano huc adveniens australes sibi partes Insulæ ingentis vendicavit: et ex nomine suo Britanniam vocavit: dicunt autem illi authoros quod quando *Bruto* regnabat in Britannia, *Hely* sacerdos judicabat Israel: et *Postumus* sive *Silvius* filius *Æneæ* regnabat apud Latinos, cujus nepos erat *Bruto*." (Histor. Lib. i, p. 300.)

The reader who feels a curiosity in comparing the faithfulness of a Catholic with an Anti-Catholic history, will find both exemplified by looking at Holinshed's Chronicle, volume the first, and the Rt. Revd. Dr. Milner's History and Antiquities of Winchester. In the first volume Holinshed treats of the antiquities of England—Dr Milner of the Antiquities of Winchester. Holinshed in remarking upon the conduct of Tiberius says of him, "This man more favourable to this monster, than our papists were to the bodies of the dead, who *tore them to pieces to make money of them*." (p. 21) In page 45, his marginal note is *Heresie and monastical life* brought into Britaine by Pelagius." On the other hand, look at the candour of the Catholic bishop in refuting the claim of a monk to greater antiquity for his order, than that to which it was really entitled. History of Winchester, vol. i, p. 32. (note ‡) We may observe that in Dr. Milner's work will be found the best History of England previous to the arrival of the Romans.

* Roger de Wend. vol. i, pp. 91,92, 93.

"Communiter, statuerunt quatenus insula, non a Bruto Britannia, sed Anglia vocaretur." De celui Brut descendirent tous les roys qui puis furent en la terre, jusques au temps que Anglois, que vinrent de une des contrées de Saissorgne qui estait appellee Angle, pristrent la terre, des quels elle est apelée Angleterre." *Les grandes Chroniques de France.* Lib. i, c. i.

Roger de Wendover, under the date A.D. 560, thus refers to the coming of the celebrated Columb-kill from Ireland:

"Eodem anno Sanctus Columbanus, de Scotia veniens in Britanniam, clarus habetur." Vol. i, p. 83.

The Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 560) thus refers to the same event:—

"And Columba the mass-priest came to the Picts, and converted them to the belief of Christ. They are the dwellers by the northern moors. And their King gave him the island of Hii, consisting of five hides, as they say, where Columba built a monastery. There he was Abbot two-and-thirty winters; and there he died when he was seventy-seven years old. The place his successors yet have. The Southern Picts were long before baptised by Bishop Ninnia, who was taught at Rome. His church or monastery is at Hwiterne, hallowed in the name of St. Martin, where he resteth with many holy men: Now, therefore, shall there be ever in Hii an abbot, and no bishop: and to him shall be subject all the bishops of the Scots; because Columba was an abbot—no bishop." Saxon Chronicle, translated by the Revd. J. Ingram, pp. 25, 26. See ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 39. BED. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c, 4. §. 158, 159, NENNIUS, §. 16. *Act. Sanct.* (Jun.) vol. ii, p. 180. ETHELWERD, *Hist.* Lib. i, p. 834. *Britannia Sacra.* vol. i, p. 551. W. MALMSB. *De Antig. Glaston.* Rer. Ang. Script. vol. iii. p. 298. FORDUN. *Scot. Hist.* Lib. iii. c. 26, 27, 29, 31, 34. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* vol. vi. p. 762.

This St. Columba, the founder of an hundred monasteries is not to be confounded with St. Columba, his contemporary who laid down rules for those devoting themselves to a monastic life—rules which he received from his fathers, "the monks of Ireland." By these rules the monks were directed to pass every day "in fasting, prayer, and reading, and except, on festival days, manual labour." (Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. xi, p. 911).

It is worthy of notice the manner in which a Catholic and an Anti-Catholic writer refer to the literary acquirements of St. Columbia.

The Revd. Alban Butler says: "Such was the progress he made in the sacred sciences as to be esteemed a kind of oracle in them.....Sixteen discourses or instructions which he made to his monks.....are published in the library of the Fathers. (Bibl. Patrum. t. 12, p. 9—21). In them we discern the author's great pentration and light in spiritual things, and admire his affective piety and unction, and a doctrine above what is human, to use the expression of a contemporary writer (ap. Mabil. Act. Ben. t. 2, p. 80, u. 11). The short poems of St. Columban on moral and pious subjects, show him to have been

a good poet for the age in which he lived, and to have been acquainted with profane history and mythology." (Lives of Saints, vol. vi, pp. 910, 911).

No such spirit as this animates the Anti-Catholic, Mr. Thomas Wright, who thus grudgingly admits, where he cannot deny, the literary qualifications of the Saint.

"*It is difficult*, with what remains of his writings, to form any just estimate of *the degree of learning* possessed by Columbanus. His poems shew, that *he was not ignorant* of ancient history and fable, and that he had read attentively *a certain class of authors;* and his letters on the period of observing Easter prove that he was well acquainted with the theological works *then in repute. It has been conjectured* from a passage at the end of one of his letters, that *he could read Greek and Hebrew; but* the inference *seems hardly authorised* by the observation which gave rise to it." (Biographia Britannia Literaria. vol. i, p. 157).

Of this monk and saint, it is observed by the able and honest French historian, De Courson, that:

Tout le monde sait que, grâce au zèle vraiment apostolique de Colm et de ses disiples, le nord de la Gaule où le Christianisme avait a peine penetré, fut conquis a la vraie foi et a la civilisation 'Ces moines Irlandais, dit M. Mignet, reprirent la ligne du Rhin perdue depuis plusieurs siecles pour la civilisation occidentale.' Grace à leur travaux, les forets s'eclaircirent et leur massés, autrefois compactes, offrirent bientot de vastes espaces cultives. Telle fut l'œuvre du pieux cenobite. Mais ce role n' a point paru assez grandiose aux poetes de la philosophie de l'histoire. Ils ont voulu faire de Colomban le Luther de vic. siecle.. ' (Histoire des Peuples Bretons, vol. i, p. 294).

M. De Courson then passes under review the inventions, the exaggerations, and the fabrications of A. Thierry, of St. Priest, of Ampère, of Michelet and other French writers. (Vol. i, pp. 298—302). Above all the rest, the person covered with the most shame, is the unfortunate man, Michelet, convicted by him of a wilful falsification of the words of St. Columba. Vol. i, pp. 296, 297. See also with respect to St. Columba, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, Lib. iv, c. 15, vol: i. pp. 284, 287. (Ed. P. Paris).

CHAPTER. III.

EVENTS IN THE REIGN OF ETHELBERT.—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

British priests expelled by the Saxons. Mission of the Monk, St. Augustine. Dangers and difficulties of the English mission. Letters of Pope Gregory...The virtues of this Pope assailed by French and English writers. Landing of St. Augustine at Thanet...Interview between St. Augustine and King Ethelbert. Use of the crucifix and holy pictures. The pious lives of the Monks...Monks and monasteries attacked by ancient heretics. St. Martin's Church, at Canterbury...Miracles performed by St. Augustine...Conversion of King Ethelbert. Persecutions of Pagans forbidden by St. Augustine. St. Augustine consecrated as Archbishop of the English nation. Gifts of Pope Gregory to the English Church...Letter to St Augustine as Archbi hop...To St. Mellitus, upon the consecration of pagan temples to the purposes of religion. Conference between St. Augustine and the British Bishops. Differences as to the due observation of Easter. A miracle performed by St. Augustine. A second conference. Arrogance imputed to St. Augustine, who in vain proposes terms of peace to the British Bishops...St. Augustine's prophecy that their perversion will be punished. The Sees of London and Rochester established. Death of St. Augustine. King Ethelbert's grant and charter to St.'s Peter's and Paul's, Canterbury. Munificent donations of the Anglo-Saxon Kings to the Church. Masses for the dead. Death of Gregory. A Bishop of London assists at a council of prelates in Rome. Fulfilment of the prophecy of St. Augustine, in the slaughter of British Monks at Chester, by Ethelfrid King of the Northumbrians. Death of King Ethelbert...His "dooms" or laws.

CHAPTER III.

A.D, 596—616.

At the time, that the ancient name of the country had been extinguished, its old inhabitants destroyed or enslaved, and its Archbishops, Bishops, and priests banished, or had become voluntary exiles to Wales, to Cornwall and to Brittany,* the blessed Augustine was despatched as a missionary by the Pontiff, Gregory the Great, to preach to the Pagans the Gospel, and to convert them to the true faith.† In the year 596, the servant of God

* Under the date 586, it is said by ROG. DE WEND. "Clerici vero et sacerdotes, mucronibus undique micantibus ac flammis in ecclesiis circumquaque crepitantibus, omnes simul in exterminium pellebantur. Secesserunt itaque Britannorum reliquiæ in occidentalibus regni partribus, Cornubia videlicet atque Wallia * * Plures etiam Armoricanam Britanniam petentes, &c., vol. i, pp. 89, 90.

"Il est certain" says the learned De Courson, "que la conversion d'une partie de cette contrée ne date guere que l'arrivée des Bretons insulaires dans la Peninsule." *Histoire des peuples Bretons*, vol. i, p. 55. See also Acta Sanctorum (Feb.) vol. i, p. 602, (Mart) vol. i, p.p. 139, 256.

† BROMPTON. *Jornal Hist.* p.p. 1725. His account of the antient British Church is this—"loco xxviii Pontificum idolorum quos *Flamines* vocaverunt, et trium archiflammium tunc temporis in *Britannia* existentium, tot episcopis Catholicis et archiepiscopis ordinatis, cum eorum archipræsulibus *Theono* videlicet *Lundonensi*, et *Thadioceo Eboracensi* ecclesiis omnibus subjectis, &c." The same author affirms, that the faith first received from Rome in the time of Lucius was never completely suppressed in the hearts of the British—"quæ nunquam postmodum in toto inter eos defecerat." See GALF. MONUMENT, Lib. iv, c. 19.

was sent by the Pope to Britain, to those, who blinded by a Pagan superstition had exterminated Christianity in all parts of the island, over which they could exercise any power.*

The missionaries selected for this pious and arduous undertaking were St. Augustine, and several other monks, who passed their lives in the fear of God.† These missionaries, in obedience to the command of the Pope, proceeded some distance on their journey, when they were suddenly stricken with fear: their thoughts were turned to the peaceful monastery they had abandoned, and they could not but contrast it, with that fierce, cruel, and infidel people, towards whom they were approaching, and of whose language they were utterly ignorant. They deliberated as to their return; and despatched Augustine back to Rome,‡ in order that he might humbly supplicate of his Holiness to permit them to abandon an undertaking of which the labor was great, the danger certain, and the success doubtful. To Augustine this task was assigned; because it had been arranged by the Pope, that he should be consecrated as Bishop, if his services, as a missionary, were accepted by the Britons.

To the representations of the monks, St. Gregory replied in a letter, of which the following is a copy.

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* Totam Christianitatem deleverant in illa parte insulæ quam habebant," ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 97.

† BEDA, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. 1. c. 23. § 51. Augustine was prior of St. Gregory's monastery dedicated to St. Andrew at Rome. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. v, p. 681. (St. Augustine).

‡ "Augustine seems to have returned to Rome, when he had reached the Monastery of St. Honorat de Lerins, a celebrated establishment of the Benedictines." STEVENSON. See also note 23, p. 49.

"Gregory, the servant of the servants* of God, to "the servants of our Lord.

"As it is better not to begin a good work, than when "once begun, to abandon it, even in thought, thus is it "necessary for you, my dearest sons, to persevere with, "and to accomplish, with willing hearts, and a fixed "will, aided by the blessing of God, that beneficent task "you have assigned to yourselves. Let not then the "toil of travel dismay you, nor the malignant discourses "of bad men appal you; but let all your energy be "employed, and all your zeal be displayed, to the fulfil- "ment of a work, that heaven has inspired; for you "well know in proportion to the magnitude of the labor, "will be the greatness and glory of its everlasting re- "ward.

"Let Augustine, your superior, constituted by us, as "your Abbot, in all things be obeyed by you, in humility: "because in your obedience, to his admonitions, will be "found the means supplied of that which will be profit- "able to your own souls.

"May the Almighty God protect you with His grace, "and grant, that I may yet see the fruits of your labours

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* "He subscribed himself in all his letters, servant of the servants of God, which custom has been retained by his successors. Indeed, what is a pastor or superior but the servant of those of whom he is to give a rigorous account to God? BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iv, p. 337. (St. Gregory.)

"Festhaltend an den Rechten der Kirche und die Priviligien des apostolischen Stuhles mit unbeugsamen Sinne bewahrend, wollte er für seine Person keine Ehre; denn so hoch er von der Kirche und dem Romischen Stuhle dachte, so bescheiden urtheilte er uber sich sebst, * * die Demuth war ihm die erhabenste und wichtigste Tugend." LAU. *Gregor. I, der Grosse*, p. 302.

"in the kingdom of Heaven; and although I cannot "labour with you, yet I pray to be a participator in your "joy; for I am most willing to labor.

"May God guard you in safety, my most beloved "children.

"Dated this tenth day of the kalends of August, and "the fourteenth year of the reign of our Emperor the "most pious prince Mauritius Tiberius, and the thirteenth "year after his consulship. The fourteenth indiction "(23rd July, 596)"*

The venerable Pontiff also addressed a letter to Etherius,† Bishop of Arles, praying that he would kindly receive Augustine on his way to Britain. The following is a copy of the letter:

"Gregory, the servant of the servants of God, to his "most reverend, and holy brother Etherius, his fellow "Bishop.

"Although priests endowed with a charity that is plea- "sing to God, require on the part of religious men no "commendation from others, to render them acceptable, "yet, as time and opportunity are afforded to us, we avail "ourselves of both, to address these lines to your kindly "feelings, for the purpose of intimating to you, that the "bearer of them, Augustine, is a servant of God, of whose "zeal we are assured, and that he, with other servants of

* Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 23, §. 51, 52.

† "An error has here crept into the text for Virgilius was Archbishop of Arles, and the See of Lyons was filled by Etherius. Pagi, A.D. 596, §. 5,-12 shows that the mistake lies in the name of the Archbishop, not in the name of the Diocese, over which he presided. In the Benedictine edition it is addressed, Pelagio de Turnis, et Sereno de Massilia, episcopis Galliarum a partibus. ii, 830." Stevenson.

" the Lord, is proceeding to a place, where, with the aid " of Heaven, great advantage to souls may be attained. " It then is necessary, that your sanctity may aid " him with priestly zeal, and solace him with fraternal " care.

" We have enjoined him, to declare to you the matter in " which he is engaged, and the cause that he has under- " taken; for it will be an inducement to give him the " more speedy aid, as we are well assured, that as soon as " you have learned what it is that he proposes to accom- " plish, you will do all, from your devotion to God, to " sustain, and speed him in his task.

" We commend in all things to your charity the priest " Candidus,* our common son, whom we are sending to " the management of a small patrimony.

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* " Candidus was entrusted with the care of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, during Augustine's absence. Gregory addressed a letter to him, when resident in Gaul, directing him to appropriate a *portion of the patrimony of the Church of Rome to the redemption of English slaves*, Opp. p. 796." STEVENSON.

A few anecdotes respecting this great benefactor of the English nation, cannot be regarded as inappropriate :

" After the death of his father, he built and endowed six monasteries in Sicily, out of the estates which he had in that island, and founded a seventh in his own house in Rome, which was the famous monastery of St. Andrew, on the hill Scaurus, now possessed by the order of Camaldodi.

" This great Pope always remembered that by his station, he was the common father of the poor. He relieved their necessities with so much meekness and affability, as to spare them the confusion of receiving the alms; and the old men among them, he, out of deference, called his fathers. He often entertained several of them at his own table. He kept by him an exact catalogue of the poor, called by the ancients matriculæ; and he liberally provided for the necessities of each. In the beginning of every month he distributed to all the poor, corn, wine, pulse cheese, fish, flesh, and oil; he appointed officers for every street, to send every day necessaries to all the needy sick; before he

"May God preserve you in safety, most reverend

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ate he always sent off meats from his own table to some poor persons. One day a beggar being found dead in a corner of a by-street, he is said to have abstained some days from the celebration of the divine mysteries, condemning himself of a neglect in not seeking the poor with sufficient care.

"He showed great moderation to the schismatics of Istria, and to the very Jews. When Octro, Bishop of Terracina, had taken from the latter their synagogue, *St. Gregory ordered it to be restored to them* saying, *they are not to be compelled but converted by meekness and charity.*" BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*. vol. iii, p.p. 331, 337, (St. Gregory the Great).

For proofs of the toleration, the humanity, and unceasing care of the poor, on the part of St. Gregory, see Act. Sanct, (Mart.) vol. ii, pp. 192, 193, 194. S. GREGOR. *Oper. Omn.* vol. ii, p. 914, *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii, pp. 133, 151, 152, 159, 160, S. GREGOR. Oper. Omn. vol. ii, Lib. i. Ep. 42, p. 551, Lib. iv. Ep. 9, pp. 688, 689, Lib. v. Ep. 8, p. 734, Lib. vii, Ep. 28, p. 874, Lib. viii, Ep. 3, p. 896, Ep. 21, p. 910, Ep. 22,, p. 911, Ep. 32, p. 921, Lib. ii, Ep. 17, p. 943; &c., &c., LAU. *Gregor* 1, *der Grosse*, pp. 302, 303.

We have not space to detail all the acts of charity of him, whose constant maxim was, "de hospilitate esto solicitus; quantum potes, pauperibus largite." We cannot avoid however adding a few of his noble sentiments, with respect to almsgiving.

"Capillis ergo pedes Domini tergimus, quando sanctis ejus, quibus ex caritate compatimur, etiam ex his quæ nobis superfluunt, miseremur: quatenus sic mens per compassionem doleat, ut etiam larga manus affectum doloris ostendat. S. GREGOR. *Oper. Omn.* vol: i, p. 1596."

"Qui vero indigenti etiam peccatori panem suum, non quia peccator, sed quia homo est, tribuit; nimirum non peccatorem, sed justum pauperem nutrit: quia in illo non culpam, sed naturam diligit." Ibid. vol. ii, p. 65.

"Nam cum quælibet necessaria indigentibus ministramus, sua illis reddimus, non nostra largimur; justitiæ debitum potius solvimus, quam misericordiæ opera implemus." Ibid. vol. ii, p. 66. See also p.p. 886, 887, 892, 1232.

A modern author, in defending the characters of this great saint, and his missionary St. Augustin, observes

"Pendant deux siécles le fanatisme protestant avait poursuivi, avec un acharnement inoui, la memoire des apôtres de l'Angleterre." DE COURSON *Histoire des Peuples Bretons*, vol. 1. p.

" brother."*

Augustine, strengthened in his zeal, and confirmed in his original determination by the blessing, and the prayers of the pious father of the church, Gregory, proceeded with the other servants of God, on his way, and at length arrived in Britain, where King Ethelbert of Kent was then the supreme monarch over all the English, who dwelt on the south side of the river Humber.

It is to be observed, that on the eastern coast of Kent there is the island of Thanet—by no means inconsiderable in extent, for according to the English mode of calculation it contains six hundred hides, or families,† and is separated from the mainland by a river, which is only fordable in two places. It was upon this island, that Augustine, and his companions, about forty in number, first landed ;‡ and

287. Amongst the slanderers of these holy men, M. de Courson mentions Bayle, Parker and Foxe, and amongst the modern French writers A. Thierry and Michelet. See vol. 1, pp. 288, 289, 290, 291, 292.

But why, it may be asked, were the unfortunate persons whose names are mentioned by M. de Courson the slanderers of St. Gregory? Because wanting in charity—because they never experienced that noble sentiment he has himself so justly expressed.

" O quam bona est caritas, quæ absentia per imaginem, præsentia sibimet ipsis exhibet per amorem, divisa unit, confusa ordinat, inæqualia sociat, imperfecta consummat! quam recte prædicator egregius vinculum perfectionis vocat; quia virtutes quidem celeræ perfectionem generant, sed tamen eas ita caritas ligat, ut ab amantis mente dissolvi jam nequeant." *Epistle to Felix Bishop of Messina.* BEDA. vol. 11, p. 245. (E.H.S.)

* BED. Lib. 1. c. 24 § 53.

† " *Familiarum*—about 6000 acres. In the Saxon it is expressed by *hida*. Stevenson.

‡ " According to Thorne, at a place called Retesborough, where a chapel was erected to commemorate the event." STEVENSON. Thorne's statement on this point is curious. He says that St. Augustine in descending from the ship,—" supra quan-

from thence, the Papal missionary despatched to the King the interpreters, that in accordance with the suggestion of the Pope, he had brought with him from France.*

These interpreters announced to Ethelbert, on the part of Augustine, that he had come from Rome for the purpose of announcing joyful tidings to both King and people; because he could promise to them, that if they submitted to the faith he was about to announce to them, and followed the rules of the religion, he desired to preach to them, they should for ever possess a kingdom that would never decay, and joys that would never end, with the one, true, and living God.

The King, upon receiving this message, stated it to be his pleasure, that the missionaries should remain in the island, at which they had landed, and that due subsistence

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dam p:t am a casu stetit, et pedem ejus eidem quasi luto inpressit. Cujus rei gratia idem lapis assumitur et intra capellam de eodem sancto ibidem fundatam honorifice locatam, &c." p. 1759.

* "From this circumstance we may infer that the languages of France and Kent were similar." STEVENSON.

"The learned Verstegan proves, at large, that the French tongue before it was altered by an adoption of so many corrupt Latin words from the conquered Gauls, was radically the same as our own. To prove this curious fact, that a *Frenchman originally spoke English*, it will be sufficient to borrow from the above-mentioned author a few lines of Otfrids' Introduction to his rhyming translation of the Gospel, made about the year 850, into the French of that age:

"*Nu will Ih scriben unter heill,*
Now will I write our health, (or salvation)
"*Evangeliono deil,*
Of the gospel the deal, (or part)
"*So is nu hiar begunnum,*
So is it now here begun,
"*In Frenkisga tungun.*
In the French tongue.

MILNER'S *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i, p. 67. (Note **)

should be provided for them, until he determined, what course he should adopt, with respect to that which they had proposed to him His majesty was not in utter ignorance as to the nature of the Christian religion; for he was married to a French Princess, Bertha,* who had been educated as a Christian; and with whom, it had been stipulated, on his marriage, that both to her, and the Bishop Lidhuard, who attended her, full, perfect, and inviolable freedom of religious worship should be conceded.

A few days afterwards, the king proceeded to the island of Thanet, and desired Augustine and his companions to

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* Bertha was the only daughter of Charibert, King of Paris, cousin-german to Clotaire, King of Soissons, and Childibert, King of Austrasia. She was a very zealous and pious Christian, and by her own example, as well as that of Luidhard, or Ledhard, Bishop of Senlis, who attended her, disposed several Pagans about the Court to embrace the faith. By her piety and zeal, she was compared by Gregory the Great to the celebrated St. Helen. See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii, p. 263. (St. Ethelbert).

The words of the Pope addressed to Queen Bertha are these: "Nam sicut per Helenam recordandæ memoriæ matrem piissimi Constantini Romanorum Imperatoris ad Cristiam fidem corda Romanorum accensa sunt, sic per gloria vestra studium in Anglorum gente misericordiam Die confidimus operari." (quoted in RADULF DE DICET. *Abbrev. Chron* p. 435. See also W. MALMSB. *Gest. Rer. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 9. GERVAS. *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* p. 1630. W. THORN. *Chron.* p. 1767.

In Gregory of Tours we find the virtues of the mother of Bertha recorded with particular honor. Queen Ingoberga is stated to have been a woman of great wisdom, and of constant practical piety; unceasing in prayer, in mortification, and in alms-giving; and amongst other acts of charity performed by her was the enfranchisement of many persons, suffering under the pangs of slavery.

——"Mulier valde cordata, ac vita religiosa prædita, vigiliis et orationibus atque eleemosynis non ignava.....multos per chartulas liberos derelinquens." GREGOR. TURINENS. *Hist. Francorum.* Lib. ix, c. 26. See also Lib. iv, c. 26.

be brought before him. The King took his seat in the open air, for he was fearful, according to his superstitious notions, that if he encountered the missionaries elsewhere, that they might warp his understanding, or delude his senses, by some magic arts. Augustine had only one aid to help him--the blessing of divine grace--and he therefore with his pious friends appeared before the sovereign, having as his ensigns, a silver crucifix, and a representation of our Lord and Saviour, painted on boards. Augustine and his attendant monks approached the royal presence,--their voices were heard chanting the litanies, and supplicating the mercy of Heaven for themselves, and for those before whom they were about to appear.

In obedience to the command of the King, who remained sitting, Augustine and his companions, preached the word of God, and expounded the divine mysteries to the monarch and his court.

" The words," replied the King, " which you speak are " fair, and excellent are the promises that you make to " us: but they are strange, they are dubious, and so new, " that I cannot, on the instant, yield my assent to them, " nor can I, for them, abandon, those deities to whom I " and all the English nation have long declared our devo- " tion. You are however strangers—you have travelled " a long distance to come amongst us; and as it seems to " me, that you are convinced, that what you desire to im- " part to us, is most beneficial for us to know, we will, " that so far from your being molested, that you be hos- " pitably entertained. And whilst your wants are pro- " vided for, we desire you to understand, that we do not " prohibit you from obtaining as many new associates " to your faith, as your preaching can induce to adopt it."

The Sovereign, in accordance with his promise, assigned them a mansion * in the city of Canterbury, the capital of his kingdom, and whilst he directed that their temporal wants should be supplied, he did not forbid them the exercise of their spiritual functions.

St. Augustine and his companions proceeded then on their way to Canterbury—bearing before them the holy crucifix, and the image of Him, who is the mightiest of kings—our Lord Jesus Christ—and as they advanced to its walls, these words were heard, chaunting from the litany:—"We beseech thee, O! Lord, in all thy mercy, "that thy anger and thy wrath be turned away from "this city and from thy sacred mansion, for we have "sinned. Alleluiah!"†

As soon as these monks had entered the mansion allotted to them, they began at once to imitate, in every portion of their conduct, the apostolical life of the primitive christians. Their entire time was passed in prayers, in vigils, and in fasting—in preaching to all who had the grace to listen to the word of God—in despising the things of the world, as being dissociated from them—in refusing even to accept the necessaries of life, except from those who were their disciples—in teaching by their own manners, how pure were their maxims—and by shewing in all

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* "Upon the authority of Thorne," (p. 1759) "their lodging is said to have been in the parish of St. Alphege, in a place called Stablegate, which was then used as an oratorium, by the King's household." COXE (Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 98).

† BED *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 25, §. 54, 55. See GOSCELIN *Hist. min. de Vit. S. August.* c. 1, 2, 9, 10, 11. HARPSFIELD. *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* Sept. Saec. c. 4, pp. 54, 55, 56.

circumstances, their readiness to die, for the truth of that religion, which they inculcated.*

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* Such are the words of the venerable Bede in describing the pious lives of St. Augustine and his brother monks : such the opinion expressed by the father of English history. When the time came for concealing and distorting facts, and the "Reformation" was to be sustained by the propagation of statements, the very opposite of truth—it was in the following manner that Austin and the monks were depicted :—

"Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could also take no place, and the sheepe of his pasture would receive no wholesome fodder, it pleased his maiestie, to let them run on from one iniquitie to another, in so much that *after the doctrine of Pelagius it received that of Rome also, brought in by Augustine and his monks, whereby* it was to be seene, how *they fell from truth into heresie* and from one heresie still unto another, till at the last they were drowned altogether in the pits of error, digged up by antichrist, wels indeed that hold no water, which notwithstanding to their followers seemed to be most sound doctrine, and cisterns of living water to such as embraced the same. *This Augustine,* after his arrival, converted the Saxons in deed from Paganisme, but as the prouerbe saith, bringing them out of God's blessing into the warme sunne : for beside the onelie name of Christ, and externall contempt of their pristinate idolatrie, he bought them nothing at all, but rather (I saie) *made an exchange from grosse to subtill treacherie, from open to secret idolatrie ; and from the name of Pagans, to the bare title of Christians, thinking this sufficient for their souls and the stablishment of his monachisme, of which kind of profession the holy scriptures of God can in no wise like or allow.*"

HOLLINSHED'S *Chronicle,* vol. i. p. 47. See also p. 46.

The last writer, Hollinshed, was with his party deeply interested in the vituperation of the monks. This is not the place to trace the motives to that vituperation, but we cannot avoid giving the reply to the old, and stale objection made by heretics to "*monkery.*"

"Among other things objected by the Donatists," (heretics of the Fourth Century) against the Catholic Church, one of their topics was a monastic life. St. Augustine (l. 3, cont. Liter. Petiliani) says : — Deinceps perrexit ore maledico vituperationem monasteriorum et monachorum, arguens etiam me, quod hoc genus vitæ a me fuerit institutum. Again (in ps. 132) he gives a general idea of a monastic life. Where the Donatist at-

A few persons admiring the purity and simplicity of their lives, and captivated by the attractions of the heavenly doctrines preached by them, believed and were baptised.

There was near to the city of Canterbury, (on the eastern side of it,) a church, which, at the time that the Romans occupied Britain,* had been built in honor of Saint Martin.† It was, in this church that the

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tacks him, saying, Quid sibi vult nomen monachorum? Ostendite ubi scriptum sit nomen monachorum. Quare ergo non appellemus monachos, cum dicat Psalmus, Ecce quam bonum, et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum? he replies; Merito insultant nomini unitatis, qui se ab unitate præciderunt. Merito illis displicet nomen monachorum, qui nolunt habitare in unum cum fratribus: sed sequentes Donatum Christum dimiserunt. Monasteries were established all over the Church, in the fourth age. Ruffinus (l. 2. de vit. Patrum) says, Serapion had 10,000 monks under his care. Sozomen (l. 3. c. 14.) who gives the rules established by St. Pachomius, tells us, that in the single monastery in which that saint resided there were 1,300 brethren, and that the whole number of monks under his direction amounted to 7,000. Finally, St. Jerome (in Epitaph. Marcellæ) adds his testimony to the same fact—crebra virginum monasteria, monachorum innumerabilis multitudo. Now, as to the obligation of monks; 1st. *they lived in community*—divisi sunt per decurias atque centurias, ita ut novem hominibus præsit decimus, et rursum decem præpositos sub se centesimus habeat (St. Jerom. de Regul Monach.) 2d, *they promised obedience*—Confederatio est obedire majoribus, et quiquid jusserint facere (idem). 3d, *they made vows of virginity*:—admittenda est virginitatis professio (St. Basil in Reg Monast. interrog. 9.) 4th, *they renounced property*:—Nemo quidquam possidet propium (S. Aug. de Moribus. Ecc. c. 31.) Facultatibus suis abstinet, et ad se pertinentibus renunciant. Sozom. l. i, c. 12." DODD'S *History of the Church*, vol. i, pp. 22, 23. Note 1. (TIERNEY'S Ed).

* See GOSCELIN. Vit. S. Augist. c. 13.

† "*S. Martini*—the church is said to have been the seat of a suffragan Bishop until the time of Lanfranc. Hasted's Kent, iv, 497. Monast. Anglic. i, 26, Edit. 1655." STEVENSON.

christian queen of Ethelbert was in the habit of offering up her prayers; and here it was that St. Augustine and his companions first met to sing, to pray, *to say mass*; to preach and to baptise;* until at last, the king being converted to the true faith, they obtained permission to build new, or to repair the old christian churches, in all parts of his dominions.

The king as well as others was charmed with the spectacle presented to him, by the most pure lives of these saints—he was attracted by those most sweet promises that were made to him, and in the truth of which he was assured, by the miracles† that they per-

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"The present incumbent of this ancient Catholic Church is a parson of the name of Molesworth. This reverend occupier of a living more ancient than the heptarchy, and founded by the Catholic Britons, is the publisher of a little pamphlet called the Penny Sunday Reader. The title page of this little hebdomary effusion of Protestant spleen is ornamented every week with an engraving of this church, the object of which seems to be to impress his illiterate readers with the idea that the religion embraced by Ethelbert, and introduced into England by the Benedictine monk Augustine, was the same that is now taught by the same Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth. Now this is a *fraud*."

ANDREW'S *Orthodox Journal*, vol. 11, p. 3. (Jan. 1836.

* "Psallere, orare, *missas facere*, prædicare et bapttizare." BEDA. *Hist. Eccles*, Lib. i. c. 26, §. 56.

† Upon this working of miracles by St. Augustine, the following letter was addressed to him in the year 601, by St. Gregory:

"I know, my most dear brother, that Almighty God, through your love for that people, which He has willed to see of the elect, has exhibited wondrous miracles! wherefore it is necessary that fearing, you should rejoice in that heavenly gift, and that rejoicing, you should fear. You should rejoice, because the souls of the English have, by exterior miracles, been attracted to interior grace; but you should also fear, lest amid those signs and miracles, the weak mind should be elevated by its own pre-

formed—he became a believer, was baptised, and with him vast numbers, who, hearing the truth, were converted, and associated themselves in unity with the holy church of Christ.*

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sumption, so that when you are outwardly raised in honor, that which is within may fall through vain glory. We must bear in mind, that when the disciples of our Divine Master returned from preaching, and with great joy said to him—'Lord, in thy name even the demons were subject to us!' they were instantly told—'Be not joyful therefore, but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven.' They had fixed their thoughts on personal and fleeting joys when they exulted in their miracles. * * * Amid those things that you, with the help of God, exteriorily operate, this remains to be done by you, that you always, my dearest brother, sharply judge, that which is in your interior, so that you may at the same time distinctly know yourself, remember who you are, and what may be the amount of grace in that nation, for whose conversion, the power of working miracles has been conceded to you; and if you at any time have offended our Creator by your tongue, or by your acts, let the thought of that be ever in your memory, so that the recollection of your sin may crush the vain glory of the heart. Whatever grace then you either have received, or shall receive, in the working of miracles, regard them not as gifts to yourself, but for those, to whose salvation they tend." BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 31, §. 75. The letter from which this extract is taken will be found in the appendix to Mr. STEVENSON'S edition of Bede, vol. ii, pp. 248, 249, 250, 251.

* The rapid success of these missionaries of Rome was thus joyfully announced. in the year 597, by St. Gregory to Eulogius, the patriarch of Alexandria:

"Quoniam vero in bonis quæ agitis scio quod et aliis congaudetis, vestræ vobis gratiæ vicem reddo, et non dissimilia nuntio: quia dum gens Anglorum in mundi angulo posita, in cultu lignorum ac lapidum, perfida nuncusque remaneret, ex vestræ mihi orationis adjutorio placuet, ut ad eam monasterii mei Monachum in prædicationem transmittere Deo auctore debuissem. Qui *datâ a me licentiâ* a Germaniarum Episcopis Episcopus factus, cum eorum quoque solatiis, ad predictam gentem in finem mundi perductus est, et jam nunc de ejus salute et opere ad nos scripta pervenerunt, quia tantis miraculis vel ipse vel hi qui

As soon as the king became a christian, he rejoiced in the conversion of others; but, he would force no man to adopt his faith, whilst he could not avoid shewing a great tenderness towards those, who being christians, were already regarded by him, as his fellow citizens in the kingdom of heaven. The king had learned from his teachers—from those, who were the authors of his salvation, that *the service of Christ must be a voluntary act, and never the result of compulsion.**

A short time after the king became a christian, he assigned a place, fitted to the residence of his teachers in Canterbury,† and he likewise endowed them with pos-

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cum eo transmissi sunt in gente eadem corruscant, ut Apostolorum virtutes in signis quæ exhibent imitari videantur. *In solemnitate Dominicæ nativitatis quæ hâc primâ indicitone transacta est plus quam decem millia Angli ab eodem nuntiata sunt fratre et coepiscopo nostro baptiziti.* Quod idcirco narravi, ut cognoscatis quid in Alexandrino populo loquerdo et quid in mundi finibus agitis orando. Vestræ enim orationes sunt in eo loco ubi non estis, quorum operationes sanctæ monstrantur in eo loco in quo estis." St. GREGORIUS *Oper. omn.* vol. ii, p. 918. See *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, Lib. iv, c. 5, 10. ORDERICUS VITALIS. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii, vol. i, p. 428.

* "Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suæ salutis *servitium Christi voluntariam, non coactitium, esse debere.*" BEDA, Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. 26, §. 57. This is the Catholic doctrine—taught by the monks of Rome, in the English nation. It is far different from that teaching which the preachers of "the Reformation" inculcated; the proofs of which commence with *the Penal Laws*, and are still to be found on our statute book. See "First Report of her Majesty's commissioners for revising and consolidating the Criminal Law."—*Dated the 30th May*, 1845.

† We learn from Thorne, that Ethelbert resigned his palace in Canterbury, to the use of Augustine, and retired to Reculver. Copies of charters purporting to have been granted by this king to Augustine, are printed in Thorne col. 1761, 1762, and the Monasticon Anglic i, 100, 126, but their authenticity is more than dubious." STEVENSON.

sessions, necessary to afford them a suitable subsistence.* Meanwhile St. Augustine proceeded to Arles, where, in accordance with the commands of the holy father St. Gregory, he was consecrated by Archbishop Etherius, as Archbishop of the English nation. He then returned to Britain, and immediately afterwards dispatched to Rome the priest Laurence, and the monk Peter, to announce to the Pontiff, that the people of England had accepted the faith of Christ, that he had been consecrated a bishop, and at the same time to request the Pope's answers to certain questions, which, on his part, they were to propound to him.†

In the year 601,‡ Pope Gregory sent, in aid of the Bishop Augustine, many fellow labourers: he sent them to a land, in which the harvest was great, and the husbandmen few. Amongst these, the principal persons were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufianus; and with these, the Pope likewise sent all those things that are necessary for the service of the Church;§ the sacred vessels

* See "Indiculus de successione Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium." *Ang. Sac.* Lib. vol. i. pp. 89, 90, 91.

† Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 23. 24, 25, 26, 27, §. 51, to 58. The questions referred to will be found in Bede Lib. i, c. 27, §. 59-70.

‡ *Saxon Chronicle.*

§ "Many rich vestments, vessels, relics, and a pall given by St. Gregory to St. Austin, were kept in the same monastery." (St. Austin's at Canterbury.) Their original inventory, drawn up by Thomas of Elmham, in the reign of Henry the Vth, is preserved in the Harleian library, and published by the learned lady Mrs. E. Elstob, at the end of a Saxon panegyric on St. Gregory." Butler's *Lives of the Saints,* vol. iii, p. 340. (St. Gregory).

and vestments for the altar—ornaments for the churches, sacerdotal robes, and clerks' habiliments—relics of apostles and martyrs, and a great number of books.* The Pope also addressed letters to Augustine notifying that he had bestowed on him the pall,† and at the same

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"Gregory sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of laborers, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; *who and what they were may be guessed by the stuff which they brought with them,* vessels and vestments for the altar, copes, relicks, and for the Archbishop Austin, a pall to say mass in; *to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of the apostolic zeal.* History of England to the Norman Conquest, by JOHN MILTON. Book iv, A.D. 601.

* "St. Gregory gave St. Austin a small Library, which was kept in the monastery at Canterbury. Of it, there still remain a book of the Gospels in the Bodleian library, and another in that of the Corpus-Christi in Cambridge. The other books were Psalters, the Pastorale, the Passionarum Sanctorum. See Mr. Wansley, in his catalogue of Saxon manuscripts, at the end of Dr. Hickes's Thesaurus p. 172," BUTLER'S Lives of the saints, vol. iii, p. 340, (St. Gregory). See also STEVENSON'S, (Beda. vol. i, p. 77, note 7).

† "The *pallium* which the Pope sends to Archbishops is an ornament worn upon their shoulders, with a label hanging down upon the breast and back. It is made of white lamb's wool and spotted with purple crosses, and is worn as a token of the spiritual jurisdiction of metropolitans over the churches of their whole province. It is regarded as an emblem of humility, charity, and innocence, and serves to put the prelate in mind, that he is bound to seek out and carry home on his shoulders, the strayed sheep, in imitation of Christ, the Good Shepherd, and the Prince of pastors. * * Spelman in his Glossary, Thomassin, &c., shew that the pallium was a mantle worn by the Roman Emperors, and that the first Christian Emperors gave this imperial ornament to eminent Bishops to wear as an emblem of the royalty of the Christian priesthood "See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints,* vol. i, p. 89, (note †) and vol, vi, p. 760, (note x.) (S. S. Agnes and William) See S. GREGOR. Oper. vol. ii, p. 518.

time, suggesting how the bishops in Britain should be constituted.

The annexed is a copy of the Pontiff's letter—

"Gregory the servant of the servants of God, to his "most reverend, and holy brother and bishop, Augustine.

"It is certain, that for those who labour in His cause "the Almighty God has reserved the ineffable rewards "of His everlasting kingdom; still it is necessary for us, "to grant to such the benefit of the honors that it is in "our power to bestow, that they may be incited, alike "by zeal and the remuneration they receive, more "diligently to perseverance in their toil,

"Because the new church of the English has been "brought to the grace of the Almighty, through His "bounty and your labours, we concede to you the privilege "of wearing the pall, during the solemnity of mass, but at "that time only*—likewise, that for twelve different places "you appoint Bishops, to be subject to your jurisdiction— "also, that the Bishop of the city of London shall at "all times, for the future, be consecrated by his own "synod, and that he receive the honor of the pall, "from this holy and Apostolic See, in which I, with the "will of God, now serve.

Amongst the gifts bestowed by the British Emperor of Rome, Constantine, upon Pope Sylvester, we find especial reference made to a species of pall in these words:—

Deinde dyadema, coronam videlicet capitis nostri, simul Frigium nec non et *superhumerale*, videlicet lorum, quo imperiale circumdari assolet collam." Eccard Corp. Histor. Med. Aev. (Chronica. Regia. S. Ptntaleonis.) Vol. i, p. 769.

* "Usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum solemnia agenda concedimus." Beda Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 29, §. 73.

"We wish you to send, as bishop to the city of York, "that person, whom you shall deem it right to appoint, "but still, it is to be observed, that if the same city with "the neighbouring districts shall receive the word of God, "then he may also ordain twelve Bishops, and enjoy "the honor of a Metropolitan; because, we are disposed, "if life be left to us, and it be God's will to grant him "the pall, but at the same time, that he be subject to "your judgment. Upon your death, he is, however, "to preside over the Bishops he shall have ordained, "and in no manner to be subject to the jurisdiction of "the Bishop of London.

"Between the Bishops of London and York there is "to be this distinction in honor, for the future, that he "is to be held the superior, who has been the first "ordained. In council, and in act, let there be common "concord, so that those things that are to be done for "Christ, may be rightly determined, and when so "rightly determined, zealously performed.

"To your fraternal charge are these entrusted, and "with the will of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, let "them be subject, not only those bishops whom you shall "ordain, but those who shall be ordained by the Bishop "of York, and likewise all the bishops of Britain; so "that from the sanctity of your life and language, they "may perceive the manner of living well, and executing "their office with faith and virtue, attain, whenever God "shall be pleased to call them, to the Kingdom of "Heaven.

"May God preserve you in safety, my most reverend brother.*

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* Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 29, §. 72, 73.

The messengers to whom this and other letters were entrusted had departed from Rome, when the Holy Father* Gregory sent after them a letter, worthy of being remembered, because it so plainly exhibits, how anxious, and how solicitous were his cares for the salvation of our nation. It was in this manner, that he wrote:

"Gregory, the servant of the servants of God, to his "most beloved brother the Abbot Mclitus.†

"We have been in a state of great anxiety since the "parture of our congregation, which you have taken with "you; because we have heard nothing of the successful "progress of your journey.

"When the Almighty God shall bring you to the pre- "sence of that most reverend man, our brother, bishop "Augustine, say to him, that I have long been cogitating "upon the matter of the English people, and the result "is, this—the fanes of the idols, which are amongst that "people, ought by no means to be demolished; but the "idols, that are in them, ought to be destroyed, the temples "themselves *sprinkled with holy water, altars constructed, "and relics of the Saints deposited.*‡ If these same temples "are well constructed, it is necessary that they be changed "from the worship of demons, to the service of the true

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* "Beatus pater." BEDA. Lib. i, c. 30, §. 74.

† "It is uncertain from what ecclesiastical establishment Mellitus derived his title of abbot. He was consecrated Bishop of London in 604, and having succeeded Laurence in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, died April, 24th, 624." STEVENSON.

"He was a Roman abbot, whom St. Gregory sent over hither in 601, at the head of a second colony of missionaries to assist St. Augustine, by whom he was ordained the First Bishop of London." See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints,* vol. iv, p. 515.

‡ "Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ ponantur." Beda.

"God; so that, whilst the people do not see their temples "destroyed, they may lay aside the error of their hearts, "and recognising the true God, adore Him in those very "places, to which they have been in the habit of resorting.

"In the same manner let this be done, that as these "people have been in the habit of slaying many cattle in "the sacrifices to their demons, so, for their sakes, ought "there to be some solemnity; but the object to which it "is directed, changed.* Thus upon a dedication, or upon "the nativity of some of the holy martyrs, whose relics "are in the churches, let it it be permitted to make ar- "bours, with the branches of trees, around what once were "but heathen temples. Then celebrate such solemnities "with religious feasts, so that the people will not immo- "late animals to the devil, but slay them, and partake of "them, with thanks and praises to God, for that abund- "ance, which has been bestowed upon them, by Him, who "is the Giver of all things—and thus whilst exterior joys "are permitted to them, they may with the greater faci- "lity be attached to those joys, that are of the spirit. "For, be it remembered, that it is not possible at once to "to deprive those, whose minds are hardened, of all things. "He, who tries to reach the highest place, does so gradu- "ally, and step by step, and is never elevated by jumps. "When our Lord made himself known to the people of "Israel, in Egypt, He still reserved for His own use, the "sacrifices which it had been the custom to tender to the

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* This is not a literal translation. The original words are these :—

"Et quia boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua solemnitas immutari; ut die dedicationis, &c."

"demon—and He even commanded them to immolate "animals in His honor; so that as their hearts changed, "they would lose one portion of the sacrifice; that whilst "the animals were immolated, as they had been immola- "ted, yet being offered to God, and not to idols, the "sacrifices should be no longer the same.

"It is imposed then upon your affection to say these "things to our brother, in order that he being there, "may well consider how these matters are to be "regulated.

"May God preserve you in safety, my most dear son."*

When Augustine, supported by the royal power, and aided by the beneficence of the King, had obtained his see in Canterbury, he was apprised that there was a church there, which had been constructed by the Christian Romans. This church he consecrated in the name

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* 17th June 601. "It will be observed that this epistle, although evidently the latest in the series given by Beda, is here dated five days earlier than the others; whether this arises from Beda's error, or from an unusual mode of calculating the calends, by which the previous letters would be ascribed to June 15th, this to June 28, as Mabillon conjectures is uncertain.

"Gregory had addressed letters to Ethelbert, advising him to destroy the temples of the idols, but upon more mature reflection he became sensible of the prejudices which might result from such a proceeding." STEVENSON. (Beda, vol. i, pp. 79. 80. Notes 5 and 33, E. H. S.)

The substance of the letter referred to by Mr. Stevenson, it is not considered necessary to translate. With that letter Beda states that the Pope "sent a great many gifts of various kinds, being desirous to add to the glory of the king, with temporal honors, whilst he rejoiced, that through his labor and zeal, he had attained a knowledge of the glory of heaven." BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 33, §. 76.

of our Lord Jesus Christ, and there he determined to reside: to have it allocated, as a place of abode, for himself and his successors.*

Not far from the city of Canterbury—about half way between it and the church of St. Martin—there was a temple, in which King Ethelbert, when a Pagan, was accustomed to offer up his prayers, and in the society of his nobles, to sacrifice to demons. This temple, as soon as Augustine had been consecrated a Bishop at Arles, upon his return to England he had purified, and the idol broken that had been placed in it. From a foul fane of wickedness it was converted into a Christian church, and by him dedicated to the service of God, in the name of the martyr Pancras.† This was the first church dedicated by St. Augustine, and the altar in the Southern porch, at which he was accustomed to celebrate mass, *still stands there.* It occupies the spot, on which had been placed a statue of the King.

Ethelbert, encouraged by St. Augustine,‡ also built

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* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 29, 30, 33, §. 72, 73, 74, 75.

† "St. Pancras is said to have suffered at Rome, in the fourteenth year of his age. Having been beheaded for the faith, which he had gloriously confessed under Dioclesian in the year 304, he was interred in the cemetry of Calepodius, which afterwards took his name. Italy, England, France, Spain, &c. abound with churches which bear his name." Butler's *Lives of the Saints,* vol. v, p. 613. (St. Pancras.)

In the year 665, amongst the relics of Saints sent, by the Pope to Oswy, King of Northumberia, were those of St. Gregory (the martyr) and St. Pancras. See Beda, Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii, c. 29, §. 248. Thorn. *Chron.* c, 5. p. 1760. (Twysden).

‡ The Monk Goscelin expatiates upon the glory of the monastery founded at Canterbury by the munificence of Ethelbert, and the piety of Augustine, and then thus refers to the monasteries of Rochester and of London:—

from its foundations a church, in honor of the Apostles S.S. Peter and Paul, and there established monks to serve at its altars, in perpetuity. These monks were endowed by him, with various possessions. The King too selected that church as a place of burial for himself and his successors, the Kings of Kent. St. Augustine also determined, that it should be the place of burial, for himself and the Bishops of Canterbury.*

In the year 603, Augustine, aided by King Ethelbert, convoked, to a conference, the Bishops or learned men of the nearest province of the Britons,† at a place still

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" Tu quoque Rofensis Ierarchia Andreæ Apostoli titulo inclita et Dorobernensis eminentiæ dextra suffraganea; tuqne ô Lundoniæ Pontificalis Praerogativa, magni Pauli gloriâ coronata, beatæ memoriæ Athelberto Regi nostro conditori atque Augustino, instiutori debetis in Domino æterna beuedictionum præconia." *Hist. Min. Vit. St. August.* c. 15, *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 62.

* THORNE *Chron.* p. 1760.

BEDA Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 33, §. 79. He adds, that, " Peter, the first abbot of this monastery—the priest Peter—was drowned in a bay of the sea, Amfleot, (supposed to be Ambleteuse) as he was proceeding on an embassy for King Ethelbert to France. The body was picked up by the inhabitants and buried in an obscure place; but God, wishing to give proof of the extraordinary merits of the deceased, a shining light appeared every night over his grave. It was, at length, perceived by the inhabitants, and upon their enquiring, they were at last able to ascertain the name of the saint. The body was subsequently removed to Boulonge, and there interred in a manner, suitable to the virtues, and worthy of the merits of so good a man. BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 33, §. 79. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints,* vol. i, p. 30. THORN, p. 1766. See *Act. Sanct.* (Januar) vol. i, pp. 334. 335.

" According to Malbranc, de Morinis, iii, 4, the translation of Peter is ascribed to Earl Frumertius, who placed the body in the church of canons dedicated to the Virgin Mary." STEVENSON.

† " The year in which this synod was held is uncertain, it

called in the language of the English, Augustines Ac,* -

being ascribed to 599, 601, 602, 603 and 604. The date 603, (although opposed to the authority of Usher) has been adopted in the belief, that it best accords with the series of events already mentioned." STEVENSON.

* *Augustinœs Ac*—probably near Aust, or Aust Clive, (Camd. Brit. Col. 237) the usual passage for ferrying over the Severn into Wales, and where Edward the elder had afterwards an interview with Leoline of that country; it lying on the extremity of Gloucestershire, inhabited by the Huiccii, and on the borders of what was in Bede's time the Kingdom of the West Saxons." (Cartes Hist. Eng. i, 224.) I am inclined to believe, however, that the synod was held, not in a town, but under the shade of an oak tree, a custom of which early ecclesiastical history furnishes numerous examples." STEVENSON.

"Religious feelings, no less than motives of convenience, seem to have been the cause that the popular meetings were frequently called beneath the shade of ancient trees, the objects both of worship and of veneration. The oak of Guernica, yet flourishing in verdant age, saw the States of Biscay assemble under its branches for more than a thousand years; until the *Constitution of the Vascongades*, which had been spared by the despotism of Austria and Bourbon, was *destroyed by the liberality of the Cortes of Cadiz*, and very many of the trysting places of the English Courts, were marked in like manner, by the oak, the beach, or the elm, the living monuments of nature, surviving through many a generation of the human race. * *

"By assembling in the open air, the suitors of the Hundred and the Shire Courts retained an importance, which they would have lost had they been confined within the limits of the Moot-hall; and it is not too much to assert, that the present political influence of the body of the people is, in a great measure, derived from the mode and manner of their meeting. William the Conqueror, by enacting a law like the capitulary of Charlemagne, would have more effectually checked the growth of the influence of the English people, than by erecting all the massy Dungeon towers, whose ruins are yet frowning over the land. If instead of causing the men of Kent to assemble on the wide heath of Penenden; to witness the discussion of his pleas, he had commanded those who were selected and chosen to testify on behalf of the country, to meet in the speech—house of Canterbury, the elections of the knights of the shire, would

that is "the oak" of Augustine, and which is on the borders of the lands of the Huiccii and the West Saxons. There, St. Augustine, addressed the British in the kindly terms of fraternal admonition, and prayed of them, that uniting themselves in Catholic peace with him, both might undertake the common labour of preaching the Gospel to the Pagans amongst whom they were placed. The British priests did not then keep the Easter Sunday at its proper time; but they observed it from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon—a computation that is contained within a circle of eighty years;* and besides this, they had

now, at this day, be made by a close corporation."

PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Constitution*, vol. i, pp. 139. 150, 151, 169.

We are indebted to the research of M. De Courson for an illustration of these remarks of Sir F. Palgrave. M. De Courson identifies the manners and customs of the people of Britany with those of Great Britain, and then gives an extract from an ancient comedy, referring to Breton manners and customs; and proving that courts of justice were held under the branches of the oak, that sentences were pronounced, and that *the people*, there assembled, were invested with the power of life and death.

"Illic jure gentium vivunt homines; ibi nullum est præstigium; ibi sententiæ capitales *de robore* proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus; illic etiam rustici perorant et privati judicant; ibi totum licet." *Querolus*. Scen. ii Act. i, quoted in DE COURSON'S *Histoire des peuples Bretons*, vol. i, p. 137.

In the Welsh laws, it is declared, when persons sue each other, "the legal form of sitting" is: "The King is to sit with his back to the sun or to the weather; so that his face may not be to the weather; having his two elders one on each side of him, &c., See DE COURSON, vol. ii, p. 406 upon the similarity of the ancient British and Welsh laws. ANSTEY'S *Laws and Constitutions of England*, pp. 40, 41.

* Non enim paschæ dominicum diem suo tempore, sed a quarta dicima usque ad vicesimam lunam observabant." BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 2, §. 91.

many observances that are contrary to Ecclesiastical unity.*

"The Council of Arles in 314 confirmed the Roman custom of celebrating Easter, in which synod were present three British Bishops, viz., those of London, Colchester, and York, witnesses of the practise of this whole Church. The same point of discipline was ordained by the Council of Nice in 325, and that same year Constantine reckoned the Britons among those who agreed with Rome in the keeping of Easter. After this time, whether by ignorance or by what other means is uncertain, the Britons, Scots, and Irish admitted an erroneous rule in this point of discipline, by which once in several years they kept Easter on the same day with the Jews; yet did not fall in with the Asiatics, who celebrated that feast always with the Jews on the fourteenth day of the first lunar month, after the vernal equinox, on whatever day of the week it fell, as Eusebius, b. v, c. 22, and others testify." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. v. p. 689. (St. Quadratus).-

* "Sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticæ contraria faciebant." BEDA.

"The great objects which called forth the zeal and divided the harmony of these holy men regarded not the essentials of Christianity; they were confined, first, to the proper time for the celebration of Easter, and second to the most approved method of wearing the ecclesiastical tonsure." LINGARD'S *History of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 49, 50. For full information and an impartial judgment respecting these points, and the entire controversy between Augustine and the Bishops of Britain, see pp. 50, to 63. See also PARSON'S *Prudentiall Balance of Religion*, pp. 6, 7, 8, 9.

As a specimen of the distortion of facts, we take the following paragraph, from the last work on English History:—

"The points of difference between the Catholic and the British Churches had reference to the time of celebrating Easter, the form of tonsure, the administration of baptism, the ecclesiastical benediction of matrimony, *the marriage of priests*, the manner of the ordination of the British Bishops, (of which almost every church possessed one) and *other trifling differences*; but, above all things, to the refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope and Councils."

LAPPENBERG'S England under the Anglo Saxon Kings, vol. i, p. 134, (translated by BENJAMIN THORPE, F.S.A).

The British clergy, who attended the conference, could not be induced, in the long argument that took place, either by the prayers or the exhortations of St. Augustine and his companions, to assent to his propositions, or to abandon their own traditions, for those customs, in which all the Churches throughout Christendom were agreed.

St. Augustine put an end to this troublesome and lengthened controversy, by saying:—"Let us pray to "God, to Him, who gives to those who have but one "thought, and one mind, a dwelling in His Father's man- "sion, that He may, by some sign or miracle, intimate "which tradition is to be followed, and by what way, "there is the easier access to His kingdom. Let some "sick person be brought amongst us, and by the prayers

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One of these assertions of Lappenberg is made in the face of this decision by St. Gregory, as head of the church, in answer to a question put by St. Augustine,

"Si qui sint clerici *extra sacros ordines* constituti, qui se contineri non possunt, sortiri uxores debent, et stipendia sua exterius accipere," BEDA Hist. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 27, §. 59. On this subject see LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 172 to 179.

"St. Gregory was always a zealous asserter of the celibacy of the clergy, which law he extended also to Subdeacons, who had before been ranked among the clergy of the minor orders (Lib. i, Ep. 44, Lib. iv. Ep. 34.) The centureators, Heylin and others mention *a forged letter, under the name of Udalricus* said to be written to Pope Nicholas, concerning the heads of children found by St. Gregory in a pond. But a more ridiculous fable was never invented, as is demonstrated from *many inconsistencies* in that *forged letter*; and St. Gregory in his epistles everywhere mentions the law of celibacy of the clergy as ancient and inviolable. *Nor was any Pope Nicholas contemporary with St. Udalaricus.* See Baronius and Dom de Sante Marthe, in his life of St. Gregory." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iii, p. 338. (St. Gregory). The marriage of priests could not then be one of the "*trifling differences*" between St. Augustine and the British Bishops.

" of whomsoever the cure of that person is effected, be " his faith, and rule acknowledged, as that, which is the " most approved of by God."

The adversaries of St. Augustine unwillingly acced to this proposal. An Englishman, deprived of sight, was brought into the midst of the synod. He was first presented to the British priests; but no alleviation, much less a cure for his affliction, was received through their ministry. Then Augustine, forced by a great and just necessity, fell upon his knees, and prayed aloud to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He would be pleased to restore that vision to the blind man, which he had lost, so that by the bodily illumination of one man, the hearts of many faithful might be filled with the burning light of spiritual grace.

The blind saw!—light was given to his eyes, and Augustine was proclaimed by all, as the preacher of that which was true. The British Priests confessed, that Augustine had pointed out the true path of justice; but as they could not depart from their ancient customs, without the consent of their clergy, they asked him to appoint a second synod, at which a greater number of them might attend.

A second synod was determined on, and there came to it seven British Bishops* and several very learned persons, principally, from the most noble monastery, which is called in the language of the English,

* " Concerning these Prelates, see Usher's Primord, p. 89. They *perhaps* were the bishops of St. David's, Llandaff, Llanbardon, Bangor, St- Asaph, Gloucester and Somerset." STEVENSON.

Bancornaburg* and over whom, the Abbot Dinoot,† is believed, to have presided at that time.

These persons, before they proceeded to the conference with St. Augustine, consulted with a man, who led the life of an anchorite amongst them, and who had the reputation of being alike holy, and prudent. They asked him, whether or not they ought to abandon their traditions, in obedience to the precepts of Augustine.

"If the man be sent by God, follow him," was the anchorite's reply.

"But how shall we be able to know that?" enquired the British Bishops.

"The anchorite answered—"The Lord has said—take "up my yoke, and learn from me; for I am meek and "humble of heart. If then Augustine be meek and "humble of heart, he is to be believed—he will bear the "yoke which he tenders to you to bear—but if he be not "meek, and if he be proud at heart, then he is not of God, "and his discourses are not to be regarded by you."

"Again the British prelates inquired—"How shall we "be able to know his disposition?"

"Arrange it so "replied the anchorite, "that he and "his friends may arrive first at the synod, and if he "shall rise up, upon your approaching to him, then by "that you may know, that he is a servant of Christ, and "listen to him, in obedience; but if he shall contemn

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* "Banchor Iscœd, the Bonium, or Bovium of Antoninus was situated in Cheshire, or, as some say, in Flintshire, and must not be confounded with the Episcopal See in Carnarvonshire." STEVENSON.

† Dinoot, is said to have been a retired warrior, founder and first Abbot of the Abbey of Bangor." COXE.

"you, and will not deign to rise for you, who come in "such numbers to him, then let him be rejected by you."

They acted, as the anchorite had suggested, and it happened, that upon their approach Augustine retained his seat. The moment, that the British Bishops observed this, they were inflamed with anger—they noted his pride to all their friends, and they endeavoured to controvert every position laid down by him.

In his address to them, St. Augustine said—"there "are many things which you regulate contrary to our "custom, as well as that of the universal Church; and "yet, if you will yield to me, on three points—first that "you celebrate Easter at its proper time—next, that you "administer the sacrament of Baptism, by which we are "born to God, according to the mode of the apostolic "Church of Rome, and lastly that you preach with us, the "word of God, to the English nation, all the rest that "you do, contrary to our discipline, we shall patiently "tolerate."

They replied to him, that they would not do any one of these things, nor would they regard him, as an Archbishop;* for said they amongst themselves—"if he

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And in the name of the rest, Dimothus then Abbot of Bangor *is said* thus *sagely* to have answered him, "as to *the subjection* which you require, be thus persuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity, we are all subjects and servants to the Church of God, yea to the pope of Rome, and every good Christian to help them forward, both in word and deed, to be the children of God. *Other obedience than this we know not to be due to him, whom you term the Pope*; and that obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually."

The History of England to the Norman Conquest by JOHN MILTON. Book, iv, A.D. 604.

The object of this speech is manifest. It is to shew that the early British Church did not acknowledge the supremacy of the

" were unwilling to rise and pay us respect, how much " greater would be the contempt he would manifest for us, " if we assented to submit to his jurisdiction."

Such was the reply given to this pious disciple of the Lord. He was greatly moved, on hearing it, and at the moment, uttered, it is said, a prophecy full of threats to them, viz., that if they would not have peace with their brethren, they should have to endure war from their foes; and if they would not preach the way of life to the English, they should have to suffer from the English, the bitter pains of death. A prediction, that through the

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Pope in spiritual matters. The authority referred to is SPELMAN in his *Concilia*, p. 108.

"Spelman in his Concilia 1. 108 has published from the Cottonian M. S. Claudian A. viii. f. 76, a Welsh document purporting to be the answer made by this abbot to Augustine, who urged him to profess obedience to the Church of Rome; but *it is obviously the production of a comparatively recent period*, probably not earlier than the reign of Henry the sixth, and *consequently, not entitled to the slightest credit.* Concerning this question the reader may consult, Collier's Church History i. 76. Pagi ad an. 604. §. viii. Stillingfleet's Anti. Brit. p. 360." STEVENSON (Beda. Vol. i. p. 102, note 6. E. H. S). See LINGARD'S *History and Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i. p. 71. note i. (Ed. 1845).

Dr. Lingard in the same vol. p. 326, note 2, proves what was the opinion of Welsh abbots and monks as to transubstantration.

" In the Antiphonary of Benchor, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, we have the hymn sung during communion,

Sancti Venite,	Ipse Sacerdos,
Christi corpus sumite,	Existit et hostia...
Sanctum bibentes,	Alpha et Omega
Quo redempti sanguinem...	Ipse Christus Dominus
Pro universis	Venit Venturus
Immolatus Dominus	Judicare homines.

agency of the Divine will, became, in every particular, fulfilled.*

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* Upon this conference, Lappenberg has the following observations :—

"From the above, it, will, *perhaps*, appear obvious to the unprejudiced reader, that *the arrogance* of the foreign missionary on the one side, and, on the other, the stubbornness of the British Ecclesiastics, *called into activity by that arrogance*, were the chief causes why a conference, held for so holy a purpose, ended in the evocation of feelings the reverse of those of peace and goodwill to men." LAPPENBERG'S Anglo Saxon Kings, vol. i, p. 141. (Translated by THORPE.)
In this conference, there is no proof of *arrogance* on the part of St. Augustine. The accident of his not rising from his seat —the bishops were told to regard it as an evidence of arrogance —but was no proof of it. The life of Augustine was one of obedience; his coming to England at the command of St. Gregory, when the perils of death, as he had been persuaded, lay before him, shewed his willingness to submit to the orders of his superiors. The "arrogant" archbishop is described by the ancient writers, as travelling about England, "Tam post præsulatum quam ante, *pedes absque vehiculo*, patiens laborum * * nihil secum tulerat. THORNE *Chron.* p. 1761.

Lappenberg proceeds thus :—

"With more satisfaction we, at the present day, regard the wisdom and *liberality* with which Gregory answers the question of Augustine, as to the course he was to follow with regard to the diversity prevailing in the customs of Roman and Gallican Churches. It is my wish," writes Gregory, "that you sedulously select what you may think most acceptable to Almighty God, be it in the Roman, or in the Gallican, or in any other Church; and introduce into the Church of the Angles that which you shall have so collected; for things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Chose, therefore, from the several churches whatever is pious, and religious, and right, *and these, gathered as it were into one whole, instil as observances into the minds of the Angles. Translation by* Mr. Thorpe, vol i, p. 242.

It is to be observed, first, that the words in Italics, are not a very clear translation of the language to be found in Beda---"et, quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone." The idea is more accurately conveyed in the translation of the Rev. J. Giles---"those things when

In the year 603.* Ethelfrid the most powerful, as well as the most ambitious of the Northumbrian Kings, and the monarch who inflicted most injury upon the British people was attacked by Ædan,† King of "the Scots in-

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you have, as it were, made them up into one body, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto."

Secondly, they are unfairly introduced at the close of the transactions in the year 603, between St. Augustine and the British Bishops, because they were written in 597, and an answer to questions put by St. Augustine upon his becoming a Bishop. (See Beda Lib. i, c. 27, §. 58, lines 10 to 14. E. H. S.)

Thirdly, the passage quoted by Lappenberg, by omitting the question to which it was an answer, is calculated to produce an impression the very opposite of that, which the Pope intended to inculcate. Lappenberg misplaces in point of time the answer, and omits the question; the first, to disparage the character of St. Augustine—the next, to shew, that Gregory authorised Augustine to make up a hodge-podge religion, which was to be called "The Church of the English," and such Lappenberg would have wished to have seen, preceding the form of faith established by Luther. (See Vol. i, p. 135).

The question, to which Lappenberg quotes St. Gregory's answer, was this:—

"*Cum una sit fides*, cur sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, et altera *consuetudo missarum* in sancta Romana ecclesia atque altera in Galliarum tenetur."

"Whereas, *the faith is one and the same*, why are there different customs in different churches? and why is one custom of masses observed in the Holy Roman Church, and another in the Gallican Church?" BEDA, *translated by the Rev. S. Giles.*

These extracts from Lappenberg are made, for the purpose of shewing, that in any point affecting the Catholic religion, he is no more to be relied upon than Hollinshed, Hume, Rapin, or Burnett.

* *Saxon Chronicle.*

† "He came to the throne *A.D.* 547 (Ann. Ulton, Adamnan in Vit. Columb. iii. 5) defeated the Saxons at the battle of Fethanleah, and Leithredh (Primord, p. p. 570, 709,) and died in 606 (Ann. Ulton). STEVENSON. See also in Beda vol. i. p. 88, E.H.S, on the words "Degsastan and Theobald."

habiting Britain." The battle was fought in a place since much celebrated, Digaston, that is the Stone of Digsa. The Scotch King was put to flight, with a few followers, whilst the brother of the Saxon Monarch, Theobald, was destroyed with portion of the Army, that he commanded. From that time, none of the British Scots presumed to attack the English people.*

St. Augustine as Archbishop of the British nation, consecrated in the year 604,† two Bishops, Mellitus and Justus.‡ The first, as a Bishop, to preach the Gospel to the province of the East Saxons, which is divided from Kent by the river Thames, and its metropolis London,§ the emporium of those who trade by land and sea. Saberct the nephew of Ethelbert, by his sister

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* *Beda. Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. 34. §. 80. "Post autem dictum bellum rex Athelfridus gentem Britonum misere vastavit, pluresque terras eorum, *exterminatis indigensi*, aut genti Anglorum tributarios, aut habitabiles fecit:" FORDUN. *Scot. Hist.* Lib. iii, c. 30, p. 640 (GALE *Ed*).

"Beda alludes to the peaceable conduct of the Scotch from this battle to the year 731, when he concluded his history; little weight is to be attributed to the statement of Fordun iii. 31, when he informs us that Eugenius, the son of this Ædan, harassed the possessions of the Saxons." STEVENSON.

The following, it is presumed, are the words referred to: ——"Gravibus semper regiones *Saxonum* irruptionibus, aliquandoque Pictorum, infestavit." Lib. iii, ch. 32, p. 641.

† Saxon Chronicle.

‡ ——"Prœnoscens se moriturum, ordinavit sibi successorem. Laurentium, adhuc vivens, ne se defuncto status ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adhuc tam rudis vacillaret." BEDA, Lib. ii c. iv. RAN. HIDGEN *Polychron.* (An. 603.) Lib. v, p. 227. Sax. Chron. A.D. 616.

§ London in the time of the Britons had been an Archepiscopal See—"Semper tesmporibus Britannorum archiepiscopum habuerat." ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 105.

Ricula was at that time King of Kent, but subject to the jurisdiction of Ethelbert, as supreme monarch of the English, resident within the river Humber.

The province of the East Saxons was, through the preaching of Mellitus, soon converted to the truth. A church in honor of the Apostle St. Paul was built in London, by King Ethelbert, and the city itself appointed as the episcopal see of Mellitus, and his successors.

Justus, who had been consecrated at the same time with Mellitus, was appointed by Augustine Bishop of Rochester—a town about twenty four miles distant from Canterbury. In this place also, King Ethelbert erected a church in honor of the blessed Apostle Andrew, and bestowed many gifts upon the bishops; whilst he transferred lands to the use of those who were associated with the bishops.*

It was about the year 605,† that the blessed Father Au-

* Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii, c. 3. §. 95.

† "Numerous opinions have been expressed as to the year of Augustine's death, which Beda has not indicated, but it certainly happened between A.D. 604 and 610. Wharton Angl. Sacr. i, 91, concludes that he died A.D: 634. Smith gives the preference to 605, in which he is supported by Thorn. col. 765, a writer whose local information entitles him to some credit. The Saxon version states that Augustine died 'after thyssum,' i.e. after the events which had just been mentioned." Stevenson. That is, after the consecration of the Bishops, and the endowment, by Ethelbert, of the new Bishops and Churches. The Saxon Chronicle does not notice the death of St. Augustine, although it states, with great particularity, the deaths both of St. Gregory and Ethelbert. Roger de Wendover mentions it as occurring in the year 608, vol. i, p. 109. E.H.S. which is copied by Matt. Westminst. p. 109. *Flor. Wigorn.* 555, places his death in the year 604. His words are: "Laurentium quoque presbyterum ordinans Archiepiscopum pro se, parvo post tempore ad regnum migravit cœleste, 7. Cal. Junii, feria 3.

gustine died; and his body was placed outside of the church of the Apostles St. Peter and Paul, because it was not at the time, either completed or solemnly dedicated.*

This church had been endowed, by the following charter, from King Ethelbert:

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. It behoves "every man, who lives according to the will of God, and "who hopes to be rewarded by God, that he should desire "to be aided by the prayers of the pious, willingly ten- "dered for his welfare; because it is certain, that those "things, which he asks of God, will be the more willingly "conceded to him, by so much the more willingly he "offers to God, that which it is permitted to himself to "enjoy. Wherefore, I, Ethelbert King of Kent, with "the consent of the venerable Archbishop Augustine, "and of my nobles, give and concede to God, in honor of "St. Peter, some portion of that land, which is in my own "right,† and that lies on the East of the city of Canter-

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* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 3, §. 96.

† "The sources from whence the munificent donations of the Anglo Saxon Kings were derived, seem to have been two-fold: as the first we may reckon the demense lands, to which the Saxon kings had succeeded in the right of the British Reguli. The second is more obscurely indicated; but it appears to have existed in the powers assumed by the king, and the Witan, of granting a part of the common lands of a township, together with the "Manentes" or "Bondes," who had settled upon the appropriated tenements, and that in such case, the grant was a transfer of superiority; by which means each portion so severed became a new township. PALGRAVE'S *Rise and progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, p. 160.

"But the liberality of the Anglo Saxon Monarchs did not lead them to destroy the services due to the State. They maintained their royal pre-eminence, and they provided for the religious instruction of the people without impairing the sources of the community. * * The decrees of Ethelbald,

" bury, in order that a monastery be constructed there,
" and that the property hereafter mentioned, be in the
" possession of him, who shall be ordained, as Abbot.* I
" therefore adjure and command, in the name of Almighty
" God, who is the just judge of all things, that the same
" land, with the under-mentioned donation, be for ever
" confirmed, and that it be not permissible for me, nor for
" any of my successors, kings or nobles, nor any other
" persons of whatsoever condition, to defraud the holders
" of any part of it; and if any shall attempt to lessen this
" our donation, or to render it void, let him, in the pre-
" sent life be prevented from the holy communion of the
" body and blood of Christ; and on the day of judge-
" ment, as a punishment for his malice, be separated
" from the company of all the saints. The said land is
" marked by these boundaries---on the East by the church
" of St. Martin, on the South by the way of the Burgate,†

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which recite and explain the Kentish Charter, reserve, in the most express terms, the three important duties, in which all the people were bound to share, when enjoined by the king's edict, command, or summons. The payment of the imposts required for the repairs of the bridges and highways; the contributions for keeping up the walls and fortifications of the strongholds; and the military services required for the resistance of the enemy and the defence of the kingdom." Ibid. p. 156. See also on this point, KEMBLE'S *Codex Diplomaticus.* (Introduction) vol. i, pp. li, lii, liii, liv.

* " Frequently the building itself was raised and dedicated before the grant was made; and the lands were then conveyed to the servants of the Lord therein ministering." PALGRAVE'S *Rise and progress of the English Commonwealth,* vol. p. 161.

† Sir Francis Palgrave in his great work, the " Rise and progress of the English Commonwealth," referring to a selection of the Anglo Saxon Charters made by him for the purpose of elucidating the constitutional history of the Anglo Saxon Kingdoms, observes:—" The series of these instruments begins

" and on the West and the North by Drouting-street. " Given in the City of Canterbury, in the year from the " Incarnation of Christ, DCV, indit, vi. I, Ethelbert, " King of Kent, being of sound mind, and perfect un- " derstanding, have confirmed and strengthened this my " donation, with the sign of the cross marked with my " own hand. I, † Augustine, by the grace of God " Archbishop, a consenting witness willingly subscribe " it. † Edbaldus, † Hamigisilus, † Augemundus, " *Refendarius*, † Hecca, † Tangil, † Pinca, † Geddy."*

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with the charter by which King Ethelbert (A.D. 605) founded the monastery of St Peter and St. Paul, afterwards called St. Augustine's Abbey. The abuttals are accurately given; and it may be remarked that the *Burgate*, the road or street named as the southern boundary of the land, retains the same identical name, without any variation, after a lapse of twelve hundred years."

To this passage he appends the following note.

" Ethelbert's tower has lately been laid in ruins by the obstinacy of an ignorant mechanic; and in consequence of the supineness of the corporation, the same fate is preparing for the sumptuous portal, almost the only remaining relic of a pile whose history is coeval with the establishment of Christianity in England. The example afforded to the corporation by the Dean and Chapter ought to shame them out of their Vandalism. The restoration of the Cathedral, effected under the inspection of Dean Percy, now Bishop of Carlisle, without the aid of any professional architect, exhibits a union of skill, contrivance, and correct taste, which has rarely been equalled, and never surpassed." Vol ii, p. ccviii.

* PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. ii, p. ccxviii, and KEMBLE'S *Codex Deplomaticus*, No. ii, vol. i, p. 2. It has been thought right to insert a copy of this charter here, as it is one of the earliest specimens, of those numerous instruments, which remain as proofs of the piety and generosity of the Anglo Saxon Monarchs and nobles to the Catholic Church. The industry of antiquarians has discovered the Charters---but the supporters of " the Reformation" have long since despoiled the church of its temporal goods, and

As soon as the Church, thus endowed, had been dedicated, the body of St Augustine was conveyed within its sacred walls and interred in the northern porch, where were likewise deposited the remains of the succeeding Archbishops, with the exception of Theodore and Berthwald, whose bodies were placed in the Church, as there was no further space in the porch. There was also in this Church, an altar raised in honour of the blessed Pope Gregory, at which on every Saturday, there was mass*

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wasted them in the indulgence of the worst vices.

This charter is deserving of insertion, for another reason. Its authenticity is now admitted by such eminent antiquarians as Sir F. Palgrave and Mr. Kemble, whilst for a long time, its existence was advanced as an evidence against the monks, for the purpose of convicting them of forgery. Truth has untruly been declared to be falsehood, for the purpose of supplying calumny with an argument! "Iamdiu est," says Mr. Warton, "quod chartarum monasticarum fraudes a viris eruditis detectæ fuerint. * * D. Henricus Spelmanus * * docuerat chartas in Angliâ sub exitum saeculi septimi *primo* scribi cœpisse, *primamque omnium fuisse,* quam Withredus Rex Ecclesiæ Cant. anno 694, dedit. Quæcunque igitur ætatem superiorem præ se ferunt, *certissime sunt commentitiæ.*" *Anglia Sacra.* vol. ii. (Præfatio). pp. ii, iii.

* "From thære stowe masse preoste heorr gemynde and forthfore mid mæsse sange mœrsade syndon; their commemorations and obits are celebrated with the singing of masses by the mass-priest of the place. Saxon version (of Beda). The proceedings of the Council of Cloveshoe A.D. 747, cap. 17, directing that the nativity and obit of Augustine should be celebrated, also exhibit *another proof of the regard in which his memory was held by our ancestors.*" STEVENSON.

"Together with him were buried in the same porch the six succeeding Archbishops, and in memory of these seven, viz. Austin, Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deus-Dedit, and Theodosius these lines were inscribed in marble:

Septem sunt Angli Primates et Protopatres
Septem Rectores, septem cœloque triones,
Septem cisternæ vitæ, septemque lucernæ,
Et septem palmæ regni, septemque coronæ:
Septem sunt stellæ, quas hæc tenet arca cellæ.

solemnly celebrated, in honour of the pontiff and the misionary.

Upon the tomb of St. Augustine this epitaph was nscribed.

" Here rests the Lord Augustine, first Archbishop of " Canterbury, who directed hither by the blessed Gregory " Pope of Rome, and supported by God, in the opera- " tion of miracles, brought the King Ethelbert and his " nation, from the worship of idols, to the faith of Christ; " having completed in peace the days of his ministry, he " died on the seventh of the Kalends of June (26th May) " in that Kings reign."*

Seven patriarch primates were to England given,
Seven rulers, now seven glorious stars of Heaven,
Fountains of life, and beaming glories seven,
As many palms, as many crowns of Heaven;
As many stars, that once with radiance shin'd,
Are here, within this vaulted cell, enshrin'd.

CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 315. (GOUGH'S Ed.)

Weever says besides the first Archbishop and Kings of Kent, thousands of others were here interred, but by the demolition of this monastery, " not one bone at this time remains near " another, nor one stone almost on another, the tract of this " goodly foundation no where appearing."

The remains of St. Augustine were afterwards removed into the north porch of the Cathedral of Christ Church within the City; and on the 6th of September, 1091, leaving in that place some part of the ashes and lesser bones, Abbot Wido translated the remainder into the church, where they lay for some time in a strong urn in the wall, under the east window. In 1221, the head was put into a rich shrine ornamented with gold and precious stones, the rest of the bones lay in a marble tomb enriched with fine carvings and engravings *till the dissolution.* BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. v, p. 687. (St. Augustine). See B. Willis's View of the Mitred Abbeys. Leland Collectanea. Vol. vi, pp. 106, 107.

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 3, §. 96. " Goscelin a monk of Canterbury in 1096, besides two lives of St. Augustine, compiled a book of the miracles wrought since his death, and a his-

About this period of time, (in the year 605)* the blessed Pope Gregory, having gloriously governed the See of Rome, and the Apostolic Church, for thirteen years, six months, and ten days, was removed to the Kingdom of Heaven. We may be permitted to call him our apostle; for we are the mark of his apostleship, in the Lord.† He was by birth a Roman, and descended from a family alike distinguished by their nobility and their piety. Felix, one of the occupants of the Roman See belonged to the family of his ancestors,‡ and Gregory,

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tory of the translation of his relics in 1091, which was accompanied with the several miracles to which this author was an eye-witness. This work is given at length by Papebroke on this day." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. v, p. 686. (St. Augustine).

Of Goscelin's discription of the translation of Augustine's relics, it is said by William of Malmsbury: "Hujus, quoque translationis seriem ita expolivit, ut eam præsentibus monstrasse digito, futurorumque videatur subjecisse oculo. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. iv. §. 342, vol. ii, p. 552. (E.H.S.)

* "He died 12th March, A.D. 604, not in 605, as Beda states, misled, perhaps, by some authority in which the year commenced upon 25th March." STEVENSON.

The Saxon Chronicle dates his death as occurring in 606.

† "Quem recta nostrum appellare possumus et debemus apostolum;"....."nam signaculum apostolum ejus nos sumus in Domino." BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. i, §. 81.

‡ "Felix.....ejus fuit atavus." Upon these words, Mr. Stevenson, the editor of Beda, has the following note:—

"Felix III, who died A.D. 492, is probably the Pope here alluded to, but '*Atavus*' must not be taken in its literal signification."

We may here remark, that the annotations of Mr. Stevenson are distinguished by great learning, great research, and great astuteness. In this work, they have saved us many a weary hour; but that, for which we feel most deeply grateful, is the fair and candid spirit in which they are written.

by his devotion, proved that he was neither inferior to his progenitors, in generous qualities, nor in attachment to the true religion. The nobility that he inherited, instead of employing it for worldly purposes, he consecrated to the greater glory of God. Abandoning the secular habit, he sought a monastery, and there he arrived at such a state of perfection, that he afterwards was heard to declare, with tears, that all the fleeting things of this world were banished from his mind; that his thoughts alone were occupied with heaven; that he even so far had loosed himself from all the bonds of the flesh, that death which most men abhor as a dreaded punishment, was regarded by him, as the desirable entrance into life, and the longed-for reward of past labour.* When elevated to the pontifical chair, he converted his palace into a monastery. At the time, that he had been first taken from his monastery to officiate at the altar, and that, in obedience to the Apostolic See, he proceeded to Constantinople, he brought with him some of his brother monks, in order that he might, in their society, attend to the rules of his order. He wished, as he himself wrote, to have their example before him, that he might be bound, as if with an anchor-rope, to the calm shore of prayer, whilst his mind was tossed with the un-

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As to the rank and wealth of the family of St. Gregory, see the modern work of Lau—"Gregor I, der Grosse nach sienem Leben, und Seiner Lehre, pp. 9, 10. The mode of employing his wealth is thus attested by St. Gregory of Tours:— "In rebus propiis sex in Sicilia monasteria congregavit, septimum infra urbis Romæ muros instituit; quibus tantam delegans terrarum copiam, quanto ad victum quotidianum præbendum sufficeret, reliqua vendidit cum omni præsido domus, ac pauperibus erogavit." *Hist. Francorum.* Lib. x. c. i.

* "Nam mutato repente habitu seculari, monasterium petiit, in quo &c." BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. i, §. 82.

ceasing impulse of worldly transactions—that, in their society, he might be not only be guarded from earthly assaults; but his soul more and more inflamed by the exercises of a heavenly life.*

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*Pontificati functus officio domum suam monasterium facere curavit, et dum primo de monasterio abstractus, ad ministerium altaris ordinatus, &c. to the end of the section 83.

We have deemed it proper to give thus much, respecting the attachment of St. Gregory the Great to those much abused, and shamelessly vilified institutions, the ancient monasteries.

It does not come within the limits of this work to translate the entire of the venerable Bede's account of St. Gregory, with which he occupies the first chapter of the second book.

"His holy remains rest in the Vatican Church. Both the Greeks and the Latins honor his name. The Council of Clif, or Clovesho, under Archbishop Cuthbert, in 747, commanded his feast to be observed a holiday in all the monasteries in England, which the Council in Oxford, in 1222, extended to the whole kingdom. This law subsisted till the change of religion. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iii, p. 340. (St. Gregory) See *Europe During the Middle Ages.* (Cac. Cyc.) Vol. iv, ch. 3, and *Rome under Paganism and the Popes*, vol. ii, pp. 280 286. *Legenda Aurea* pp. 188–202. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. pp. 121-154.

An anti-Catholic, but not an English author, candidly admits that the English people justly celebrated the festival of St. Gregory, as of the apostle of their country, although, he had not, personally, the opportunity of preaching to them the doctrines of Christianity:—

"Mit Recht feiert darum die Englishe Kirche ihn als ihren Apostle, wenn ihm auch freilich nicht verstattet war, in eigner Person den Angeln die Lehre vom Kreuze zu verkündigen." LAU. *Gregor* I. *der Grosse.* p. 229.

Mr. David Hume, the Infidel, denounces Gregory the Great as a man who had "not taste or genius," and thus accounts for his successful conversion of England to Christianity!—

"On the whole it appears that Gregory and his missionary, *if sympathy of manners* have any influence, were better calculated than men of more refined understanding, for making a progress with *the ignorant and barbarous Saxons.*"

Laurence succeeded to St. Augustine in the year 605, and he immediately devoted his entire time and thoughts

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In this passage, we find a specimen of that strong personal detestation, which every infidel entertains against those glorious men, who have been shining lights in the Catholic Church. But, why is there such animosity exhibited for men, whose entire lives were devoted to the service of their fellow creatures? It is difficult to account for it, except upon this ground, that the saints have always denounced hypocrisy; and that infidels will be found, almost universally, practical hypocrites, or the admirers of hypocrites. Thus it is with David Hume.

In the appendix to Lord Brougham's "Lives of Men of Letters," there is a letter from David Hume to a Colonel Edmonstone, advising a young friend of both, a Mr. V——, a notorious deist, to become a clergyman, because Lord Bute was in power, and would be found an efficient patron for men in "the ecclesiastical profession."

To make money—to become a clergyman, and perchance a bishop—Hume advises his young friend to be a sacrilegious hypocrite; and this is his style of reasoning on the point:—

"It is putting too great a respect on the vulgar, and on *their superstitions*, to pique oneself *on sincerity with regard to them*. Did ever one make it a point of honor to speak truth to children, or to madmen. * * *I wish it were still in my power to be a hypocrite in this particular.* The common duties of society usually require it; and the *ecclesiastical profession only adds a little more to an innocent dissimulation or rather simulation*, without which it is impossible to pass through the world."

The assailant of St. Gregory the Great would have induced his young friend to imitate the example of Julian the apostate, (the hero of Mr. Gibbon the infidel), who to advance himself to the imperial throne pretended to be that which he was not—a Christian.

"Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret *adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat* * * * feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Ianuario Christiani Epiphania, dictitant, *progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit.*" —(Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. xxi, c. 2.)

This admiration of hypocrisy, and this hatred of Christianity have not rotted away, in the graves of Hume and Gibbon. We learn from the pages of M. De Courson, that in France both may be found united, and still flourishing. See his observations on the work of M. Remusat respecting the celebrated Abelard. *His-*

to the completion of that noble edifice, the foundations of which had been laid, so broadly and so well, by his predecessor. His exhortations to piety were as unceasing, as his good works were incessant. His cares were not merely for the good of the new church, which had been established amongst the English, but also embraced the ancient inhabitants of Britain, as well as the Scots, both in this country and in Ireland, for all of whom he felt a pastoral solicitude. As he was aware, that their life and profession were not in accordance with ecclęsiastical discipline, and especially, as they did not observe the paschal solemnity, at its proper period of time, he, in common with his fellow bishops, addressed a letter to them, beseeching them to acccōrd with that unity of peace, and of Cătholic discipline which was unanimously adhered to, by the Church of Christ in all parts of the globe.*

Mellitus, Bishop of London, in the year 610, proceeded to Rome, for the purpose of consulting the Apostolic Pope Boniface, with respect to the affairs of the English Church; and as the Pope had at that time † assembled a synod of

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toire des Peuples Bretons, vol. ii, pp. 188, 189, 190, 197, 199, 200, 202, and in page 203 where he justly brands the system of which M. Remusat is a supporter, as "l'hypocrisie philosohique."

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 4, §. 97. Upon the observance of Easter, see Lib. v. c. 21, §. 427-444.

† "This Synod was held at Rome, 27th February, 610, and was occupied chiefly in securing the interests of the monks. Its proceedings are printed in Labbe's Concil. V. 1619. Later authorities informs us that the journey was undertaken to procure the consecration of the church at Westminster. See Baronius. A.D. 610, §. 10" Stevenson.

The decree of the council, referred to, states that there is nothing, in the vows or profession of a monk, to prevent his exercising, when ordained, the functions of a priest, see *Beda*, vol. ii. pp. 252, 253, 254. E. H. S.

the Bishops of Italy, for the purpose of making regulations with respect to the life and peace of monks, Mellitus took his seat amongst them, and all things that were duly decreed, he confirmed with his subscription. Upon his return, he brought back with him rules and observances for the Churches of the English, along with epistles from the Pope to the Archbishop Laurence, and the entire clergy, as well as to King Ethelbert and the English people.*

In the year 613, the prophecy uttered by St. Augustine (in 603,) against the British clergy was fulfilled.† Ethelfrid that most powerful King of the Northumbrians, as well as most ferocious pagan, having collected a large army, made a frightful slaughter of the Britons at Chester. Observing, at the moment he was about to attack the enemy, a great number of their priests, who had met together, to pray for the success of their countrymen, in a place apart from the scene of conflict, and apparently secure from attack, he inquired, for what purpose they had assembled in such numbers. The most of these were from the monastery of Bangor, in which, it is said, there was such a number of monks, that when divided into seven portions, each portion, with its rectors consisted of

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* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 4. §. 99. The letter to Pope Boniface is in Mr. Stevenson's Edition of Beda. vol. ii, pp. 225, 256.

† "Quod ita per omnia, ut prædixerat, divino agente judicio, patratum est." Beda.

three hundred monks, and all lived by the labor of their hands.*

The most of these had fasted for three days, when they met, with others, for the purpose of offering up their prayers, and to them was assigned, as a defender, Brocmail, whose duty it was to protect them from injury, whilst engaged with their devotions.

The tyrant Ethelfrid, being told of the reason for their thus assembling, exclaimed—"If they invoke their God "against us, then they fight against us; for although they "do not bear arms, they assail us with imprecations," and on the instant he ordered an attack to be made upon them. The order was obeyed; and the British army was destroyed, but not without severe loss to the Saxons. Of the persons, who had come merely to pray, about a thousand two hundred were put to death, and not more than fifty effected their escape. As to Brocmail,† so far from defending those he was bound to protect, he and his soldiers were amongst the first that fled. Men unarmed, and utterly defenceless were left, by him, to be cut down by

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"Omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant." BEDA.

"In the citie of Bangor a gret hous tho was
And ther vndyr vij cellens and ther of ther nas
That ccc monckes hadde othur mo
And alle by hure trauayle lyuede: loke now if they do so."

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER.

† "This Brocmæl, or Brockwell, surnamed Ysygthrog, the son of Conan, and father of Tyssilio, was Prince of Powis; he, together with Cadvan King of Britain, Morgan King of Demetia, and Bledericus King of Cornwal, are said by the Welsh authors to have been the commanders of the British army. Enderbie, p. 213," STEVENSON.

"Brocmail was gehaten heora ealdorman. se atbærst thanon fiftiga sum." *Sax. Chron.* A. D. 607.

the swords of their Pagan adversaries. It was thus that the prophecy of Augustine was fulfilled, although he himself had long before been removed from this life to heaven.*

Ethelbert, having passed a glorious reign of six and fifty years, as King of Kent, and of these having been, for one and twenty years, a Christian, expired in the year A.D. 616, and was interred in St. Martin's porch of the church, which he himself had founded, in honor of the Apostles S.S. Peter and Paul. Amongst the many blessings that he conferred upon his country, this is to be especially mentioned, that with the advice of his counsellors he promulgated in imitation of the Romans, decrees,† or "dooms,"

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* Roger de Wend. *Flor. Hist.* vol. i, pp. 103, 104, Beda, Lib. ii, c. 2, §. 94. See Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i, p. 73. Stevenson's note in Bede vol. i, p. 103, note 25.

† "An Edition of the Saxon Laws, of which these are the earliest, is now in preparation under the able Editorship of B. Thorpe, Esq." Stevenson.

"No earlier copy of the laws of Aethelbert, than the Textus Roffensis now exists; that volume was compiled by Ernulfus, Bishop of Rochester, between the years 1115 and 1124."

Hardy (W. Malmsbury, vol. 1. p. 17. E.H.S.)

Upon this copy, Sir F. Palgrave has the following observations. "It is difficult to believe, that the text of an Anglo-Norman manuscript of the twelfth century exhibits an unaltered specimen of the Anglo-Saxon of the reign of Ethelbert * *. Some passages are quite unintelligible, and the boldest critic would hardly venture upon conjectural emendations, for which he can obtain no collateral aid. Neither is there any proof whatever of the integrity of the text." *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. 1, p. 45.

"It would afford a curious parallel to the modern circumstances of England, if the Anglo-Saxon laws could be divided into *ae*, or *æwa*, customs, or common law; *asetnysse*, statutes; and *Domas*, adjudged cases on precedents. But these terms, whatever distinction may have been originally intended, are em-

which were written in the language of the English, and intended for their observance. By these, it was in the

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ployed indiscriminately, and the first specimens of Anglo-Saxon legislation are the "Dooms," which Ethelbert, King, established with the consent of his Witan in the days of St. Augustine."—Ibid. vol. 1. p. 43.

The laws of Ethelbert demonstrate that the care of the church was not the only object for which they were passed. Protection was also afforded by them to those in a menial or servile condition. "The king's maiden," "the grinding slave," "the esne," and "the theow," were guarded by them, from insult, dishonor, and injury. See clauses 10, 11, 25, 86, 87, 88, 89. "Edelbirht's Domas," in that very valuable work, THORPE'S *Ancient Laws and Institutions of England*, p,p. 2, 3, 10. See also on this point PHILLIPS'S *Versuch einer Darstellung der Geschichte des Angelsachsischen Rechts*, § xxxiv, 3, p.p. 122—126. In p. 61, note 213, Dr. Phillips suggests, that the laws of Ethelbert being established in imitation of the Romans, "juxta exempla Romanorum" must not be taken to signify any imitation of Justinian by Ethelbert; but must refer to the example afforded by the Roman clergy; "Romani" being the name applied to priests amongst the Anglo Saxons, as long as there was no person of their nation consecrated to the altar. "Auch liesse sich jener Ausdruck noch anders erklaren; haufig werden namlich von den Chronisten mit '*Romani*' die Geistlichen unter den Angelsachsen bezeichnet, so lange dieselben noch nicht Eingeborne waren z. b.; Rex (Ethelbertus) autem de adventu *Romanorum* certior effectus, mancre, eos jussit." *Act. Pont. Cant. Eccl. Gervas*, p. 1630.

In Snorro we find the same praise bestowed for the same reason, upon Halfdan, which is here given by Bede to Ethelbert. See *Konung Halfdan Swartes Saga*, c. 7, vol. 1, p. 71. See also DE COURSON *Hist. des Peuples Bretons*, vol. 11, p. 58.

The Salic law, like "the dooms" of Ethelbert, dates its origin from Christianity. The prologue to it thus commences:—

"Gens Francorum inclyta, auctore Deo condita, fortis in armis, firma pacis, fœdere, profunda in consilio, corpore nobilis, et incolumis, candore et forma egregia, audax, velox et aspera, nuper." (A.D. 496) "*ad Catholicam fidem conversa, immunis ab hæresi*; dum adhuc teneretur barbarie, inspirante Deo, inquirens scientiæ clavem, juxta morem suorum qualitatum desiderans justitiam, custodiens pietatem, dictitaverunt Salicam Legem Proceres ipsius gentis, qui tunc temporis apud eamdem erant Rectores." *Rer. Gall. et Franç. Script.* vol. iv. p. 122.

first instance determined, what amends should be made by those, who despoiled the church, the Bishops, or those devoted to a religious life, of their property; for he desired to protect a class, whose persons he respected, and whose doctrines he had imbibed.*

As Ethelbert was exalted over others in power, so also did he desire to excel them in virtue; for his was the true nobility of soul—his, the virtuous pride that raises man above his fellow creatures—to surpass those in piety, over whom temporal rank has already elevated him.†

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* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 5, §. 100, 101. Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 113.

† W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 9. ...

"Ethelbert is commemorated on this day, (24 February) in the British and Roman martyrologies; he was vulgarly called by our ancestors St. Albert, under which name he is titular saint of several churches in England; particularly of one in Norwich, which was built before the Cathedral. Polydore Virgil tells us, that a light was kept always burning before the tomb of St. Ethelbert, and was sometimes an instrument of miracles, even to the days of Henry VIII. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii, p. 269. (St. Ethelbert).

In that very curious book "Weever's Funeral Monuments," there is, the following stupidly ludicrous epitath upon King Ethelbert :—

"Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in polyandro,
"Fana pians certus Christo meat absque meandro."

"King Ethelbert lieth here,
"Closed in his polyander,
"For building churches sure he goes
"To Christ without mæander."

The same epitath without the translation may be seen in Stow, p. 59.

CHAPTER. IV.

Events in the reign of Edwin, and his immediate successors.

Eadbald, King of Kent—his paganism and immorality. Idolatry and impiety of the East Saxons—sacrilegious desire of their princes to partake of the Holy Sacrament—their punishment. Exile of the Bishops Mellitus and Justus. Miraculous vision of Archbishop Laurence. Conversion of Eadbald. Restoration of Christianity in Canterbury. Idolatry of the Londoners. Battle between the Kings of East Anglia and Northumbria. Death of Ethelfrid. Accession of Edwin to the throne of Northumbria. Marriage of Edwin to a daughter of King Ethelbert. St. Paulinus...his labors in the conversion of the Northumbrians. Attempt to assassinate Edwin. Efforts made by Paulinus to convert Edwin. Doubts of the King...converted by a miracle. An account of Edwin when a fugitive...his extraordinary vision. A Witenagemot assembled to determine between Christianity and idolatry. The high priest of the Pagans the first to violate the fane of the idols he had worshipped. First Christian church at York. Progress of Christianity amongst the Northumbrians. The stone altar in the church of Almonbury. Paganism and Christianity amongst the East Angles. St. Felix and King Sigebert. Churches built by St. Paulinus. Tranquility of Northumbria in the reign of Edwin. Letters of Pope Honorius to King Edwin and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Northumbria attacked by the British and Mercian Kings. Martyrdom of King Edwin. Flight of St. Paulinus...appointed to the see of Rochester. The successors of Edwin...their paganism and miserable deaths.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D, 616—634.

Upon the death of Ethelbert, he was succeeded in the government of Kent by his son Eadbald, a man whose foul passions blighted, for a time, the tender shoots of Christianity springing up in different parts of the country.* Eadbald not only declared his unwillingness to receive the gospel; but he was guilty of a dire offence, such as the Apostle testifies was unknown amongst the gentiles; that of fixing his affections upon the wife of his father.† His evil example was soon followed by those, who when his father lived had, influenced by the base motives of hope, or fear, pretended to receive the faith of Christ, and to pass their days in abstinence and chastity. They returned to their sins, whilst the perfidious King, who had thus given scandal to his subjects, was afflicted by the divine wrath, with frequent fits of madness, or a still more dread affliction—the raging impurity of unbridled, and unrestrainable passion.‡

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* "Magno tenellis ibi adhuc Ecclesiæ crementis detrimento fuit." Beda.

† After the death of Bertha, Ethelbert married another French Princess; but her name is not mentioned by historians, probably on account of her incest with Eadbald. Hardy.

‡ "Nam crebra mentis vesania, et spiritus immundi invasione premebatur." Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 5, §. 102. *Saxon. Chron,* A.D. 616.

The storm, which the passions of Eadbald excited, received fresh strength upon the death of Saberct,* the King of the East Saxons. He had left, as the heirs to his throne, three sons, who the moment they were possessed of supreme power, gave loose to that paganism, which they had never abandoned, although they had, in some slight degree, concealed it during their father's lifetime. As Kings, they avowed their infidelity, and sanctioned their subjects, in the open practices of idolatry.

It is said, that in the madness of their brutal folly, upon seeing the Bishop celebrating mass in church, and giving the Eucharist to the people, they thus addressed him:—†

"Why do you not offer to us that snow-white bread,‡ which you were wont to give our father Saba," (the name by which they were accustomed to call him) "and that "you have not ceased to give to the people in the "Church?"

To such a question as this, the Bishop answered:—

"If you wish to be washed in the font of baptism, in "which your father was cleansed, you can also be par-"takers of that sacred bread, of which he participated;

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* "The son and successor of Sleda began his reign in 579, and was converted to Christianity in 604. He died, A.D. 616, and left his sons Seaxred, and Sigeweard his successors." HARDY.

† Cumque viderent pontificem, celebratis in Ecclesia missarum sollemniis, eucharistam populo dare," BEDA.

‡ "Quare non et nobis porrigis *panem nitidum.*" BEDA.
This passage is worthy of note as demonstrating that the communion was then only given under one form: see Hollinshed, vol. i, p. 46. Had the priest in 616, given wine to laymen in communion, the pagan Princes would naturally have required it to be taken from the altar, in preference to the "nitidum panem," which is still to be found there.

" but whilst you despise the baptism of life, you cannot " receive the bread of life.*

" We do not," they answered, " value the font of " which you speak—we do not know that there is any " benefit to be derived from its use, and yet we wish to " taste of that bread, and see, if we can be refreshed " by it."

Often and diligently were these Pagans admonished by the Bishop, that without a holy purgation from their sins,† they could not possibly be permitted to receive in communion the Sanctified Oblation of the altar.‡ Instead of being calmed by the reasoning of the Bishop, their fury was aroused, and they said to him—" If you will " not yield your assent, when we ask for a thing so " trifling as this, you can no longer remain in our do- " minions"—and with this, they commanded that he should be expelled from their Kingdom.

The punishment of Heaven soon overtook these wicked princes. They, who had driven from amongst them the preacher of divine truth, were not long permitted to bow down and worship the demons of hell; for in a battle with the Gewissi,¶ they, with their entire army, were

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* " Sin autem lavacrum vitæ contemnitis, nullatenus valetis panem vitæ percipere." BEDA.

† "*purgatione sacrosanctæ*—Geclæsnunge fulwihtes bæthes; the purification of the bath of Baptism. Saxon version." STEVENSON.

‡ " Nequaquam fieri posse ut absque purgatione sacrosancta quis oblationi sacrosanctæ communicaret." BEDA.

¶ " With West Seaxna theode, against the nation of the West Saxons." STEVENSON.

destroyed. They perished; but not so the wickedness they had revived; for the populace, having been allowed by them to sin, could not speedily be restored to the simplicity of faith, and the integrity of charity, which are alone to be found in Christ.*

Mellitus, upon being expelled by the Princes of the East Saxons, proceeded to Kent, for the purpose of consulting with his brother Bishops, what was the most advisable course for them to pursue, under the circumstances in which they were placed. All came to the determination, that it was better for them to return to their native land, where they might freely worship their God, than longer to pass their time, vainly and fruitlessly in the midst of barbarians, who were rebels in their faith, and ruthless in the indugence of their passions.

In pursuance of this resolution Mellitus and Justus proceeded to France, with the intention to await there the course of events. Laurence purposed following them; and when he was on the point of quitting Britain, he directed, that his bed should be laid in the porch of the Church dedicated to the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul. There, having fervently prayed, and bitterly wept, over the fallen state of the Church in this country, he at length stretched his limbs upon his humble pallet, and fell asleep.

In his sleep, the most blessed prince of the apostles appeared to him, and then, in the dead hour of the night, afflicted his body with stripes, and shook his soul with severe rebukes—asking him, how he could separate himself from a flock that had been confided to him; or why

* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 5 §. 103.

the shepherd was to fly, and leave his sheep in the midst of wolves—

"How," said the blessed Peter, "have you been for-
"getful of my example, who for the sake of the little ones
"entrusted, as a proof of His love to me, by Christ,
"have endured chains, stripes, imprisonment, afflictions,
"death itself, and even the death of the cross, in order,
"that I might save them from infidels, and the enemies
"of Christ; and at last be crowned with Him, in the
"glory of martyrdom."

The servant of God, Laurence, became by these stripes and exhortations of St. Peter, animated with courage, and as soon as day dawned, he hastened to the king, and removing the vestment that covered his shoulders, he let the sovereign see how they had been lacerated by severe blows.* The latter was astonished at the sight—he en-

* "Retecto vestimento, quantis esset verberibus laceratus ostendit" BEDA. Lib. ii, c. 6. §. 104.

An "anti-catholic" version of this story is worthy of being recorded, especially as it professes to be taken from Bede, whose words seem to be translated.

"A *simple contrivance* of Lawrence, the successor of Augustine, affected the mind of Eadbald with alarm. He appeared before the king *bleeding* from severe stripes; and *boldly* declared that he received them in the night from St. Peter, because he was meditating his departure from the island. *The idea was exactly level with the king's intellect and superstition.* A strong sensation of fear *that the same discipline might be inflicted, by the same invisible hand, on himself,* changed his feelings, and he became a zealous friend to the new faith. The exiled bishops were recalled, and the old Saxon rites abolished for ever in Kent and Essex. TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons,* vol. i, p. 346.

Another "anti-Catholic" historian has referred to this miracle, and the manner, in which the narration of it is introduced, is fully indicative of the spirit that has animated its author, from commencement to the close of his work.

quired who it was that had presumed to inflict such injuries upon a man so high, so great, and so respected as the Archbishop; and when he was informed, that it was for his salvation, the prelate had suffered these afflictions and pains, a sudden fear overwhelmed him—his heart was filled with abhorrence of the idolatry to which he had lent himself. He abandoned his unholy and illegal marriage—he received the faith of Christ—and he, thenceforward, did his utmost to aid, by word and act, in the promotion of the true religion, and the sustain-

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" *The device* by which these desirable events were brought to pass, though unfit to be recorded on the pages of history at the present day, affords, nevertheless, too striking an example of *the means it is to be feared, but too frequently employed in propagating the new faith among our simple forefathers,* to be wholly unnoticed. We are told by Beda, &c., &c."

LAPPENBERG'S *England under the Anglo Saxon Kings,* (translated by B. THORPE, F. S. A.) vol. i, p. 143, note 4.

It may be remarked, that " the new faith " here referred to, as being propagated by fraud and blasphemy, was " Christianity," and that the "forefathers," that Herr Lappenberg, or Mr. Thorpe refer to, as being " simple," were persons guilty of incest, and in some places, so dead not merely to the feeling of humanity, but to the natural instinct of brutes, as to sell their children for slaves! The innocence of the Pagan and the savage is seldom asserted but by the infidel, and never believed, but by persons whose barbarous ignorance of past history, and the statements of modern travellers reduces them nearly to a level with those, whose virtues are assumed, because their vices are unknown.

Here, the priest, who is maligned, is recognised as a saint in the Catholic Church. For a brief notice of his character, See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. i, p. 196. Even Hollinshed and Rapin are decorous in their language when contrasted with Herr Lappenberg. See HOLLINSHED *Historie of England,* Book v, c. 24. RAPIN (translated by Tindal), Book iii, vol. i, p. 69, (folio edit.) In the Acta Sanctorum (Feb.)vol. i, p. 209, St. Laurence is designated " S. Augustini socius præcipuus." See same vol. pp. 289-294.

ment of the Church.* He even sent to France, for the purpose of recalling Justus and Mellitus to their respective dioceses, with the assurance, that they should have free and unrestrained command over them. These Bishops returned (in 617) a year after they had left England. Justus was restored to Rochester, over which he had presided; but the people of London refused to receive Mellitus as their bishop. The Londoners preferred the high priests of their idols to a christian bishop,† and Eadbald, who did not exercise the same sovereignty, as his father, had not the power to restore a prelate to his church, in direct opposition to the will of the Pagans. He, and the people immediately subject to him, were converted to God—they laboured to learn and endeavoured to act, in accordance with the Divine precepts. The king erected in the monastery of the Prince of the Apostles, a church in honor of the Mother of God.

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* "Fidem Christi suscepit, et baptizatus a Laurentio archiepiscopo ecclesiæ rebus in quantum valuit in omnibus consulere ac favere curavit." W. Thorn *Chron.* c. 2, p. 1768.

† "Tha wurdon Lunden--ware hæthene." *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 616. The reference here made to the disinclination of the Londoners to Catholicity is, unfortunately, not the only one to be found, in the course of this work. At other times, we shall have to shew, their readiness to bow down and worship the idols, which the wickedness of man constructed for them, and their preference of the priests of such idols, to the bishops and clergy of the Christian religion.

The See of London was, from the death of Mellitus, vacant until the year 656, when Cedd was ordained Bishop of the East Saxons. It had been intended by Pope Gregory, to make London the seat of the archiepiscopal see, but St. Augustine, won by the kindness of the king, and the affection of the citizens of Canterbury, preferred the latter place--and having blessed it with his presence whilst living, he hallowed it, when dead, by his remains. See Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 22, p. 214. W.

This church was afterwards consecrated by Mellitus as Archbishop.*

In the reign of King Eadbald, Laurence Archbishop of Canterbury was, on the 2nd of February,† removed to heaven, and his body interred in the church attached to the monastery of St. Peter, beside that of his predecessor St. Augustine. He was succeeded in the Archiepiscopal See by Mellitus, Bishop of London.‡

Mellitus filled the see of Canterbury for five years: his successor Justus was, for the same number of years,

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MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 88. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. i, p. 195. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 105. W. THORN *Chron.* p. 1768.

* BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib, ii, c. 5, 6, §. 103, 104, 105.

† In the year 619. ROG. DE WEND. places it in the year 616. The Saxon Chronicle under the date of 616. There is a very striking coincidence in the words of Bede and the Saxon Chronicle in describing the death of Archbishop Laurence: "On thysis cingis dagum. se ylca Laurentius arceb. se was on cent aefter Augustine forthferde iv. Non. Febr. and he was bebyrged be Augustine.

HARPSFIELD states, that he had been nearly eleven years acting as Archbishop, and that the following epitaph had been inscribed for him:—

"Hic sacra Laurenti, sunt signa tui monumenti,
"Tu quoque jocundus pater, Antistesque secundus,
"Pro populo Christi, scapulas dorsumque dedisti,
"Artubus hui, laceris multa vibice mederis."

Hist. Eccles. Ang. Sept. Sæc, c. 7, p. 60.

‡ BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 7, §. 106. In this chapter, a remarkable miracle accomplished by Mellitus, is stated by Bede, we have omitted it, as well as the letter from Pope Boniface to Archbishop Justus, the successor of Mellitus. See Beda Lib. ii, c. 7, and 8. §, 107, 108, 109.

permitted by Providence to discharge the duties of Archbishop.*

In the same year (A.D. 617) in which the bishops Mellitus and Justus returned to Britain, at the desire of King Eadbald, Redwald, the King of the East Angles, was involved in hostilities with Ethelfrid, the fierce King of the Northumbrians.†

The battle between the East Angles and the Northumbrians took place on the boundaries of the kingdom of the Mercians, and on the eastern bank of a river called the Idel.‡ So fierce and sanguinary was the conflict, that it was for a long time after declared that "the fair waters of the Idel were made foul with the blood of the English."§

Ethelfrid incensed with pride, and maddened by passion, that any one should be found, audacious enough, to contend

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* Roger de Wend. vol. i, p. 120. W. Malmsb. (*Gest Pont*) says but for three years, p. 196.

"As Gregory had chosen the men who were *best adapted to accomplish his purpose*, it is probable that those he selected were advanced in life."

Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 347:

The words, here used in describing the first Archbishops of Canterbury, Augustine, Laurence, Mellitus and Justus, might be employed towards men, who had a criminal object in view, and not the accomplishment of so arduous and glorious a task as converting Pagans to Christianity. That a sneer was intended to be conveyed no one can have a doubt, who will look to Dr. Lingard's, "*History and Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church*," vol. i, pp. 73, 74, where he ably refutes the attacks made on these Bishops and their successor, because they were Italians.

† Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p 115.

‡ "The battle of the Idel was fought near Retford in Nottinghamshire, or according to a marginal gloss, in Axiolm—Lincolnshire." Coxe.

§ "Amnis Idel Anglorum sorduit cruore." Rog. de Wend. "Amnis Idel Anglorum sanguine sorduit." H. Hunt.

in the field against him, and his chosen band of veteran warriors rushed impetuously, and in a disorderly manner upon the lines of Redwald, which were skilfully placed in a position, dangerous for any assailant to attack.

The King of the Northumbrians acted, as if he had a spoil to take, and not a foe to battle against. He dashed into the centre of the compact squares of his opponent's battalions, and by the suddenness and fury of his attack dispersed and cut to pieces, the entire of the first line of the East Angles, with their leader Rainerus, the King's son.

Redwald was not daunted by this dreadful slaughter of his son and soldiers. His fury, as a bereaved father, was aroused, his courage, as a soldier, animated: but his prudence, as a general, was not for a moment abated. With the two bodies of soldiers still left to him—he unflinchingly withstood the attacks of the Northumbrians. He was found to be undaunted and invincible. Ethelfrid, perceiving that the lines of the East Angles were impenetrable to his Northumbrian Veterans, cut his way into the midst of his enemies and there, far distant from the ranks of his army he at length fell covered with wounds, amid a heap of the foes, that he had slain with his own hand. As soon as he was seen to fall, his entire army fled in confusion, from the field of battle.*

In this engagement, Edwin, who had been for seventeen years exiled from his Kingdom, and sheltered by Redwald, particularly distinguished himself by his bravery.†

* H. Hunt. *Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 316. See Sallust *Cat.* c. 40, 41.

† Roc. de Wend. vol. i, p. 116. He differs in his account of the battle of "the Idel" from Henry of Huntingdon, by des-

The people of Northumbria were first converted to the Christian faith, during the reign of Edwin, who succeeded his persecutor Ethelfrid on the throne. It seemed to be within the wise decrees of Providence, that for the speedier extension of Christianity amongst the Saxons, the dominion of this monarch should extend far beyond that possessed by any of his predecessors. Provinces of the British, hitherto unconquered, were rendered tributary to his power, and the weight of his sceptre was felt even in the isles of Anglesey and Man.

The immediate cause, that led to the adoption of Christianity by this sovereign, was his union, in marriage, with Ethelburga, or Tata, the daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent. At the time that Edwin sued for the hand of Ethelburga, her brother Eadbald, who then reigned at Canterbury, declared, that it was not permitted for a Christian maiden, to vow obedience to a Pagan husband, lest her faith might be interfered with, or her participation in the holy Sacraments impeded by a husband, utterly ignorant of the worship of the one true God.

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cribing the Northumbrians as being routed, and their king slain, by a grand charge made on them by Redwald, on perceiving his son fall beneath the sword of Ethelfrid.

"Reodwaldus autem, tanta clade minime perterritus sed ad vindictam animatus, cuneos Ethelfredi laudabiliter penetravit atque cruore maximo hostium profuso, regem superbum interemit; deinde hostes sine pietate insecutus omnes eorum acies dissipando contrivit."

"This year was Ethelfrith, King of the Northumbrians, slain by Redwald, King of the East Angles, and Edwin, the son of Ella, having succeeded to the kingdom, subdued all Britain, except the men of Kent alone, (and geyde eall Brytene buton Cant-ware anre) and drove out the Ethelings, the sons of Ethelfrith, namely, Enfrid, Oswald, Oswy, Oslac, Oswood, Osla, and Offa." *Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 617.

Upon Edwin's receiving this reply, he bound himself by a solemn promise, that in no way, and under no circumstances, should the slightest hindrance be offerred to the exercise of the Christian faith, to which the Royal maiden was attached—that full and entire freedom of religious worship should be, not only conceded, to her, but to all who accompanied or attended her—be they men or woman—priests or servants: he even added, that he might himself adopt the same faith, if upon a due examination, by the wise and prudent men of his Kingdom it should be deemed, the form of religion, through which, the most fitting honour could be rendered to the Creator.

Relying upon this promise, Ethelburga was conducted to Edwin, and with her travelled the pious priest Paulinus, in order, that she and her attendants might be saved from the contamination of Paganism, by the constant exercises of devotion, and the daily celebration of the Divine Mysteries of the altar.*

Before proceeding on his journey, Paulinus was consecrated, as a Bishop, by the Archbishop, Justus on 21st July in the year 625. He appeared in Northumbria, as the companion of the sovereign, whilst his whole heart and soul were devoted to the people, in the hope, that through his humble means, they might be converted to the true faith, and that he might present them, a Virgin-Church to its fitting husband—Jesus Christ. He felt that he had a double duty to perform: to preserve untainted the religion of those entrusted to him, and to convert to his religion, those who were, as Pagans,

* "Quotidiana exhortatione et Sacramentorum Cælestium celebratione" BEDA.

utterly ignorant of its tenets. He laboured zealously—he toiled incessantly—he preached perseveringly—but he did so for a time, in vain, as the lord of this world had darkened the minds of the infidels, lest the illumination of the gospel and glory of God should shine upon them.*

In the following year (626), an attempt was made to deprive Edwin both of his Kingdom and his life. The King of the West Saxons Quichelm† had employed an assassin, named Eumer, to make this attempt; and the latter, in order, that he might the more securely accomplish the foul purpose, for which he had been engaged, brought with him a poisoned two-edged knife, so that if the wound should not produce immediate death, the poison might render it ultimately inevitable.

Edwin was at his royal residence,‡ on the river Derwent, when the assassin, upon Easter day (the 17th April), obtained admission to his presence, under the pretence of delivering a message. At the moment, that he, with well acted humility was reciting his simulated mes-

* Beda Lib. ii, c. 9, §. 110, 111, 112.

† "Carte, 227 conjectures that as Edwin was connected with Mercia, it was probably to assist that kingdom, that he became engaged in a war against the West Saxons, the lands taken from whom were added to Mercia, then tributary to Northumbria." Stevenson.

‡ "Beyond this, but lower, the Derwent has a town of its own name, called by Antonius, *Derventio*. The Notitia informs us that the *Præfectus Numeri Derventiensis* under the *Dux Britanniarum* was stationed here. In the Saxon times this seems to have been a royal villa, and where the assassin Eumer struck at Edwin * * On the Derwent is a little town called Auldby, which in Saxony signifies *old dwelling*; where are still remaining several evidences of antiquity, and the ruins

sage, he started from his knees, drew his knife, and rushed upon the King. The movement was noticed, by Lilla, one of the most devoted servants of the sovereign—he had no shield to ward off the blow; but his own body became a buckler for the sovereign, and in it was plunged the fatal steel, intended to deprive a monarch of life. With such deadly force was the blow struck, that the knife, having transfixed the person of the slaughtered warrior, reached and wounded Edwin himself. The assassin was struck down by the swords of the soldiers, but, in the tumult that ensued, death was inflicted upon one of them, (named Frodher) by the poisoned knife of the ferocious Eumer.*

Upon the same night of this sacred day—Easter Sunday—the Queen Ethelburga, was blessed with a daughter—afterwards named Eanfled. The Bishop Paulinus was present, when the joyful tidings were conveyed to the sovereign, who immediately tendered his thanks to the Pagan Gods, that a daughter was born to him. On the other hand, the Bishop offered thanks to his Lord and God, Christ, because he had, as he had apprised the king, prayed that the queen should in safety, and without much affliction, be permitted to become a mother.

The king, charmed with the words, and attracted by the encouraging discourse of the bishop, promised that he would renounce his idols, and devote himself to the

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of a castle, on the higher ground by the ruin; so that it must indisputably be *Derventio*. CAMDEN'S Britannia, vol. iii, p. 246, "Perhaps the castle of Coningsworth, certainly a royal residence during the Saxon period may be the place indicated." STEVENSON.

* BEDA Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii, c. 9, §. 113.

Christian religion, should life and victory be granted to him, in the battle, in which he was about to engage against that king, who had employed an assassin for his destruction—and, as a proof of his sincerity, and a pledge of his intentions in this respect, he permitted Paulinus to consecrate his daughter to Heaven. The young Princess, the first of the nation of Northumbria was baptised at Pentecost (5th of June) and at the same time eleven members of the king's household.

As soon as the king had recovered from the effects of his wound, he collected an army, and marched against the West Saxons. They were speedily conquered, and all who had conspired, against him, were either killed, or compelled to yield themselves to his power.*

Edwin returned victorious to his kingdom. He did not on that account, at once desire, hastily, and unadvisedly to receive the sacraments of the Christian faith; but he abandoned the worship of his idols, and thus prepared to fulfil the promise, that he had given. He learned, with great diligence, from the Bishop Paulinus, the reasons that were to be alleged in support of the Christian religion, and he conferred with such of his

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 9, §. 114. Henry of Huntingdon, who is generally so accurate in his description of battles, refers twice to this (pp. 316, and 327) but in a manner so vague, that, it is manifest, he had but little information respecting it. The same vagueness is to be found in Florence of Wigorne, but the *Saxon Chronicle* states, under the date of 626, that "he felled on the spot five kings, and slew many of their men." (and afylde thær v ciningas and thær folces mycel ofsloh). Rog. de Wend. says that he slew Quichelm, in battle, and that the place where this occurred has ever since been called "Quichelmes hlaune." vol. i, p. 126. See note by the editor, Mr. Coxe. (E.H.S.)

nobles, as were known to him, for their wisdom, their justice and their prudence, as to the course, which it was most fitting for him to adopt.

Edwin was a man, gifted by nature, with great sagacity. At this crisis of affairs he was to be frequently seen sitting for a long space of time, silent, thoughtful and reserved. No words passed his lips; but serious thoughts filled his mind, and stirred his heart, as he cogitated on the line of conduct he should pursue, in adopting one form of religion which was new, and in rejecting that, which was old and long established.*

At the time that Edwin was in this state of mind, a vision, with which he had formerly been favored by heaven, and whilst he was in exile in the Court of Redwald, King of the Angles, contributed, in no slight degree, to quicken his apprehension, and hasten his resolution, as to the adoption of the Christian religion.

To the Bishop Paulinus, it seemed, a difficult task, to bend the haughty spirit of the King to the humility of Salvation, and the lowliness of the Cross. He was un-

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib ii, c. 9, §. 114. Beda here inserts letters from Pope Boniface to King Edwin and his Queen Ethelburga. It is justly remarked by Mr. Stevenson in his Edition of Beda, that though placed after events that occurred in 626, they were evidently written in 625. See note 4, vol. i, p. 123. The letter of the Pope to the King encourages him to follow the example of King Ethelbert, and to listen to the arguments of the preachers, who announce to him the gospel of God. To Ethelburga he recommends continual prayer to God, and good example, as the best means for procuring the conversion of her husband. The good Pope, with these letters sent presents—to the King" a shirt with a decoration in gold, and a garment of ancyra (camisiam cum ornatura in auro una, et lena Ancyriana) and to the Queen, "a silver looking glass, and an ivory comb, gilt." (Speculum argenteum, et pectinem inauratum). Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 10, 11, §. 119, 123.

ceasing in his exhortations to the Sovereign and the people—he was untiring in his prayers to the Almighty to look with mercy upon the nation; and, as it would appear, he learned in spirit, what had been the vision manifested to the King; and learning it, he lost not a moment, in admonishing the King, to fulfil that vow, which he had once made, should it ever be his destiny to be relieved from his affliction—to ascend the throne, and to exercise regal power.

The vision of King Edwin had occurred at the time, that he was suffering from the persecution of his predecessor Ethelfrid, and when, having wandered over many Kingdoms, and sought concealment in many obscure places, he at length betook himself for refuge to King Redwald, beseeching him, to preserve his life from the swords of his persecutors. Redwald willingly received the wanderer and promised to protect him. As soon however, as Ethelfrid learned, that Edwin was openly received, and kindly treated by Redwald, he sent messengers to the East Anglian monarch offering an immense sum of money if Edwin were put to death by him. This message was of no avail. A second, and then a third message were sent; and each time, a larger sum of money was offered, for the life of the fugitive.

At last, Redwald was tendered on the one hand gold; and on the other, he was threatened with war. Whether it was, that his spirit was appalled by threats, or his heart corrupted by the immense bribes offered, he yielded to the Northumbrian King, and promised, that either Edwin should be put to death by himself, or delivered to the Ambassadors of Ethelfrid.

A faithful friend to the exile heard this promise given,

at the moment it was uttered. He hastened to the chamber in which Edwin was about to repose, (for it was the first hour of the night) and bringing him outside the doors, he not only told what the King had promised, with respect to him, but he also added, "if you wish, I will this "very hour, not only conduct you out of this kingdom, "but also put you, into a place, where neither Redwald "nor Ethelfrith will be ever able to discover you."

To this kind offer, Edwin replied; "Greatly indeed do "I thank you, for your goodness to me; but still I can- "not do what you suggest—the agreement, into which I "have entered with this powerful King, cannot be broken "by me—much less can I now violate it, when he has "neither done me evil, nor attempted any act of hostility "against me. Besides, if I am to be put to death, let that "death come from his hands, rather than that it should "be inflicted, by those, more ignoble than his. Where "should I now fly to? I, who for so many years have "wandered, a vagabond, through the various provinces of "Britain; or how, can I, for ever avoid the snares laid "for my life?"

Edwin's friend then left him, and the unfortunate Prince remained abroad. He sat himself sadly down before the palace; his mind afflicted with the agonising thoughts that disturbed him, and utterly unable, to decide either what he should do, or whither he should direct his steps.

He had thus remained for a long time, enduring the silent agony of painful thought, and his heart devoured with the flameless fire of despair,* when in the dead hour

* "Diu tacitis mentis angoribus et cœco carparetur igni." BEDA.

of the night, he suddenly perceived a man, whose face and dress were alike strange, advancing towards him. The appearance of an individual, unknown and unexpected at such a time, filled him with no slight fears.

The stranger approached, saluted him, and asked him, how it happened that at such an hour of the night, when every one else was at rest, and buried in deep sleep, he should sit on a stone, wakeful, sad, and solitary? Edwin desired to know, in reply, how it could be a matter of interest to a stranger, whether he passed the night, within, or without the walls, of the palace?

To this interrogatory, the stranger replied:—

"Do not suppose, that the cause of your sadness, your "sleeplessness, your loneliness, or of your present posi- "tion is concealed from me. I know perfectly well, who "you are, wherefore your grief, and what the evils, "that you fear, are impending over you. But say to me, "what reward would you give to him, be he who he may, "who could release you from your sorrows, who can per- "suade Redwald, neither to do you any injury himself, "nor to allow your enemies to destroy you?"

Edwin replied, that the devotion of all his future exertions would be but a suitable reward for such benefits as these.

The stranger continued:—"What if the same person "can promise, and truly promise, that you shall be King, "and that, having destroyed your enemies, you shall tran- "scend in power, not only all your own progenitors, but "even all those, who were, before you, Kings of the Eng- "lish people."

Edwin, thus farther interrogated, did not hesitate to promise, that he would ever be found willing to respond, by suitable marks of gratitude, for such great benefits, as these.

The stranger then for a third time thus addressed him — "But if he, who has truly predicted that, so many, and "such great gifts shall be conferred upon you, shall also "tender to you counsel, by which you may attain to sal- "vation and life, better, greater and happier than any of "your kindred or relations ever heard of, would you "consent to attend to that council, and to obey his salu- "tary admonitions?"

Edwin did not hesitate as to the answer he should give. He immediately promised, that in all things, he would follow the injunctions of one, who rescuing him from so many and such great calamities, should, at length, raise him to the crown of a sovereign.

The stranger, with whom he was speaking upon hearing this answer, laid his right hand upon Edwin's head, and said—"When this sign shall again be given to you, "think of this time, and of our discourse, and do not "then delay to fulfil that, which you now promise," and with these words, it is stated, the stranger disappeared, so that Edwin must, at once, have recognised, that he had spoken, not with a man, but a spirit.*

The royal youth was rejoiced, by the consoling hopes, that were held out to him; but still his pleasing anticipations were dashed by solicitude, as to his present condition, and with anxiety, as to who or what description of person that could have been, with whom he had conversed. He remained still sitting, and buried in thought, when the friend, with whom he had previously spoken, hastened with a joyful countenance towards him, and bid him, "rise and be of good cheer—to betake himself, as he

* "Ut intelligeret non hominem esse, qui sibi apparuisset, sed spiritum." BEDA.

" might now, with security, to that rest of which he " stood so much in need, in perfect confidence, that no " harm should befal him, for the mind of the King had " been so changed—that instead of injuring him, his " majesty was now firmly determined upon giving him, " that prompt and effectual assistance which, from the " first, he had promised. When," continued Edwin's friend, " the King had disclosed to his Queen, the inten- " tion of betraying you, of which I before apprised you--- " she persuaded him to abandon it; because as she showed " him, it was unworthy of a King, possessing his power, " basely to sell for gold, his best friend, when reduced to " necessity---to lose, thus foully, from motives of covetous- " ness, that honour, which ought to be the most precious " ornament, that decorates the brow of a sovereign."*

The determination of the King was acted upon. Its result was the battle of the Idel, in which the persecutor of Edwin was put to death. And thus it was, that the promises of the person, seen in his vision, were fulfilled to Edwin. He had been released from the snares of his enemy—that enemy destroyed, and he himself elevated to the position of King, exercising great power, and enjoying much fame.†

Whilst then the King was postponing, from time to time, to receive that faith, which Paulinus preached to him, and when he was to be seen sitting, for hours together, quite alone, and deliberating what he ought to do, and what form of religion he should follow, the man of God, Pauli-

* " Imo fidem suam, quæ omnibus ornamentis pretiosior est, amore pecuniæ perdere." BEDA.

† BEDA Lib. ii, c. 12, §. 124, 125, 126, 127.

nus, approached him, and laying his hand upon his head, enquired—if he recognised *that sign?*

Edwin trembled with terror, when he felt the hand of the Bishop thus placed upon him; he sought even to cast himself at the feet of the Prelate; but the latter prevented him, and in a kindly, encouraging voice thus spoke to him

"Lo! the hands of the foe that you feared, you have, "by the goodness of God, escaped—lo! the kingdom that "you desired, by His Bounty, you have received—and "now—remember the third promise that you made—do "not delay its accomplishment—receive His faith—at- "tend to the commands of Him, who freeing you from "the hands of your temporal foes, has given to you much "of temporal glory.—Do this—obey His will—attend to "His commandments; and then, be sure, that released "from the eternal torments of the wicked, you shall "become a partaker in the joys of His heavenly King- "dom."*

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* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 12, §. 128, The miraculous revelation to Paulinus of the vision of King Edwin has excited the ire of anti-Catholic historians. A specimen of the manner in which it is treated by Rapin, Tindal, and Turner will demonstrate their utter unfairness, in everything that relates to the Catholic Church:

In Rapin (TINDAL'S translation vol. i, p. 70) are these words: "At last the circumstances of the vision he had formerly seen in the garden of Redowald, being, *as it is pretended,* revealed to Paulinus, the work was accomplished in an extraordinary way. Beda relates, how that one day as *the king was surrounded with a crowd of courtiers,* Paulinus came in suddenly, and laying his hand on Edwin's head, &c." In the note this is contradicted on the authority of Rapin.

The words of Bede are, "cum ergo, prædicante verbum Dei Paulino, rex credere differret, et per aliquod tempus, ut diximus horis competentibus *solitarius sederet,* quid agendum sibi esset, quæ religio sequenda, SEDULUS SECUM ipse scrutari consuesset, ingrediens ad eum quadam die vir Dei imposuit dexteram, &c."

The King at once declared, that it was equally his duty and his wish to embrace the religion, which the Bishop

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Mr. Turner in his history of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, pp. 356, 357, professes, like Tindal's Rapin, to give an account of this transaction, from Bede. It will be found a curious specimen of rendering, in modern language, the statement afforded by an antient writer.

"Paulinus; *without appearing to have had any previous knowledge of this dream*, one day entered the King's apartment pursuing his meditations on the opposing religions; and *advancing with a solemn air imitated the action of the imaginary figure*, and placed his right hand on *his sovereign's* head, at the same time, asking him if he remembered that sign."

"The King's sensibility was affected. His dream and promise rushed upon his mind. He did not pause to consider that Paulinus might, *from his queen or his intimate friends*, have become acquainted with his own accounts of his believed vision. All seemed supernatural, and Paulinus to be the actual vision that addressed him. *He threw himself at the Bishop's feet*," &c.

To this version Mr. Turner *veraciously* attaches as his authority, Bede, Lib ii, c. 12.

That it bears but a slight resemblance to the words of the venerable Bede, the passage, we have quoted, sufficiently testifies: The same passage disproves Mr. Turner's suggestion that there was no miraculous revelation to St. Paulinus; for, according to the same venerable authority, King Edwin was remarkable for his taciturnity; and it was because the King was perfectly conscious, he had not told to Queen nor courtiers, his vision, that the act and words of Paulinus were distinctly recognised by him, as a revelation from Heaven. These are the words of Bede, in describing the character of Edwin.

"Vir *natura sagacissimus, sæpe* diu solus residens *ore quidem tacito*, sed in *intimis cordis multa secum colloquens*."

According to Mr. Turner's suggestion, Edwin was a fool, who blabbed about his visions, to his wife and courtiers, and then regarded as a miracle, that Paulinus her bishop, who came with her from Kent, should know anything about that, of which he had made no secret! We prefer the ancient Catholic authority to the modern anti-Catholic, and not very sensible, nor very honest suggestions of Mr. Turner, or of M. Rapin-Tindal.

One Protestant authority, to his honor, treats the matter in different manner. Mr. Collier in his "Ecclesiastical History," vol. i, p. 196, makes the following remarks upon it:—

taught.—At the same time, he observed, that it was his desire to consult with his friends, his nobles, and his counsellors, in order, that if their sentiments coincided with his own, all might, at the same time, be consecrated by Christian baptism.

The suggestion was approved of by the Bishop, and immediately adopted. Edwin conferred apart with his counsellors, and he inquired individually from each, what was his opinion of that new doctrine, and of that hitherto unknown divinity which had been lately explained to them in the preaching of the Bishop.

To this question, the chief of the Pagan high priests, Coifi* thus replied:—"Your majesty sees, and can judge

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"I have given the reader this relation at length, because, as Beda reports, such great events depended upon it; no less than the conversion of a king and kingdom. And how strange soever it may appear to an age of slender belief, I do not perceive how the truth of it can well be questioned, for Beda relates it as certain matter-of-fact. Now, his attestation seems to be an unexceptionable authority, for he was born in this kingdom of Northumberland but one-and-fifty years after Edwin's conversion, so that it is not improbable but that he might receive the account from those, who had it from the king. Besides, in the dedication of his Ecclesiastical History to Ceolwolph, King of Northumberland, he acquaints him that the memoirs of the history of that kingdom, since their conversion, were unexceptionable. To this we may add, that it is not likely King Edwin and his subjects should quit the prejudices of their education, and the religion of their ancestors, without something of a supernatural appearance. Now, though Paulinus was a person of eminent sanctity, yet Beda does not acquaint us that he wrought any miracles among the Northumbrians, or performed anything above a human capacity, unless in discovering this vision to the King."

* *Cifi*—Cefi Saxon version, Cœfi, Cyfi. It is the opinion of Dr. Jamieson (Etymolog: Dict. Scot. Lang. Supplement *v.* Coifi) and of others, with which I do not agree that this word is the same as the Celtic 'Coibhi' i. e. 'helpful,' and that this indivi-

" of that religion, which is now expounded to us; whilst " I can truly declare to you, that which I most assuredly " know, namely, that there is no advantage in the reli- " gion, to which we hitherto have adhered. There is no " one, for instance, who has been more devout in the " worship of our Gods, than myself, and yet, there are " many, who receive greater benefits from you, who are " possessed of more dignified offices, and who are far " more prosperous in all their undertakings than myself. " If our Gods could be of any avail, assuredly they " would have assisted him, who paid the most court to " them. It follows from this, that if upon a due ex- " amination, you shall find that the new doctrines that " are preached to you, are better and superior to the old, " then you are bound, in common with us all, not to de- " lay the adoption of them."*

Another of the King's nobles strengthened this sage counsel, by observations to this effect:-- " The life of " man," said he, " on this earth, in comparison to that " space of time, which is unknown to us, is like to that, " which may happen, when you with your nobles, and " attendants are seated at supper, in the winter season, " and when a fire is lighted in the midst, and the room " is filled with the genial heat, whilst the whirlwind

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dual was a British Druid; see Grimm's Mythologie, p. 61. STEVENSON.

" The name of Coifi, the Pontiff, by whose persuasion Edwin embraced Christianity is no other than the title of the chief of the Druids." PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol i, p. 155. See also LAPPENBERG'S *England under the Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. i, pp. 72, 151, (*translated by* B. THORPE. F.S.A.)

* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 13, §. 129.

" rages, the rain beats, and the snow falls outside; and a " sparrow flutters quickly in at one door, and flies as " hastily out at the other. During the brief period that " it is within the room, the chill of winter does not touch " it; but in an instant, the serenity, it has enjoyed in its " flight, has disappeared---and as you look upon it---it has " flashed from the darkness of winter at one door, into " the darkness of winter in which it disappears at the " other---such too is the brief measure of human ex- " istence. We know not what went before, and we are " utterly ignorant as to what shall follow. If the new " doctrine can make you more certain as to this, then it " is one, in my opinion, that ought to be adopted by us."

The elders in this assembly, and the counsellors of the King, inspired by the Divine wisdom, adopted the same course of reasoning.

Coifi expressed a wish to hear Paulinus discourse to them of that God, of whom he preached. This wish having been, in obedience to the King's command, complied with; Coifi exclaimed:

" Long since, I comprehended, that what we worship- " ped was nought; as the more diligently I sought for " truth in it, the less chance did I perceive, I had, in dis- " covering that, which I desired. Now, on the other hand, " I openly profess, that in the doctrine that is preached to " me, truth is clearly manifest, and that it can give to us, " the inestimable gifts of life, of salvation, and eternal " beatitude. Therefore, do I suggest to the King, that " the temples and altars, where we have hitherto uselessly " sacrificed, be at once delivered over to anathema and fire."

The King authorised Saint Paulinus to preach the gospel; and, at the same time, he renounced idolatry, and

openly professed the faith of a Christian. He then enquired of the high priest, who amongst them should first profane the altars, and the temples of the idols, with their enclosures?* To this Coifi answered..." I will be the first " to do so. Who, since God has been pleased to enlighten " me, with wisdom, can be better suited than myself, to " give an example to others, by destroying that form of " idolatry, which I was, at one time, so diligent in " following?"†

Instantly casting off the superstition of vanity, he requested the King to give him arms, and a horse, in order that he might at once proceed to the destruction of the idols...for it was not permitted to the priests of the idols to bear arms, nor to ride, but on a mare. Coifi buckled on a sword, mounted one of the King's horses, with a spear in his hand, and rode towards the temple. As soon as the populace beheld this strange spectacle, they believed the Pagan priest to be mad. He did not pause, even for a moment, in accomplishing the object he had in view;

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* " The septum around a temple was the 'frithgeard,' or asylum. See Law of the Northumbrian priests, Lib. in Anc. LL. and Instt. and gloss v. *Frithgeard.*" LAPPENBERG'S *History of the Anglo Saxon Kings,* vol i, p. 152, note 2 by THORPE.

" These idols may have been Druidical stone pillars, enclosed in circles of the same, which is the meaning of Bede's *septa,* though his speaking of its destruction by fire implies that there was some wood-work about it. * * The *septa* are translated 'pegum the hi ymsette wæron,' hedges wherewith they were enclosed, and Godmundigham is rendered *deorum septa.* CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* vol. iii, p. 313. See also PALGRAVE'S Anglo Saxon History, vol. i, p. 67.

† " Ego. Quis enim ea, quæ per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo vero donatam, destruam? BEDA.

he advanced to the temple; he profaned it—for the spear which he held in his hand, he cast within it's precincts; and rejoicing in this act of his acknowledgment of the one true God, he desired his companions to destroy the Pagan place of worship with all its enclosures.

The place where the idols were erected is to the East of York, and not far distant from that city. It is still known as Godmunddingaham.* It deserves to be remembered as the spot where a Pagan priest, inspired by God, first profaned, and then pulled down the very altars, at which he himself had formerly offered sacrifice.†

One hundred and eighty years from the time of the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain, and in the year of our Lord 627, King Edwin, who had been eleven years in the enjoyment of the crown, received the faith of Christ, and with him, all the nobility of his realm, and a vast number of the people.‡ During the time, that he was receiving instructions on the principles, and doctrines of religion, there was hastily erected by his orders a wooden church, at York, devoted to the Apostle St. Peter; and in that church he was baptised on the 12th April, during

* "In the Roman times not far from the bank on *Foulnesse*, an inferior river, where now stands *Wighton*, inhabited by husbandmen, was anciently, if I mistake not, *Delgovitia*, which, without insisting on the distance from Derventio, both the resemblance and etymology of the name implies. *Delgwe* in British signifies the statues of the gods, and in the village near this town was also in the Saxon times, a very renowned idol temple, called from these temples *God-mundingham*, and now to the same purpose *God-manham*." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 247. See also p. 313. STEVENSON. (Beda vol. i, p. 137, note 9. E.H.S.)

† BED. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii, c. 13. §. 130, 131.

‡ Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib ii, c. 14, §. 132.

the holy festival of Easter. He gave to Bishop Paulinus the city of York, as the seat of his episcopacy, and at the suggestion of this respected prelate, he laid the foundation, for the erection of a larger church of stone, which was to include, as an oratory, that which had been first established. This good work was zealously proceeded with; but the unfortunate death of the monarch occurred before the wall was raised to its proper height, and the completion of the church was thus bequeathed, as a pious duty to be performed, by the King's nephew and successor, Oswald.

For six years, from that time—that is, until the death of the King, the Bishop Paulinus, was perpetually engaged in preaching the word of God to the people of that kingdom. Immense numbers, predestined to eternal life, believed, and were baptised; and amongst others, who received the sacred rite, were Osfrid, and Eadfrid the sons of Edwin, by a former marriage with Quenburga daughter of Cearl, King of the Mercians, at the time, that the now Christian King had been an exile from Northumbria. There were other children of King Edwin and Queen Ethelburga subsequently baptised: Ethilhun, the Princess Ethildrid, and Wusefrea a son. The two first, were taken from life, whilst still bearing the white robes of infant innocence, and were interred in the Church, at York.

Iffi, the son of Osfrid, and other noble individuals, and with them, not a few persons of the blood royal were also baptised. So great became at the time the fervour of faith, and the desire for the salutary and cleansing waters of baptism, amongst the people of Northumbria, that on a certain occasion, when Paulinus was with the

King and Queen at a royal villa, named Adgefrin,* he was obliged to remain for thirty-six days continuously, instructing, and baptising from early morning, until nightfall. His entire time was occupied with the people, who flocked to him, from all the hamlets, and villages, in order that they might hear the words of salvation and when instructed, receive in the waters of the River Glen, the sacrament of baptism. This villa was in the time of the succeeding kings, abandoned, and another erected in its stead, called Maelmin.†

These conversions occurred in the province of Bernicia. In the province of Deira, where the Bishop Paulinus generally remained with the King, he was in the habit of baptising the new Christians in the River Swale, at that place, where it flows by Catterich bridge‡ for in that, which might be called, the very opening period of a young church, they were not able to build oratories or baptistries.

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* "Now Yeverin in Glendale." STEVENSON. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, pp. 497. 521.

† "Milfield, a small village, where the Saxon Kings after Edwin resided, and here Sir William Bulmer defeated a large party of Scots, by the Durham forces before the battle of Flodden. A second defeat of the Scots here 1415 by Sir Robert Umfranville, governor of Roxburgh Castle, and Earl of Westmorland, Lord Warder of Marches, as commemorated by a stone pillar 14 feet high." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 521.
"Camden, col. 862, and, from him subsequent writers, have supposed, but without sufficient authority, that Milfield, near Flodden is here meant." STEVENSON.

‡ "*Cateractam*—Catereht tun. Sax. version. Catterick-bridge, on the river Swale, in Richmondshire. Whitaker's Richmond, ii, 21." STEVENSON.

In Campodonum,* a royal residence, a church was built, which with the town itself was subsequently burned to the ground by the Pagans who killed King Edwin. In this conflagration, the altar in the church, being made of stone, was the only thing that escaped, an it is still preserved at the wood of Elmet, in the monastery, of the most reverend abbot and priest Thredwulf.†

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* "Six miles hence." (from Halifax) not far from the right bank of the Calder, near the little village of Almondbury, on a very high and steep hill, which is accessible from level ground only; on one side are some ruins of a rampart and walls, and evident traces of a castle enarched with a triple fortification. This some will have to have been Olicana, but in fact it is Cambodunum, called by mistake by Ptolemy, Camulodunum, and by Bede divided into Campo-dunum. * * In the early saxon times, it seems to have been very considerable; for it was a royal hill, and had a church built by Paulinus the apostle of this people, and dedicated to St Alban, whence it is now called *Almonbury*, for *Albanbury*. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 237.

MR. STEVENSON (Beda, vol. i, p. 139, note 9. E.H.S.) controverts this statement, and declares on the authority of a paper published in the Airchœologia, vol i, p. 221, that "Doncaster is intended by Campodonum."

† "Evasit autem ignem altare, *quia lapideum erat.*" BEDA. Lib. 11, c. 14. §. 133.

The removal of stone altars from the churches of England commenced with the Reformation; and their restoration to places of worship, in which no victim and no sacrifice are recognised, has been properly forbidden by the ecclesiastical authorities of "the Church as by law established." See the case of Faulkner, v. Lichfield' decided in the Court of Arches, by Sir H. Jenner Fust, on 31st January 1845, and known as the "Stone Altar Case." A brief reference is made to it in the *Gentlemans' Magazine*, vol. xxii, p. 291. N.S. The decision of the Anglo Reformed Church, in 1845, presents a remarkable contrast with that of the Catholic Church in 517,

The devotion of Edwin was exhibited in his zeal, in his attachment to his religion, and in his ardent desire to extend its blessings to others. He persuaded Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, King of the East Angles, to abandon his idols, to forsake his former superstitions, to embrace Christianity, and with the leading persons of his province, to receive the sacrament of baptism.

Redwald had, long before this, been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, when on a visit with the King of Kent. He had learned truth; but learned it, in vain; for on his return home, he was persuaded by his wife, and induced, by perverse teachers, to abandon the simple paths of truth—to fall into a state, worse than his former paganism—to commingle, like the Samaritans, the service of Christ, with the service of false Gods—to place, even in the same temple, an altar for the holy sacrifice of our Lord, and a sacrificial table, for the victims of demons.*

In the province of Lincolnshire, the word of God was

" Altaria *nisi lapidea* chrismatis unctione non sacrentur." Concilium Epaonense A.D. 517. LABBŒUS *Concilia*, vol. iv, p. 1579,

* BEDA Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii, c. 15, §. 134. Beda adds that King Adulf, who lived in his day, testified to have seen the temple in which these monstrous rites were carried on by King Redwald. " The early paganism," says Sir Francis Palgrave, " of the Northmen was tolerant, (!) or rather they seem to have felt its vagueness, and to have yearned for any change; when they associated with the Vendic tribes, they adopted the many headed idols, Prono, and Radegast, and Sivi, whom the Sclavonians seem to have brought from the mountains of Hindostan; and the same flexibility of creed, which allowed Redwald to raise the altar of the Eucharist, in the structure where he propitiated his demon deities, would easily induce the Anglo Saxon to unite the worship of Thor, and of Tarannis, the Tertonic and Celtic thunderer." *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, p. 155.

preached by Paulinus; and the first persons converted by him, were the prefect of the city, Blecca, and his entire family. A stone church of a noble architectural form was erected in the City of Lincoln. The roof of this church either from neglect, or by the devastating hand of a barbarous enemy, was permitted to fall, or was wilfully cast down; but its walls still (in the time of Beda) remain, and there some miraculous cures are yearly accomplished in favour of those, who with faith, seek for them.*

In this chapter, it is further stated, by Beda, that Earpwald was assassinated shortly after his conversion; that the province was disturbed, by error, for three years, until at length, a brother of Earpwald, Sigebert succeeded to the throne, and as he had acquired a knowledge of Christianity in France, he used his utmost efforts to extend its blessings amongst the East Angles. Aided by Bishop Felix, the entire province was converted. Felix was oppointed Bishop of Dunwich—the predecessor of the bishops of Norwich—and East Anglia rescued by him, "from iniquity and misery, was by faith and good works made rich with the gift of never ending felicity." (A longa iniquitate atque infelicitate liberatam ad fidem et opera justitiæ, ac perpetuæ felicitatis dona perduxit.) BEDA.

The following account of St. Felix and his ancient Bishopric of Dunwich is abridged from Stow:—

"He brought all this province (Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely) into faith and works of justice. * * He was made Bishop of Dunmocke or Dunwich, an ancient city of Suffolk, now sore decayed, and as is supposed more than half swallowed up by the sea. The common fame and report of the inhabitants is, that before the towne came to decay, there belonged thereunto two-and-fifty divine houses, as parish churches, priories, hospitals, and chappels, as many windmills, and as many toppe shippes. But certaine it is as appeareth by manifest and sound record, which I have seene, that even of late time, there was within the same towne sixe parish churches, two houses of

* "Et Omnibus annis aliqua sanitatum miracula in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum, qui fideliter quœrunt, ostendi." BEDA.

It was in this church, that Paulinus consecrated Honorius, as a Bishop, upon the death of Justus.

A certain priest and Abbot told me, (these are the words of Bede) that he was informed, by a man remarkable for his veracity, belonging to the province of Partney, named Dida, that an old man mentioned to him, he had himself been baptised in the middle of the day, in the river Trent, near the city of Southwell,* by the Bishop Paulinus in the presence of King Edwin, and a great multitude; and

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friers, an house which had been of Templars, two hospitals, and three chappels, four of these parish churches are now of late swallowed up by the sea, and but two of them remaining on the land, to wit, St. Peter's and All Saints. * * There hath been a mint, many men of that towne can yet shew of the coynes, which are starling pence, with this inscription, Civitas Dnnwich. * * Felix, their first Bishop, sate 18 years, and ended his life there, An. 649, and was buryed at Seham, a place where sometimes a great famous monastery stood, replenished with religious persons, under the Abbot Warfred, which house was founded by a nobleman named Lutingus, and was wholly subverted by the Danes; the body of Felix was removed to Ramsey. Bishop Felix founded a church at Radham, which was also amongst others destroyed by the Danes; Felix also founded schooles at Felixstowe, now called Filchestow." STOWS *Annales*, p. 62.

" To him," (Felix) " some attribute the first founding of the University of Cambridge." *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i, p. 16. As we shall have occasion again to allude both to St. Felix and King Sigebert, it may be sufficient for the present to refer to BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 18, §. 199, 200, c. 29, §. 209, c. 25, §. 226. W. MALMSBURY, who adds, " Scholas quoque literarum opportunis locis instituens barbariem gentis sensim comitate Latina informabat." *De Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. ii, p. 237, ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 129. PET. BLESEN. (*continuatio ad historiam Ingulphhi.*) *Rer. Ang. Script.* vol. i, p. 290. BROMPTON *Chron.* pp. 745, 747. GERVAS *Act. Pont. Cantnar* p. 1635.

* *Tiovulfinga Caestir*—Teolfinga Ceastra, Saxon version. The locality of this town is uncertain, but Camden believes it to be

that old man was accustomed to describe Paulinus, as a person of lofty stature—a little stooped; with black hair a meagre countenance, a thick, hooked nose, and an aspect, that inspired both respect and fear. The Bishop was also described, as having to assist him, in his ministry James, a Deacon, a man ennobled by his services in the church of Christ, and who lived even to our own days.*

Such was the state of tranquillity, that then prevailed in every part of Britain, to which the power of the Christian King Edwin extended, that it passed into a proverb: and it has been even said, that a woman, with her new-born infant might travel from sea to sea, unmolested, unquestioned and unharmed. At the same time, the pious monarch manifested his tenderness for his people, in having placed, at every spot, where spring water was to be found close to the highways, brazen cups attached to stakes, and that none either from fear of his displeasure, or from devotion to his person, would presume to touch, unless for the purpose of administering to their necessities.

This King was accustomed not only in time of war to have his banner borne before him, but even in peace, as he rode through the cities, the villagers, or the provinces, he was preceded by a standard bearer; and whilst walk-

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the present Southwell in Nottinghamshire, Britan. Col. 483." STEVENSON.

" And thus our saint became the father of three famous ecclesiastical buildings, which have come down to our times, the Cathedrals of York and Lincoln, and the minister of Southwell." *Lives of English Saints*, part vi, p. 11. See also DUGDALE'S *Monast. Anglic.* vol. vi, pp. 1172, 1266, 1312. (Edit. 1830).

+ BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* c. 15, §. 136.

ing along the thoroughfare, he was, at all times, to be recognised by that species of ensign which the Romans call Tufa* and the English Turf, being carried by one of his attendants.†

In the year 634, the Pope Honorius sent the pall to Bishop Paulinus, and a letter to King Edwin, in which he urged, with paternal charity upon the monarch and his people, the necessity of persevering in that true faith, which they had received.

" What else," said the Pope in his letter to King Edwin, " are we capable of tendering to our God, except our

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* " We know from a passage of Vegetius, corrected by Lipsius, that the Tufa was one of the Roman ensigns ; and we are informed by Isidorus, that Augustus introduced a globe upon a spear among his signa, to denote a subjugated world. Lipsius is of opinion, that this was the tufa alluded to by Beda—De Militia Romana. Lib. iv, c. 5, p. 169." TURNER's History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, p. 362.

" Edwin governed the country with wisdom and firmness. *Adopting the precepts of Christianity, not merely as the canon of faith, but as the rule and foundation of his civic policy, his empire became a favoured region of peace and justice. Whether suggested by Paulinus the Roman missionary,* or imitated from the British Sovereigns, the Bretwalda adorned himself with the insignia of Roman authority. PALGRAVES Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i, p. 429.

" Nullus tunc prædo publicus, nullus latro domesticus, insidiator conjugalis pudoris procul, expilator alienæ hereditatis exul, magnum id in ejus laudibus et nostra ætate splendidum. Itaque imperii sui ad eos limites incrementa perducta sunt, ut justitia et pax libenter in mutuos amplexus concurrerent osculorum gratiam grata vicissitudine libantes." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 48.

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 16, §. 137.

" good works, by which, we continually acknowledge Him " as the Author of the human race; and what else can we " at all times offer to Him, but our wishes, our vows and our prayers."*

Archbishop Justus died on the 10th of November in this year,† and Honorius, who was to succeed to him, came to Paulinus, to be consecrated. The ceremony took place in Lincoln. It was there, that the fifth Archbishop of Canterbury in succession to St. Augustine received the episcopal staff.‡ To him the Pope Honorius also dis-

* " Quid enim Deo nostro aliud offerre valebimus, nisi ut in bonis actibus persistentes ipsumque auctorem humani generis confitentes eum colere, eique vota nostra reddere festinemus?
BEDA.

† Here we encounter a chronological difficulty; for since Edwin had written to the Pope in favor of the two metropolitans, Honorius and Paulinus, it is obvious, that the letter must have been despatched before the battle in which he fell, 12 October A.D. 633, and as Justus died in the month of November, the death must be referred at the latest to 632. But on the other hand since Paulinus consecrated Honorius at Lincoln, that ceremony must have taken place before the death of Edwin, for immediately after that event Paulinus retreated to Kent. Smith places places the death of Justus in 630, the consecration of Honerius in 631, and the transmission of the pall in 634.
STEVENSON,

‡ " Et sic nota quod sicut iste Paulinus qui post adventum sancti Augustini, in primum archiepisc. Eboracensem per Justum Dorobernensem archiepiscopum, ordinabatur; sic vice versa Justo defuncto, Honorius successor suus in archiepisc. Dorobernensem, per Paulinum Eboracensem archiepiscopum ordinatus est. Urbs autem Lincolnia vocabatur, situ splendida, ut urbs in colle sita ad regnum Mercæ pertinet." J. BROMPTON *Chron.* p. 782.

To the Honorius thus consecrated at Lincoln, according to the authority of Ralph de Diceto, all the churches of this country were first formally subjected as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England. The letter is given under the date 632.

patched the pall, and with it an epistle, by which permission was given, for the future, upon the death of an Archbishop of Canterbury, or of York, that the survivor should ordain a priest, in place of him, who had departed, and this for the purpose of avoiding the necessity of having to travel such an immense jonrney, both by land and sea, each time a new Archbishop had to be consecrated.

"We do," wrote the Pope to Archbishop Honorius, "in accordance with your petition, as well as that of the "King, our son, by this our present precept, and acting on "behalf of the blessed Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, "grant authority, that when one of you, by the divine "grace, shall be taken to God, the survivor may ordain "another Bishop, in place of him, who is deceased. For "this reason, we also send to each of you a pall, for the "due celebration, of that ceremony, in order that you may, "in accordance with our authority, do that which is plea-"sing to God. The great distance, both by sea and land "which lies as an impediment between you and us, com-"pels us to concede this privilege to you, so that no loss "may, under any pretence, occur to your churches; but "on the contrary, that you may have, at all times, the "fullest powers, for propagating the faith, and encreasing "the devotion of the people committed to your care."

This same venerable Pontiff also addressed letters to the nation of the Scots, whom he had found to have fallen

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"Scripsit etiam Honorius papa Honorio Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Tuæ jurisdictioni subjici præcipimus omnes Angliæ ecclesias et regiones, et ut in civitate Dorobernia Metropolitanus locus, et honor archiepiscopatus et caput omnium ecclesiarum Anglorum semper in posterum servetur." RAD DE DICET. *Abb. Chron.* p. 438. See also W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. i. p. 209.

into an error with respect to the due observance of the Holy festival of Easter; and in the same epistle he admonished them, to avoid and repel for the future the Pelagian heresy, which he understood was reviving amongst them.*

Edwin had reigned, with glory to himself, and advantage to his subjects, for seventeen years over the English, and the British people. Of these seventeen, he had been six years a Christian. At the end of that time, Cadwallon King of the Britons, rebelled against Edwin,† and the

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* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 17, 18, 19, §. 138, 139, 140, 142, 143. In the text, will be found the substance only of these chapters and sections. For the names of the Irish Bishops to whom the letters of the pope were addressed See STEVENSON's Edition of Beda, vol. i, p. 149—notes 1 to 4.

† Cadwallon had been defeated in battle by Edwin at Widdrington, and subsequently pursued by him into Wales, and from thence driven to Ireland. "The 34th Triad states, that Cadwallon and his family lived seven years in Ireland, Jeffery, (of Monmouth) annexes a pretty nurse tale to Cadwallon's exile. Sailing to Armorica, he was driven by a tempest on the island of Garnereia: the loss of his companions afflicted him to sickness; for three days, he refused food, on the fourth he asked for venison; a day's search discovered none. To save his king, Brian cut an ample piece out of his own thigh, roasted it on a spit, and presented it to the king as genuine venison. It was greedily devoured. The wind changed, they got safe to Armorica, and Brian afterwards killed the second-sighted magician of Edwin. Lib. xii. c. 4 and 7. TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. 1, p. 364. See also ROGER DE WEND, vol. 1, p. p. 130, 131, MAT. WEST. p. 114.

revolt was aided by Penda,* a valiant warrior of the royal race of the Mercians, and who for twenty years, had, with various changes of fortune, commanded that nation. Both armies fought in a pitched battle at Hatfield,† on 12th October 633, when Edwin, who was then in the forty-eighth year of his age, was killed, and his entire army dispersed or destroyed. In this conflict, the King's son Osfrid, a gallant young warrior, was killed a few moments before his father, and another son, Eadfrid, having under the dire pressure of necessity fled to Penda, was by that monarch, in direct violation of his oath, deprived of life.

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* "Penda, son of Wibba, King of Mercia succeeded to the throne A.D. 633 (not in 626 as in the Saxon Chronicle) and died in 655." STEVENSON.

† Hæthfelth. "At Hatfield then called Hæthfelth, Caedwalla king of the Britons, with Penda King of Mercia slew Edwin the first Christian King of Northumberland, with his eldest son Osfrid. Near the town are many entrenchments. Here also was born William, second son of Edward III. 1335, and not at Hatfield in Herts: for it appears by the rolls that *his mother Philippa gave five marks to the neighbouring abbot, and five nobles to the monks of Roche, to pray for his soul,* which sums are transferred to the Church at York, where he was buried, and has a monument, and *they are still paid by the Duke of Devonshire to the Archbishop, Dean and Chapter of York.*"

CAMDEN'S *Britannia.* vol iii, p. 273.

"Gibson and Carte place the battle in Hatfield Chase. Langhorne prefers Hethfield in Derbyshire, near Cheshire, 176. * * The men of Powys so distinguished themselves in this battle, that they obtained from Cadwallon a boon of fourteen privileges. The Welsh called the scene of conflict Meigin. Cynddelw, cited in Owen's Llywarch, p. 117. TURNER'S *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons,* vol. i, p. 364, note 29.

See also STEVENSON. (Beda vol. i, p. 151, note 17. E.H.S) BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints,* vol. ix, p. 589. (St. Edwin). In Henry of Huntingdon, it is said—"Hatfield rubens undique nobilium fumabat cruore." p. 330.

The result of this victory was the frightful desolation of the church, established amongst the people of Northumbria; for one of the conquerors on this occasion was a Pagan; the other a barbarian, and worse than a Pagan. Penda and the people of Mercia were devoted to idolitary, and utterly ignorant even of the name of Christ; whilst Cadwallon was in name, and by profession, a Christian; but so brutal in mind, and so savage in his manners, that he had no mercy for the weakness of women, and no tenderness for the helplessness of infancy—all were put to death, with torments the most cruel that his untamable and ruthless ferocity could suggest. He traversed, for a considerable time, every province of the Kingdom, like a ravening beast, fully intent, as it appeared upon an utter extermination in Britian of the nation of the Angles. By him, not the slightest respect was paid to the Christian religion, which had sprang up amongst them; for the British regard the religion of the Angles, as nought, and will no more associate with them, than with the Pagans.

The head of King Edwin was afterwards brought to York, and deposited in the church of St. Peter, which he had commenced, and that afterwards was completed by King Oswald. It was placed in the Porch of St. Gregory the Pope, from whose disciples, Edwin had received a knowledge of the word of life.*

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* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii, c. 20, §. 146, 147. "The body of St. Edwin was buried at Whitby. He is honored with the title of martyr in the martyrology of Florus, and in all our English calendars. Speed, in his catalogue, mentions an old church in

Paulinus finding on the death of the King, that the affairs of Northumbria were cast into inextricable confusion---that its military defenders were slain---its enemies every day waxing in strength, and that no hope of safety was left but in a speedy flight, took with him the Queen of Edwin,* and the royal children, and fled by sea to the coast of Kent. There, he was received, with every mark of affectionate respect, by the Archbishop Honorius, by whom he was subsequently appointed to the See of Rochester. The same kindness was also shown towards him, by King Eadbald, who received his sister, from the same hands to which they had been entrusted.†

London, and another at Breve in Somersetshire, of both which St. Edwin was the titular patron." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ix, p. 589. (St. Edwin).

* For an account of the battle of Hatfield, and death of Edwin, See *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 633. MAT. WEST. 634. FLOR. WIGORN. 633. H. HUNT. *Histor.* Lib. iii, pp. 229, 230. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 132, 133. NENNIUS *Histor.* §. 61. W. MALMSB. *Gesta. Reg. Ang* Lib. i, §. 48. FORDUN. Lib. iii, c. 34, p. 642. (Gale Ed).

† "At Liming, Ethelburgh, daughter of King Ethelbert, after the death of her husband, Edwin, King of Kent 633 founded a nunnery, afterwards a monastery, till suffering by the Danes, it came to the Archbishop, or Church of Canterbury." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 367. See also DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i, pp. 452, 453.

Upon the founding of this nunnery, two modern writers, both professedly not Roman Catholics, have made observations which are worthy of perusal from the marked contrast between them :—

"He (Eadbald) gave her (Ethelburga) the villam maximam Lininge (Liming) cum omnibus adjacentibus, in which she built a monastery. Hugo. Candid. Cænob. Burg. Hist. p. 37. ed. Sparke. *She exhibited a novelty to the English, which produced serious consequences. She took the veil.* Smith's notes on Bede, 101." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 365, note 30.

The Bishop brought with him a great number of precious ornaments that had belonged to King Edwin, and among the rest a large golden cross, and a golden chalice consecrated for the service of the altar. These are still preserved and exhibited in the Church of Canterbury.*

The Church of Rochester, to which he was appointed upon the invitation of Honorius and Eadbald, had become

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" The Church, who every vespers recites the *magnificat* of our blessed Lady, could not overlook the holy women, the ascetic virgins, the pure wives, the saintly mothers, who, like Mary, have in one sense conceived the Lord, and brought him forth anew to His Church in every age. The gospel came into Kent through a woman ; it came into Yorkshire through a woman too ; and as by a blessed woman the world received the Saviour, so it has been said that nothing great has been done in the Church, but what a woman has had a part therein. * *

" History has preserved the name of Edwin's favorite captain, the loyal Bassers, beneath whose escort the bishops and the queen took ship, and coasted England till they came to Kent. Her welcome from Eadbald would doubtless be all which a sister would require. But Ethelburga had done with courts ; she had entered one only for the love of God, and in conformity to His will ; and when she now dedicated herself to the monastic state was she not probably doing nothing more than reverting to the wishes of her younger days, fulfilling in Kent in her widowhood what she had perhaps thought of in Kent in her virginity ? Her children disposed of, she built a monastery at Liming, with Eadbald's consent and assistance, and gave herself up to holy poverty. See is said to be the first Saxon widow who took the veil, and in the martyrology is called the mother of many virgins and widows. She put on her earthly crown for the love of Christ, she wore it for His Church, she put it off for the greater love she bore Him, and she now reigns with Him in Heaven. May her merits and intercession avail with Him for those fair districts of the North among which she went, as an obedient angel, to plant the blessed truth. *Lives of English Saints*, part vi, pp. 44, 46. We believe, the writer of the preceding has, (whilst these pages were passing through the press) become a Catholic.

* " Crucem magnam auream, et calicem aureum consecratum ad ministerium altaris, quæ hactenus in ecclesia Cantiæ conservata monstrantur." BEDA.

vacant through the death of its former occupant Romanus, who was drowned on his passage to Rome, whither he was proceeding to visit the Pope Honorius, at the request of Archbishop Justus. This See was held by Paulinus, and to its church he bequeathed, when dying, the pall, that he had received from the Pope of Rome.*

Paulinus in leaving York, had, as it were, bequeathed to the church there, his deacon James; a perfectly pure and holy Ecclesiastic. James, by his zeal and his teaching, rescued many a victim from the great enemy of mankind. He generally dwelt in a village near Catterich Bridge, which has since been called by his name; and as soon as peace was restored to the church, and the number of faithful again increased, he being a person most accomplished in the science of music and singing, instructed a number of pupils in church music and chanting according to the manner of Rome,† and afterwards of Kent. In this manner, he

* "Sicque Ecclesia Northimbria gentis caruit præsulatu post discessum Paulini xxx. annos, usu vero pallii caruit cxxv. annis, donec per Egbertum præsulem, fratrem Ethelberti Regis Northimbrorum, eidem Ecclesiæ pallium restitueretur." R. HIGDEN. *Polychron.* Lib. v, p. 230. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 65.

† "Among the Anglo Saxons, as the first teachers were Romans, the Roman chant, which had been reformed and improved by Pope Gregory was introduced; and in proportion as the knowledge of the gospel was propagated, pupils from the recently converted churches resorted to the school of Ecclesiastical music which had been opened at Canterbury" (Bed. Hist. iv, c. 2; v. c. 20) "Subsequently schools were everywhere established; both clergy and monks strove to distinguish themselves by the excellence of their choirs; and of the importance attached to such excellence we may judge from the fact, that in many instances, we find, *the office of head teacher actually discharged by the Bishop or the Abbot himself.*"

reached to an old age, and to use the scriptural form of expression, he followed in the path of his fathers.*

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Upon the death of Edwin, he was succeeded in the Kingdom of Deira, by Osric, the son of his uncle Elfric; and in the Kingdom of Bernicia by Eanfrid, the son of Ethelfrid. The former had been baptised, by the Bishop Paulinus; the latter, who had, with the sons of Ethelfrid and many of the youthful nobility of Bernicia, lived in banishment, amongst the Scots or Picts, had learned their doctrine and received from them the grace of baptism. Both, upon the death of King Edwin, were invested with the temporal dignity of monarchs, and both abandoned their claims to the Kingdom of Heaven, by yielding themselves up to the pollution of their passions, and resorting to the ancient abominations of idolatry.

The hand of the impious was the instrument, by which, the just vengeance of Heaven was inflicted upon them. Both were destroyed by Cadwallon King of the Britons, who first put to death Osric, when the young monarch foolishly fancied he could invest the British warrior in the town of York,† and who subsequently doomed to death

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LINGARD'S *History and antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, p. 303. See also HARPSFIELD. *Hist. Ang. Eccl.* Sept. Sæc. c. 8. p. 63.

* BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 20, §. 148, 149.

† "*Oppido municipio*—namely the city of York, styled municipium by Aurelius Victor, in his history of the Cæsars, Drakes Eboracum, p.p. 178, 176." STEVENSON.

Eanfrid, who had come to him, for the purpose of seeking peace.

For an entire year Cadwallon held the provinces attached to the Northumbrian crown, not as a victorious king, but as a raging and pitiless tyrant, who tortures when he intends to kill, and destroys what he has not the power to consume. So odious is the memory of that unhappy year to every good man, both by the reason of the apostacy of its English kings, as of the barbarities perpetrated by the British Sovereign, that all, in their computation of our annals, have united in omitting the year in which the renegades reigned, and adding those twelvemonths to the years of the succeeding king's sovereignty —that king being Oswald—the beloved of God.*

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* "Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. i, §. 150, 151." man getealde him the nigonthe for than hethenscipe the hi drugon the hi thet an gear rixodon betwin him and Eadwin." *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 634.

CHAPTER. V.

Events during the reign of Oswald, King of the Northumbrians.

Oswald King of the Northumbrians...battle with the British at Dilston...victory of the cross...masses for the dead. Wilfrid's church at Hexham...a miracle. Aidan, an Irish priest, sent as a missionary to Northumbria...his piety. Humility of a Christian King...increase of churches and monasteries. Study of the scriptures. The vices of the great rebuked. Slavery in England first attacked by an Irish Catholic priest. Charities of King Oswald. Conversion of the Gewissi, or West Saxons. St. Birinus...Miracles attending his approach to England. Conversion of the pagan kings, Cynegils Cwichelm, and Cuthred. Coinwalch, successor to Cynegils... his dispute with Bishop Agilbert. The simony of Bishop Wini. Sigebert, King of the East Angles. St. Felix. The monk-king Sigebert...his martyrdom. Eadbald, King of Kent ...pagan temples destroyed by him, and fasting enforced by his ordinances. Martyrdom of King Oswald...his virtues testified by many miracles.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 634—642

Upon the death of his brother Eanfrid, Oswald collected a small army.* He placed his reliance not upon the sword he could wield as a soldier, but upon the sincerity of his faith, in Him, the doctrine of Whose religion he had learned, and its practices observed, whilst an exile amongst the Scots.† The accursed King of the British ‡ advanced to meet, and, as he hoped, to crush his young and generous opponent, at a place called Dilston,§ or in the language of the Angles "Denisses Burna," that is, the stream of Dennis. And at the moment that the tyrant was

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* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. i. §. 151.

† "Magnæ spei juvenem * * Is fide quam ferro instructior." W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg.* Lib. i. §. 49.

‡ "Infandus Britonum dux, &c. Beda.

§ "*Denisesburna*—in the Saxon version 'Denisses Burna' supposed to be Dilston, near Hexham, in Northumberland. Stevenson.

"There is a fame that Oswald won the battle at *Halydene*, two miles east frem St. Oswald's ashe, and that Haliden is it, that Bede calleth Havenfield, and men thereabout yet find small wood crosses in the ground" (Leland) The church erected on the spot is still standing, and in a late repair was found a silver coin of Oswald, with his bust, and a cross on the reverse. Camden's, Britannia, vol. iii, p. 509.

boasting, that nothing could resist his power, he, and his entire force, were destroyed.*

The first rays of morning had but gleamed upon the ranks of the hostile armies, when those of Cadwallon perished, with their chieftain, upon the banks of the Dennis; and hence has come the proverb, "the tiny stream of the Dennis stopped the devastating career of Cadwallon."†

The place is shewn, and to this day‡ held in great veneration, where Oswald, when he was about to proceed to battle with Cadwallon, erected the sign of the holy cross, and upon his bended knees, prayed that God would be pleased, in their dire distress, to aid those, who were His sincere worshippers.§

It is said, that when the Cross was made, and the hollow, in which it was to be placed, scooped out, the pious and fervent king laid hold of it, placed it in the earth, and with both his hands held it, until his soldiers had firmly secured it, in its position, by the mounds of earth they heaped around its base; and then, as soon as the Cross was firmly fixed, he, in a loud voice, thus addressed his faithful soldiers:

"Let us all bend our knees, and with one heart and

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* Beda.

† "Incipiente diliculo congressi Cedwallam et copias illas, quibus nihil resistere posse jactabat. * *, Unde dicitur, Cædes Cedwallæ Denisi cursus coercuit." H. Huntind. *Histor.* Lib. iii. p. 330. Beda uses the same phrase, as to the time of day, when the battle was won.

‡ Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 2, §. 152.

§ "Osuald signum sanctæ crucis erexit, ac flexis genibus Dominum deprecatus est, ut in tanta rerum necessitate suis cultoribus cœlesti succurreret auxilio." Beda.

" one voice pray to the omnipotent, the true, and the " living God, that He, in His mercy, will defend us, from " a proud and ferocious enemy; for to Him is it known, " that we have commenced this war, for the safety and " salvation of our people."

All obeyed the order of their sovereign; and then marching at the break of day against the foe, their faith was duly rewarded by a glorious victory.*

Innumerable miracles—as a proof and perpetual memorial of the piety of the sovereign—are known to have been effected on that spot, where he prayed in presence of his army; and even to this very day, small chips taken from the wood of that cross and placed in water, of which men or cattle have drunk, or been sprinkled, have been known to restore them to health, from a state of sickness.†

The place, in which the battle was fought, had long before that event took place, been called Hefenfelth, or in English " Heaven field," a name that seemed to presage that which was to occur in it—that there, should be a heavenly trophy—there, won a victory by heavenly aid—and there, accomplished even to our own times, heavenly miracles,

To this place, which is not far distant from the church of Hexham, it has long been the custom for its priestly occupants to proceed annually, and on the vigil of the day, on which King Oswald was killed, to pray for the

* " Illum diem fuisse, quo nunquam Britones tristior, nunquam Anglos afflasset hilarior." W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 49.

† " In cujus loco orationis innumeræ virtutes sanitatum noscuntur esse patratæ, ad indicium videlicet ac memoriam fidei regis; nam et *usque hodie* multi de ipso ligno sacrosanctæ crucis astulas excidere solent, &c. Beda.

repose of his soul; and then with the joyous chants of the psalms to celebrate his triumph, and to offer up for him, on the following morning, the holy sacrifice of the mass.* This goodly custom has been so much approved of, that lately, a church has been erected, for the purpose of making that place more worthy of the respect and honor of the faithful.† Such honor is not unduly paid to the memory of him, who impelled by a lively faith---the new leader of a small army about to engage with a merciless foe—raised, in the confident hope of victory, the standard of the holy Cross in Bernicia, where there had been until that time, nor church, nor altar, nor any visible emblem of Christianity.‡

It cannot be regarded as inappropriate to state here, one of the many miracles, which have been accomplished through the efficacy of the Cross. One of the brothers of

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* " Vigilias pro *salute animæ ejus*, facere, plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, *victimam pro eo mane sacræ oblationis offerre.* BEDA.

† See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol, iii, p. 292.

‡ " Christianity was then first planted in Bernicia, not in Northumberland at large, where Paulinus had before converted and baptised numbers. Nor was *Heffenfield*, the field of battle or victory; but another in the neighbourhood, called by BEDA *Denisesburna*, or *Devilsburne*, supposed *Dilston*, though the standard of the cross was erected, and a church afterwards built at the former." Smith app. ad. Bed. xiii, as quoted in CAMDEN'S Britannia, vol. iii, p. 509.

Beda, it may be observed, does not state, that the cross was erected, on the field of battle, but by Oswald, as he was proceeding to battle—" *Venturus* ad hanc pagnam." Where the cross was erected, he calls---" *Hefenfelth.*" Where Cadwallon and his troops were destroyed, " in loco, qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna, ed est rivus Denisi, vocatur."

the monastery of Hexham,* named Bothelm, and who is still living,† whilst incautiously walking upon the ice, a few years since, fell and fractured his arm. He suffered intense anguish, and was not able to lift his hand to his mouth. This monk hearing one of the brethren say, that

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* Of the Church of Hexham, an elaborate description has been given by one of its ancient priors. From that description, we extract a few sentences :—

" Profunditatem ipsius Ecclesiæ criptis, et oratoriis subterraneis, et viarum anfractibus, inferius cum magna industria (Wilfridus) fundavit. Parietes autem quadratis, et variis, et bene politis columpnis suffultos, et tribus tabulatis distinctos immensæ longitudinis et altitudinis erexit. Ipsos etiam et capitella columpnarum quibus sustentantur, et arcum sanctuarii historiis, et imaginibus, et variis cœlaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus, et picturarum, et colorum grata varietate mirabileque decore decoravit. Ipsum quoque corpus ecclesiæ appenticiis, et porticibus undique circumcinxit, quæ mire miro atque inexplicabili artificio per parietes et cocleas inferius et superius distinxit. In ipsis vero cocleis, et super ipsas ascensoria ex lapide, et deambulatoria, et varios viarum anfractus modo sursum, modo deorsum artifiosissime ita machinari fecit, ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi existere, et ipsum corpus ecclesiæ circumdare possit, cum a nemine tamen infra in ea existentium videri queat. * + Quantam ministrorum copiam deo devote servientum ibi congregavit, et quam magnificc et religiose thesauris librorum, * * nostræ exiguitatis sermociunculus explicare non sufficit. * * Denique citra Alpes nullum tale tunc temporis repiriri poterat RICARDUS PRIOR HAGUSTALD. p. p. 290, 291. See EDDIUS. *Vit. S. Wilfrid*, c. 22.

"At present all its glory consists in that ancient monastery, *part of which is turned into the beautiful house of J. Forster.* Except the west end, *which is ruined,* the church remains entire, and is certainly a noble pile. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 493. See also DUGDALE'S Monasticon, vol. v, pp. 179--184.

† " Nec ab re unum e pluribus, quæ ad hanc crucem patrata sunt, virtitutis miraculum enarrare. Quidam de fratribus Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, nomine Bothelm, *qui nunc usque superest &c.* BEDA. This careful and scrupulous author, it ought to be borne in mind, is writing of that, which he had the opportunity of ascertaining, by personal examination.

he was going towards the place, where the holy cross had been erected, begged that he would bring him a particle of the wood, as it, with the blessing of God, might tend to his cure. The brother did as he was requested. On his return in the evening, he handed to Bothelm, as he sat with the other monks, a portion of the dried moss, which he had taken from the surface of the cross; and as Bothelm had not any place near him, where he might deposit that which was brought, he placed it in his bosom;* and through forgetfulness did not remove it upon going to bed. When awakened at midnight, he felt something cold lying by his side. He moved his hand to see what it was, and then discovered, that his hand and arm were as perfectly recovered, as if they had never suffered any injury.†

As soon as Oswald had firmly established himself on his throne, he was desirous, that the people over whom he reigned should receive the full blessings of Christianity, the advantages of which they had in part experienced, by the expulsion of their barbarous invaders. He sent

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* "Non haberet ad manum ubi oblatum sibi munus reponeret, misit hoc in sinum sibi. Beda.

These monks, like all others, had made a vow of poverty. They had not even a pocket in any part of their dress, in which a precious relic might be deposited. The only place in which anything could be carried by them was in the *sinus*, or fold of their dress—the sense, in which it may be supposed it is here used by Beda, and as it is applied to the toga of the Romans (Plin. xv, 8. Gell. iv, 18). If we be right in this conjecture, it proves that the monks of Hexham slept in the same garments which they wore in the day-time.

† Beda. Lib. iii, §. c. 2, §. 153, 154.

sent therefore to the Scots, by whom he had himself been taught, to request that priests might be sent by them, amongst his people, to teach, and to baptise them, in the true faith.*

The first person sent by the Scots, when this request was made to them, was a man—Corman—of austere disposition. He preached, but without avail, to the English nation, and as they manifested no disposition to listen to his exhortations, he returned to his own country. In an assembly of the senior members of his church, he stated that he had failed in his mission, for those, whom he had sought to instruct were men of obstinate dispositions and barbarous minds. The priests consulted, as to what ought to be done for a people, whose salvation they desired, but amongst whom, the preacher they had selected, was not kindly received, nor willingly listened to.† "It "seems to me, brother," said Aidan, who was present at this council, and addressing himself to the unsuccessful missionary, "that you have been unjustly severe, to your "ignorant listeners—that you have not, in accordance "with the apostolic discipline, first given to them the "milk of a milder doctrine, so that they, by degrees, "nurtured, and strengthened by the word of God, might "become competent to comprehend, and capable to per-"form the great work of Christian perfection."

* Beda. Lib. iii, c. 3. §. 155.

† Upon the failure of the Scotch priest Corman in converting the Saxons, some very curious observations will be found in "The Lives of the English Saints," (attributed to the Revd. J. H. Newman) part vi, pp. 56, 57. Aidan, it is to be observed was not a Scotchman—but a native of Ireland, and a monk of Hii, (Iona) the great monastery which his countryman Columba founded. See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. viii, p. 354. (St. Aidan).

The instant these words were heard, the eyes and thoughts of all present were directed to the speaker: they considered what he had said, and then determined, that he was worthy of the prelacy; for in these few words he had proved, that he who has the grace of discretion—the mother of every virtue—is, beyond all others, the best suited for converting the infidel, and enlightening the ignorant. He was consecrated, and sent to preach to the English; and time subsequently proved, that he who had made himself remarkable for his moderation, was also adorned with the transcedant virtues of a saint.*

Aidan, the new missionary, was soon distinguished amongst his disciples, by his mildness, his meekness, and his piety.† The King granted to him, at his own request the island of Lindisfarne‡ as the seat of his episcopal see,

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 5, §. 164.

† Beda also praises him for his zeal, although defective in his knowledge; for he followed the Scotch mode of computing Easter—an error, from which "upon the admonition of the bishop of the Apostolic See, the inhabitants of the South of Ireland had been for some time free." Lib. iii, c. 3, §. 155.

‡ "Lindisfarne, so called from the river Lindis, is eight miles in circumference. From the great number of saints who lived and lie buried there, it was called by our ancestors, Holy Island. The discipline of the Scottish monks, and of Lindisfarne, was derived from the Oriental monastic rules, and very severe. Roger Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and Leland in his collectanea (t. 2, p. 158, *alias* 171) tell us that the monks of Lindisfarne used no other drink than milk and water till wine and beer were allowed them, from the rules of the Western monks in 762, when Ceolwulph, King of the Northumbers, in the ninth year of his reign, resigned his kingdom to his nephew, and became a monk of Lindisfarne. Eadfrid, then Ethelworth, and eight other bishops held this See, till the monastery and church were burnt down by the Danes, Bishop Eardulf translated this See to Cunecester, or Chester-upon-the-street. The See of

and at the same time, the pious sovereign, proved by his conduct, in the extension of Christianity, and in the erection of new churches, that he was a humble, devout, and willing listener to the admonitions of the prelate. This most beautiful spectacle was often then to be seen in England—that when the Bishop, who was not perfectly acquainted with the English language, was preaching, the King, who in his long banishment amongst the Scots, had learned their dialect, was found to act as the Bishop's interpreter, to his soldiers and servants.

Many devout persons came from the regions of the Scots* to Britain, and to those provinces, especially, over which reigned King Oswald supreme, for the purpose of preaching the words of faith, and such amongst them, as were clothed, with the sacerdotal character, to administer the sacrament of baptism. Churches were built in several places; the people, joyful with a new hope, hastened in crowds to hear the word of God; possessions and territories were bestowed with a king-like munificence, for the foundation of monasteries—and the weaklings of England were soon taught by these Scotch instructors, who were principally monks, the rules of a strict discipline, and the means of mastering greater studies, than those to which they had hitherto been accustomed.†

Chester became extinct in 1542, the thirty-third of Henry VIII. *the bishopric of Lindisfarne is long since parcelled out into maney.*

BUTLER'S Lives of the Saints, vol. viii, pp. 384, 385. (St. Aidan). See also CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 389. DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i, p. 219 to 244, and vol. iv, pp. 687. 689.

* "As well the Scots who inhabited Ulster in Ireland, as the Dalreodini, who were seated in Britain." Usher. Primord. p. 700. STEVENSON.

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c, §. 156. As the last sentence is a loose translation, we give the original—"Donabantur munere

It was from the island Iona, and its college of monks, that Aidan came amongst the English, as a Bishop. At that time the abbot and priest of Iona was Segenius. Aidan proved by his life, the value of the instructions he had received. To all clergymen, he recommended chastity, by the example of his own purity—in all laymen he, inspired a respect for the doctrines he taught, because he lived, as he advised them, to pass their lives. In all his actions, he demonstrated, that he neither loved, nor cared for the things of this world. The riches, that he received from the kings and the great, he instantly bestowed, with joy, upon the poor and the distressed. In the street, or in the road, he was always to be seen humbly walking; and never did he, except in cases of urgent necessity, travel on horseback; but whithersoever he went, and whomsoever he met, be they rich, or be they poor, he spoke to them—if they were infidels, to invite them to accept of Christ: if they were Christians, to strengthen them, in their faith—to encourage them to give alms; and to prove the truth of their religion by their words, and good works.

His mode of life was very different from the tepidity

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regio possessiones et territoria ad instituenda monasteria, imbuebantur præceptoribus Scotis parvuli Anglorum, una cum majoribus studiis et observatione disciplinæ regularis. Nam monachi erant maxime, qui ad prædicandum venerant."

The venerable Bede subjoins an account of the monastery of Hii or Iona, and of its founder Columba. It belongs to the history of Ireland, and constitutes a most interesting portion of the annals of that unfortunate, but still Catholic country. Beda states as to the Irish priests, the followers of St. Columba, that which can be affirmed of them from the days of Beda to the present :—" Reliquit successores *magna continentia ac divino amore regularique institutione insignes.*" &c. See Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 4. §. 158 159, 160, 161.

The note of Mr. Stevenson upon this chapter (E.H.S. edition) will be found particularly valuable.

of the present times; for all who accompanied him, whether they were priests or laymen, passed their time in religious meditation—that is, in reading the scriptures, or in learning psalms.* Such was the daily occupation of all who were with him, and when it ever occurred (that which seldom happened) that he was invited to dine with the king, he was always accompanied to the royal table, by one or two of his priests, and there having refreshed himself for a brief space of time, he hurried away, that he might join in the prayers, or the studies of the clergy. It was too, in accordance, with the example that he gave them, that many persons of both sexes, religiously disposed, adopted the custom of fasting every Wednesday and Friday, until three o'clock, in the afternoon, with the exception of the fifty days, following the feast of Easter.† He was neither to be influenced by the hope of honor, nor the fear of resentment, from alluding to the vices of the rich; for, whenever he found them committing crimes, he always visited them, with his open and severe

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* "Aut legendis scripturis, aut psalmis discendis, operam dare." Beda. "The Saxon homilies exhort the people with great earnestness to the frequent perusal of the scriptures, and enforce the advice from the great benefit of that exercise. * * That as a blind man often stumbles in his motion, so those, who are unacquainted with the word of God are apt to make false steps and miscarry." Notæ Wheloc. ad. c. 5. Lib. 3. Bed. quoted in COLLIER'S *Eccles. Hist.* vol. i, p. 206. Let the Protestant reader compare these facts with the charge so often made against Catholic Bishops, priests and monks of preventing the perusal and circulation of the scriptures. See MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages.* No. x, xi, xii, xiii, pp. 168–221.

† "Cujus exemplis informati tempore illo religiosi quique viri ac feminæ consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum excepta remissione quinquagesimæ paschalis, quarta et sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare." BEDA.

reprobation.* When visited by the powerful, he tended to them no pecuniary gift—if they claimed his hospitality, he supplied them with food—and, if, on the contrary, he received money—presents from the rich, it was for the purpose of bestowing them, on the needy, or of dispensing them, in THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THOSE, WHO HAD BEEN UNJUSTLY SOLD AS SLAVES. *Many of those, whom he made free,* BY PURCHASE, *he afterwards enrolled amongst*

* "Nunquam divitibus honoris sive timoris gratia, si qua deliquessent, reticebat; sed aspera illos invectione corrigebat. BEDA.

This is the character given of an ancient monkish bishop. It differs in every respect from that, which was given some years since in parliament, with respect to the bearing and conduct of the "Reformed" Prelates; when the following charges were made against them, and none stood up to deny their accuracy viz., that 'they mingled in the plots and jobs of Government;' that "they were the mere partisans of their respective political creators;" that "the political conduct of the Bishops in parliament had lowered their character in the eyes of the country;" that "taking an active part in intrigues and cabals, they had mixed themselves up with factions and combinations;" and that "they seemed not to be content themselves with comments upon spiritual privileges, but had envied other men their civil freedom." &c., &c. See *Parliamentary Debates* (third series) vol. xx, pp. 133, 135, 136, 140.

Bede, in this and other parts of his work, praises Aidan for his independent spirit, as a christian priest in publicly reprobating the crimes of flagrant sinners. It is a portion of the ancient discipline of the church—always acted upon by the Irish Catholic priests—(and Aidan was an Irish priest) but that for which Aidan was praised, his pious successors in Ireland, have been calumniated. See, amongst other instances, HANSARD'S *Parliamentry Debates*, third series, vol. xxviii, pp. 896, 897, vol. xxix. pp. 182, 183, and *Report of the House of Lords*, in 1839, "on crimes in Ireland," *passim*.

It is remarkable, that in a translation of Bede, by a clergyman of the established church (Revd. Dr. Giles), lately published, no attempt is made to render the above sentence into English. That which we have quoted is skipped. The omission no doubt arises from accident; but it is a curious accident.

his disciples, and then fully instructed, and properly prepared, HE ELEVATED THEM TO THE RANK OF THE PRIESTHOOD.*

* In this proceeding of the Irish Catholic priest—in this redemption by him of Englishmen sold to slavery, we discern the first struggle of the Catholic Church, in this country, to break through a system, that centuries had consecrated, that all ages had sanctioned, and all nations practised. Aidan has been praised for his prudence and moderation, and in these transactions, we find how well entitled he was to the eulogium pronounced upon him. He dared not attack slavery openly. If he did—his fate would have been that of Corman, and none would have listened to him. The rude Saxon would have clung to his idolatry, rather than embrace Christianity, which would have brought with it the destruction of his property in his fellow man. Aidan selected for enfranchisement, cases, in which, even slaveholders must have sympathised with him—namely, persons who had unjustly been deprived of their liberty—men probably unduly convicted of crime, or who, under the pretence of being debtors, had been reduced from a state of freedom to that of slavery. In England, "*Slavery was a legal punishment.*" See PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,* vol. i, pp. 29, 30. The penalty of slavery for certain crimes, will be found also in the Burgundian Law, Tit. xxv, §. 3. Tit. xxvi, §. 1. Tit. xlvii, §. 2, and in the laws of the Visigoths, Lib. ii, Tit. 4, §. 6, 8, Lib. iii, Tit. 2, §. 2, 3, 4, 6. Tit. 3, §. 5. Tit. 4, §. 1, 12, Lib. vi, Tit. 1, §. 2. 6. Tit. 2, p. 1, 2, Tit. 3. §. 1, &c.

Aidan, in attacking slavery, imitated the prudence of St. Gregory the Great, who commenced his assault upon the system, by redeeming from bondage the Christian slaves of Jews, of protecting Jewish slaves, who became Christians, or slaves persecuted by their Jew task-masters. St. Gregory thus enlisted the popular feeling, in favor of enfranchisement, by exhibiting slavery in its most odious form—viz., in the person of the Christian, who had crucified his sins, being subjected to those who attempted to justify the crucifixion of the Saviour of mankind. Writing to the priest Candidus, St Gregory (Lib. vi, Ep. 21) thus expresses himself :—

"Dominicus præsentium portitor, lacrymabiliter nobis innotuit, quatuor Fratres suos de captivitate a Judæis redemptos esse, atque eos nunc Norbonæ in eorundem Judæorum servitio detineri. Et quia omnino grave execrandumque est Chris-

Taught by this Bishop, Oswald aspired to the enjoyment of a kingdom, that was unknown to his ancestors, whilst endowed with larger temporal dominions, than any of them had possessed. All the nations and provinces of Britain—the Picts, the British, the Scotch and the English were subjected to his sway. He had ascended

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tiano esse in servitio Judæorum dilectionem suam scriptis præsentibus adhortamur, ut cum omni subtilitate et solicitudine studeat perscrutari, et si re vera ita est, atque manifesta tibi veritate constiterit, quia neque ipsi unde redimant, neque suprascriptus portitor habet, eos studii tui sit redimere, sciens quia, quidquid in eis dedideris, tuis sine dubio rationibus imputabitur." Writing to Bishop Januarius (Lib. iii, Ep. 9) he says:—"Pervenit ad nos, servos ancillasque Judæorum *fidei caussa* ad Ecclesiam refugientes, aut infidelibus restitui dominis aut eorum, ne restituantur, pretium dari. Hortamur igitur, ut nullatenus tam pravam consuetudinem manere permittas; sed cum quilibet Judæorum servus ad venerabilia loca *fidei caussa* confugerit, nullatenus eum patiamini predjudicium sustinere. Sed sive olim Christianus, sive nunc fuerit baptizandus, *sine ullo Christianorum pauperum damno, Religioso Ecclesiasticæ pietatis patrocinio, in libertatem modis omnibus defendatur.*" See *Act. Sanct.*(Mart.) vol. ii pp. 195, 196.

The complaints, to be found in the writings of St. Gregory, with respect to the Jews, as harsh task-masters to their unfortunate slaves, will also be met with in other authors. See *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. vi, pp. 358, 359. Bishop Agobard thus writes—"Si enim petentibus baptismum Judæis aut servis eorum negamus timeo damnationem divinam; *si damus, timeo offensionem humanam, et tam infestas læsiones domus nostra.*" See also Epist. Agobard, V. Vol. vi. pp. 362, 363. In p: 365, proofs are given of the Jews being engaged, as slave-dealers of the worst description; and in Charter xxxiv (p. 651) they are privileged, to buy and sell slaves, within the limits of the Empire. We refer to these facts, not for the purpose of perpetuating prejudices against the Jews, but as an elucidation of the prejudices, entertained against them, in former ages. In this country, the Catholics have petitioned for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews. The bigotted opponents to the Jews have been foes to the Catholics, and admirers of "the religious reformation."

to the very pinnacle of power, and yet, wonderful to relate, he was humble as the humblest of the poor; whilst the unfriended and the stranger always found him benignant, generous and hospitable.

A proof of his goodness is to be found in the following incident. The king was seated, with the Bishop Aidan, as his guest, on the holy festival of Easter. The dinner of which they were about to partake was placed on the table before them; and their hands were raised to bless the food, when the King's servant, whose duty it was, to supply the wants of the needy, hastily entered the room, to state, that a multitude, apparently gathered from all parts of the country, had collected together in the streets, and were asking alms from their sovereign. The dinner on the table consisted of the most dainty food arranged upon one large silver salver. The king pointed to it—desired all to be given to the poor, and the silver itself, broken into small pieces, and divided amongst them. The Prelate, who was seated at the table by the side of the king, charmed with this act of charity,* grasped the hand, which had directed the servant towards the performance of this good deed, and exclaimed—"May this hand never perish!" It was a benediction destined to be fulfilled; for when this generous sovereign was afterwards killed in battle—the hand, that had been thus blessed

* Something, similar to this, is to be found in the account of St. Germain and King Dagobert:

"Contention estoit entre l'evesque et la prince; ils faisoient entre eus *estrif* (lutte) pour pitie, et bataille pour misericorde, pour ce qu'ils espandissent leur tresors et que les pauvres fussent riches de leurs besans." *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, Lib. iii. c. 5, vol. i, pp. 159, 160. See also Vit. S. Dioclorei Abb. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Scrip.* vol. iii, p. 437.

was with the arm cut from the body, and both remain to this day, free from the taint of corruption.*

By this wise, and good king, the inhabitants of the two provinces of Deira and Bernicia who had hitherto been animated with a mutual antipathy, were reconciled to each other—a firm and lasting peace established between them; and at last brought into such harmonious concord, as to feel, that they were but one people. Such was the state of the country under him, who, by the Princess Acha, was the nephew of King Edwin; and who proved himself, in his policy and his acts, a worthy successor to that sovereign, in power, in dignity, and in religion.†

The people of the West Saxons, formerly called the Gewissi, were about this time (A.D. 635)‡ converted to Christianity through the preaching of the Bishop Birinus,

* "Manus cum brachio a cetero essent corpore resectæ, contigit ut hactenos incorruptæ perdurent." BEDA. He adds that in his time, they were enclosed in a silver shrine, at the Church of St. Peter at Bamborough, where that veneration was manifested for them, which is due to the relics of one, who had, when living, been distinguished for his sanctity. "And his handa sindon on Bebban—burh ungebrasnode." *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 642.

† BEDA, Lib. iii, c. 5. 6. §. 162, 163, 165, 166.

‡ "The date is uncertain, being ascribed to A.D. 633 by the Annals of Winchester, to 634 by the Saxon Chronicle, and Florence of Worcester, with whom agree Wharton and Smith, and to 635 by Rudborne." STEVENSON. The Rt. Revd. Dr. Milner fixes the date at 635. We prefer his authority to all others. See *History of Winchester*, vol. i, p. 65.

who had come as a missionary to Britain, under the sanction of the Pope Honorius. This exemplary priest had promised to the Holy Pontiff, that he would scatter the seed of the gospel, in the interior parts of England, where no christian teacher had yet appeared. The Pope approved of his pious intention, and by his order, Birinus was consecrated as a prelate, by the Bishop Asterius at Genoa.*

As Birinus† was about to proceed upon his voyage, he offered up the Mass, which he celebrated, for the prosperity of the mission, on which he was about to enter. He was called, in haste, from this holy duty, to go on board. He hurried to the vessel—the anchors were raised—the wind blew freshly for the voyage, and the waves rolled, as if hastening towards the port, to which he was to proceed. At that moment Birinus recollected, that a Corporal, on which the body of the Lord had been consecrated, and itself containing the Holy Sacrament,‡ which had been given to him by the Pope, and that he always wore, except when saying mass, had been left by him on the altar in Genoa. Amid the tumult, it was vain

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib iii, c. 7, §. 167. See notes by Stevenson on this chapter. W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. ii, p. 241. Gervas. Act. Pont. Cantu. p. 1655. Milner's *History of Winchester*, vol i, pp. 67, 69. The last venerable author suggests, that he might have gone to Genoa "to learn the Saxon language from some of the Franks, who frequented that part."

† Brompton *Chron.* p. 755.

‡ "pallulam super quam corpus Christi consecrabat, corpusque Dominicum in eadem involutum." Brompton.

"Cumque reculas suas in sarcinas componeret, nautis pro tempestivo vento urgentibus, corporalia (que dicuntur) oblitus est." W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. ii. p. 240.

to hope that the sailors would wait for him to go again on shore, and return with that precious relic. What was to be done? Birinus was armed with faith—he descended from the ship to the sea, and on the sea he walked to the shore, as if the path on which he trod, was dry as the firm sand. His hope was fulfilled—his faith rewarded—what he sought for, was recovered, and again he returned, the same way, in which he had departed, to a vessel moveless amid the bounding waves, and a gale freshly blowing for a prosperous voyage!* The prelate mounted to the deck, and not a single drop of water dripped from his vestments, to testify, that his faith had faltered, for an instant. All, who were in the vessel, avowed they had witnessed a miracle, and in the person of His servant, they acknowledged the power, the goodness, and the greatness of the one true God. The pious saint perceived, that the grace of faith had descended upon them. He expounded to them the Catholic doctrines: at once they renounced their idolatry: they promised to keep the commandments of God—water was blessed by him—they were sprinkled with it—baptised—and, in the name of the Holy Trinity, accepted as Christians.†

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* W. Malmsbury differs from Brompton, as to this second miracle, for he says of the sailors—"Illi quoque tanto emolliti miraculo, *jactis ancoris* cursum navis tenuerunt."

† Brompton *Chron.* p. 755. "Thus," says the Right Revd. Dr. Milner, "our apostle began the conversion of the West Saxons, before he landed on their territory. This prodigy is so well attested, by the most judicious historians, that those who have the greatest interest to deny it, have not dared openly to do so." Upon this, he adds in a note—"If there is any faith in history, and unless an absolute scepticism takes place, it must be admitted that miracles were frequently wrought, not only at the conversion of our ancestors, but also during the

Birinus, upon his arrival, found that the Gewissi were plunged in the very darkness of Paganism. He deemed it therefore to be better to remain amongst those, who needed so much his presence, than to proceed further to seek for an infidelity which could only be similar, and could not be worse, than that, with which he was on every side surrounded.* He at once commenced preaching the gospel to the West Saxons.† Great success attended his efforts. The King, Cynegils, was amongst his disciples, and was soon fitted to receive the sacrament of baptism. The pious and powerful sovereign of Northumberland, Oswald, was present at the ceremony---and acted as the god-father of him, whose daughter he was about to receive in marriage. Both Kings‡ united in bestowing upon the Bishop, that city, which is now called Dorchester,¶ as the seat of his epis-

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time that they continued in their primitive fervour and strength of faith." MILNER'S *History of Winchester*, vol. i, p. 68.

Mr. Hearne, in his notes on William of Newburgh, vol. iii, p. 773 remarks, "I know of no truly religious person, but what is affected, with what now remains of the historical painting in Dorchester windows, relating to Birinus's voyage thither, and his converting the heathens." See BUTLER'S Lives of the Saints, vol. xii, p. 973. (St. Birinus).

* BEDA Lib. iii, c. 7. §. 167.

† Brompton adds this fact—"Erant autem ex iis qui eum ibidem audiebant, multi ad fidem Catholicam prius per prædicationem beati Augustini conversi."

‡ "Oswald was the superior lord, Cynegils was the subregulus." STEVENSON.

¶ "Dorchester was then a considerable city. It has still a large church, and great appearance of fortifications round it. Coins also, chiefly Roman, are dug up there in great abundance." MILNER'S *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 69.

copal see.* Birinius built and dedicated several churches†: by his pious labors many were called to a knowledge, of the true faith‡: in the year 636 King Cwichelm, and in 639, the King Cuthred were baptized by him, at Dorchester. The former died, the same year, in which he became a Christian, and for the latter, the Bishop himself acted as sponsor.‖ The zealous prelate,

* "The Sees of Salisbury, Exeter, Wells, Litchfield, Worcester, and Hereford, were afterwards formed out of this of Dorchester which was soon transferred to Winchester. King Oswy appointed, in 650, Dwina Bishop of Litchfield, for the Midland English. In the same country of Mercia another bishopric was erected in 678, when Eaddead was made Bishop of Sidnacester; this See was removed to Legecester, now Leicester, in 872, and soon after to Dorchester, which continued the See of the bishops of East Mercia and Lyndsey, till, in 1072, the bishop Remigius of Feschamp translated it to Lincoln. See Godwin de Præsul. Angl and Le Neve, p. 138, 249. Beda. 1, 3, c. 7, and Neve's Fasti Anglicani, p. 137, 283." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. xii. p. 975.

† A doubt has been expressed as to the country of which Birinus was a native. Malmsbury says of him, "dubium unde oriundus;" but in the stile of ecclesiastical building, commenced by him at Winchester, we find demonstrative proof of the correctness of Brompton's assertion, that he was a native of Rome. —"Birini præsbyteri *de civitate Romana nati.*" It is observed, with a commendable pride, by the Catholic Bishop of the Midland District—"Whereas the churches that were raised upon the conversion of our ancestors, were, in general, of very rude workmanship, being nothing else for the most part than trunks of trees, placed close together, and also built on a very contracted scale, our (Winchester) cathedral was celebrated for the beauty of its architecture." MILNER'S *History of Winchester*, vol. i, pp. 71, 72. In Beda, we find it mentioned, (Lib. v, c. 20, §. 427), when Naiton desired to build a splendid church, he imitated Birinus, for he had it constructed "Juxta *morem Romanorum.*" See also Beda Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii, c. 4, §. 158, respecting the "candida casa."

‡ Beda Lib. iii, c. 7, §. 168.

‖ Saxon Chronicle, W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 18.

having completed the task which heaven had assigned to him, departed from this life to receive the reward of his labors. His body was interred at Dorchester, but after the lapse of many years, was by the Bishop Hedda removed to Winchester and deposited in the church of S. S. Peter and Paul.*

Coinualch succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons upon the death of his father; but unlike to Cynegils,† he refused the blessings, which religion tendered to him, and his own vices soon drove him from the throne. He had, whilst filling the station of a prince, been united in marriage, with the sister of Penda, King of the Mercians: as a King, he repudiated this princess, and espoused another. Penda attacked, defeated and deprived him of his crown. Coinualch fled, as a refuge to the court of Anna, King of the East Angles. He remained there for three years, and edified by the example of the virtuous King, and his pious family, he recognised the truths of christianity, and embraced them.‡

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* Beda Lib. iii, c. 7, §. 168. "The whole," (of the Cathedral) "being finished, St. Birinus came to our city, and dedicated this famous seat of his successors in the name of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year of our Lord 648. After this he returned to Dorchester, where he died the death of the just, and was buried in 650." Milner's History of Winchester, vol. i, p. 72.

† "Hic Kynewalchus, ut scribit Willielmus Meldunensis *de Regibus*. Lib. i. medio tempore et ultimo optimis principibus erat compararandus." Rudborne. *Angl. Sac.* Vol. i. p. 191.

‡ "Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 7. §. 169. W. Malmsb. *Hist. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 19. *Angl. Sac.* vol. i. p. 288.

Upon the restoration of Coinualch to his kingdom there came to it, a French priest named Agilbert, who had passed a considerable time in Ireland, studying the scriptures,* and who then travelled from that country to the West Saxons, for the purpose of preaching the gospel amongst them. The king, admiring both his learning and zeal, desired, that he would accept of the episcopal see; and Agilbert, yielding at length to his solicitations, discharged for many years the duties of a Bishop, in that district. The King, who was only acquainted with the Saxon language, became at last weary of Agilbert's barbarous manner of pronouncing it,† and he improperly introduced‡ as a Bishop, one of his

* "Sed tunc *legendarum gratia Scripturarum*, in *Hibernia* non parvo tempore demoratus." BEDA. "We learn from different passages in this historian, and from other ancient writers, that Ireland, in the age of which we are speaking, was *the great store-house of literature*, to which students flocked from other countries, and from which the most learned men were obtained to enlighten the different parts of the Continent. See Camden concerning Ireland, at the end of his Britannia; where he signifies, that our ancestors, the Saxons, borrowed the form of our alphabet from the Irish." MILNER'S *History of Winchester*, vol. i, p. 72.

"There were at this time," (the pestilence of 664) "many of the nobility and middle classes of Englishmen, in Ireland. These persons had forsaken their own country, either for the purpose of religious education, or that they might lead a more strict life of continency and virtue. Some devoted themselves to a monastic life—others preferred going to the cells of the different teachers, for instruction. The Irish willingly received them all—supplied them with food, and would take no payment in return—and at the same time gave them gratuitously both books and teachers. Beda Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii, c. 27, §. 240. See also *Rome under Paganism and the Popes*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 246, 247.

† Tandem rex, qui Saxonum tantum linquam noverat, pertœsus barbaræ linguæ." Beda.

‡ Subintroduxit.', Beda.

own countrymen, named Wini, who had been consecrated in France, to whom he assigned, the city of Winchester, as his see. Agilbert was offended, that the King should have thus acted without consulting him. He instantly departed for France,* and there, having accepted the

* According to Rudborne he had acted as Bishop of Dorchester for fifteen years. He did not go direct to France, but to Northumberland, with whose king, he was united in the bonds of friendship. He was present at the Council at Whitby in the year 664. See *Anglia. Sacra* vol. i, p. 191.

Upon the conduct of Agilbert on this occasion, various opinions have been given by different writers. It is worthy of perusal, the manner, in which has been commented upon, by an English Catholic, an English, and a foreign Anti-catholic—the Right Rev. Dr. Milner—the Rev. Mr. Collier, and Herr Lappenberg, The two first approve it—the last approves not of it, but of such persons as Wini, who by simony, or by any other practise, testify their "independence," and their resistance to "the Roman ecclesiastical law."

"Agilbert being well acquainted with the irregularity and invalidity of this measure, as likewise with the unlawfulness of even conniving at it, resigned his see entirely, and retired to his native country, where his merit being known, he was soon appointed bishop of Paris." MILNER'S *History of Winchester*, vol. i, p. 73.

"It seems by this resentment of Agilbert's, which is not at all censured by Beda, it was not the custom of this age for princes to canton out a bishop's diocese, and lessen the extent of his authority. And if the Church is an independent society, which we must grant, unless we will charge the Christians of the three first centuries with mutiny and disobedience to the Roman Emperors—I say, if the Church is an independent society, Agilbert had reason to take this usage ill from the king, for upon this supposition of the Church's independency, the civil magistrate has no more right to wrest the bishop's flock out of his hand, or draw the people from their obedience to their spiritual superior, than the bishop has to prevent the subjects from their allegiance, and grant away a parcel of the dominions of the secular sovereign." COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 208.

"The restoration of German proper names, the peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon calendar and festivals, the slight influence

Bishopric of Paris, he continued to the day of his death to discharge its duties. Not many years had passed from from the departure of Agilbert; when Wini was expelled from his bishopric, by the same king, who had appointed him. Wini then withdrew to Mercia, from whose King Wulfer he purchased the see of London, and held it, during his life.* As to the principality of the East Angles, it was, in consequence of these transactions, left for a considerable time without a Bishop.†

During that time, Coinualch and his principality were subject to many losses, and grievous afflictions. These calamities were the harsh instructors of the monarch. He remembered, that when an infidel, he had been expelled from his kingdom, and that on his returning to Christianity, he had been restored to his throne—he therefore surmised, that having deprived his people of a supreme spiritual director; he had also shorn himself of that divine protection, which had formerly shielded him

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of the Roman ecclesiastical law, the cultivation of the native tongue by the ecclesiastics, the weakened influence of Rome on the princes, are *the beneficial fruits* accruing to the Church, which thus in reality become enriched by its early wants." LAPPENBERG'S *England under the Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. i, p. 169, see also p. 168.

* " Sed triennio ante mortem suam pœnitentiâ ductus pro *symonia*, Episcopatum deserens, reliquam partem vitæ suæ in Wyntoniensi ecclesiâ, * * * sub monastica conversatione peregit, in qua corpus ejus decentissime traditur sepulturæ ; ut scribit Florentius, in *Florario Historiala*, Lib. iii, c. 6. Semper apud semetipsum haec verba ruminabat ; *Erravimus Juvenes, emendemus senes.*" RUDBORN *Histor. Major.* Lib. ii, c. 3.

† " Vacavit siquidem ab anno 666 ad 670, juxta Chronologiam Saxonicam, et Florentium." WHARTON *Anglia Sacra.* Vol. i. p. 192.

from evil. Influenced by this conviction, he sent messengers to Agilbert, praying that he would return to his bishopric. The latter declined acceding to the request; for he felt that he was bound to remain in the place, where he had voluntarily engaged to discharge the episcopal functions; but as a testimony, that he was not influenced in his refusal, by any feeling of obstinacy, he recommended his own nephew Eleutherius, to the West Saxons, because he said, he believed him worthy of the mitre.

Eleutherius, was gladly accepted both by King and people, and having been consecrated by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, he alone, for many years wisely administered, with synodical authority, the spiritual affairs of the Gewissi.*

In the kingdom of the East Angles, Sigebert, the brother of Earpwald, and successor to Redwald, mounted the throne, about the year 631.† Sigebert was a good

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* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 7. §. 169, 170, 171.

† "His temporibus." "In consequence of this and similar expressions, the Chronology of the Kingdom of East Anglia is confused and uncertain. It appears, however, that three years after the conversion of Earpwald, Sigebert succeeded to the throne. A.D. 631. The length of his reign may be gathered from what we learn concerning that of his successor Anna, who according to the legend of Etheldritha, Abbess of Ely §. ii, (Mabill. Acta S.S, and, S. Benedict ad an 679) was slain A.D. 654, in the nineteenth year in his reign: a synchronism which carries back his accession, and the death of Sigebert to A.D. 635. Stevenson. See also Coxe (Rog. de Wend, vol. i, p. p. 129, 135. E. H. S.) and Wharton's *Ang. Sax.* vol. i, p. 403, (note B).

and religious man. At the time, that his fear of the power, and apprehension of the vengeful disposition of Redwald compelled him to lead the life of an exile in France, he had acquired a knowledge of Christianity and received the Sacrament of baptism. Restored to his his country, and able to exercise the powers of a sovereign, his first care was to practise, for the benefit of his people, that which he had admired abroad. Schools were therefore established, by him, where the young might acquire a knowledge of literature. In this object, he was aided, by the Bishop Felix, who came from Kent to assist him; and who brought with him schoolmasters, and distinguished teachers,* fully qnalified to instruct their pupils according to the system adopted in Canterbury.†

* "Pædagogas ac magistras." BEDA.

† "Juxta morem Cantuariorum." BED. These phrases would justify us, in regarding Canterbury as "the normal school" for every species of learning at this period of English history. The establishment of these schools by Sigebert, form an important fact, in the dispute between the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, as to their respective claims to antiquity. See LINGARD's History of the Anglo Saxon Church, vol. i, p. p. 33, 34, COLLIER's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. p. 210, 211, *Lappenberg's History of Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. I. p. 154 (THORPE's translation).

"Hic" (Fælix) "scolas literarum *opportunis locis* constituit; et in Civitate *sedem habuit*, quæ *nunc* Silthestowe vocatur supra mare *in orientale parte Suffolchiæ*. Hic cum xvii annis Ecclesiam rexisset, *Sepultus est in Domnoc Civitate Sedis quæ*. Sed postea inde translatus est apud Seham; ubi aliquando secundum quosdam fuit sedes Episcopatis; quæ est villa juxta stagnum Eliense: qui locus postea destructus a Danis, corpus ejus quæsitum et repertum, in Ramesiensi Cœnobio humatum est." B. COTTON. *Hist. Episc. Norwicens. Ang. Sax.* vol. i. p. 403. See also BROMPTON p. p. 745, 747 GERVAS. *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* p. 1635.

"Sigebert," says Mr. Collier, the Protestant historian, "looking on learning not only as an ornament to his Kingdom; but as a

The love of religion absorbed all the earthly affections of the sovereign...and he at last abandoned to his relation Egric, whom he previously made a participator in his power, all the honors, and all the cares of the kingly office. He entered into the monastery which he had himself founded :* he removed from his head the crown, to receive the tonsure; from a King he became a monk... the throne was exchanged by him for a cell; for he desired an eternal, and not a temporary kingdom.

He had remained, for a considerable period of time, in in the lowly situation of a monk, when the Mercian army,

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proper expedient to recommend the doctrine of the Gospel, made it his business to encourage it. *Felix, the Bishop, promoted the execution of this design*, and furnished him, out of Kent, with masters and professors in several of the learned faculties." *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 210.

" He was a holy Burgundian priest, who converted and baptised Sigebert, Prince of the East Angles, during his exile in France. * * Sigebert invited out of France his spiritual father St. Felix to assist him in bringing over his idolatrous subjects to the Christian faith ; these were the inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints* vol. iii. p. 318 (St. Felix).

" Adjutor religionis, et *studiorum incentor* Felix Episcopus W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 97.

* " Sancto Furseo dedit locum ad construendum monasterium, in quo et ipse postmodum relicto regno monachus factus est." GERVAS *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* p. 1636.

We know from Beda Lib. iii, c. 19, §. 203, that a monastery was founded by him at " Cnoheresburg," now " Burghcastle," and it has been conjectured by Camden, Capgrave and others, that it was from this place, Sigebert was taken to oppose, Penda. An assertion that is denied by Mr. Gough in his edition of Camden (vol. ii, p. 172) in these words: " The Ely historian expressly says he was fetched out of Betricesworth." (Bury St. Edmund's) It is certainly true, that Sigebert was no more content with founding one school, than with endowing a single monastery. See WODDERSPOON'S *Historic Sites of Suffolk*, p. 127.

led by King Penda, invaded the territory of the East Angles. The latter felt their incapacity to cope with their enemy, and they besought of their former sovereign, to appear amongst the soldiers, and by his presence, to inspire them, with a courage, which was so much wanted, and so desirable, in such an emergency. Contrary to his inclination, the monk---King was taken from his monastery and placed in the midst of a camp. It was hoped, that the soldiers, who knew him to be a courageous and distinguished general, would never shrink in a conflict of which he was a witness.

Amid the horrors and dangers of war, the King remembered only, that he was a monk; and his hand was armed therefore not with a sword, but with a simple staff. He fell in the midst of his soldiers. At the same time, his relation, King Egric, was killed---and all his army either destroyed or dispersed by the victorious Pagans.*

His successor on the throne was Anna, the son of Eli---a man illustrious, for his noble ancestors; but for his still more noble offspring,† although he himself, was, like his predecessor, destined to be slain, in battle, by the Pagan King of the Mercians.‡

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* See H. Huntind. Histor. Lib. ii, p. 317. Lib. iii, p. 332. Bromton, *Chron.* p. 747. W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 97. Flor. Wigorn. p. 558. Roc. de Wend. vol. i, 148.

† "Sexburga Abbess of Ely, Ethelberga Abbess of Brie, Etheldritha Abbess of Ely, Milburga, Nun of Ely, Sæthritha, Abbess of Brie, and Witberga, Nun of Ely, were daughters of Anna. Many of them were canonised." Stevenson.

‡ Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 18 §. 199, 200. Beda, in the nineteenth chapter of the third book, gives an account of St. Fursey, and his visions, as they are to be found in an ancient

Eadbald, King of Kent died in the year 640, and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Earcomberet, who governed that country, for the space of four and twenty years.* He was alike distinguished, for his piety, as a christian, and his virtues, as a sovereign. His father and grandsire had, though christians, left the idols of Paganism unmolested. He, on the contrary, conceived that a King should not, by his conduct, appear to sanction or connive at that which he privately condemned, and he therefore directed that all idolatrous temples should be levelled to the earth. He was, not merely desirous, that no vestige of their fathers' blindness should remain to shame the Anglo Saxon christians; but he was also anxious, to remove from the sight of the ignorant and the obstinate, those memorials, which had been found to act as inticements to fanatical superstition. His zeal led him further—he undertook the difficult and dangerous task of correcting the evil habits of the people---he sought to restrain men in the indulgence of their appetites---to urge them to punish their gluttony by abstinence---and to enforce, by law, the observance of the forty days fast,

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life of him in Bollandus, from which it is said by the Revd. Allan Buller, Beda extracted them. Fursey was the son of Finton, an Irish king—he founded a monastery at Tuam in Ireland, at Burgh-castle in Suffolk, at Lagny near Paris, and died at Troheins, that is Fursei domus, while building another monastery at Peronne, where he is still honored as the patron saint of the town. See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. i, p. 72. and *Rome under Paganism and the Popes*, vol. ii, p. 246, ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 42. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar,) vol. ii, p. p. 35, 55, Legenda Aurea p. p, 639, 642.

* Beda Hist Eccles. Lib. iii, c. 8, §. 8, 172.

during the holy season of lent.* In this attempt, he who was not to be weaned from the worship of his God, by the delights of sense, nor the cares of the crown, was successful---and guarded by heaven to whom he was so faithful a servant, he grew old upon a throne, that was neither assailed by foreign war, nor shaken by domestic disturbance.

Amongst other blessings that were conceded to him was that of being the parent of Ercongota—a maiden princess, who became a nun in the convent of Chelle,†

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* "Simul et jejunium quadriginta dierum observari, principali auctoritate præcepit. Quæ ne facile a quopiam posset contemni, in transgressores dignas et competentes punitiones proposuit." BEDA.

† W. MALMSB. *Hist. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 11.

‡ "*Cala*—Chelle, about four miles from Paris, a nunnery founded by Queen Bathildis, wife of Clodoveus the Second. Beda (Lib. iii, c. 8, §. 172) however states that Ercangota was a nun 'in loco qui dicitur in Brige' (Faremoustier en Brie) a celebrated Benedictine nunnery." HARDY (W. Malms. vol. i, p. 21, note 1, E.H.S.)

There are few persons, mentioned in history, more deserving of the respect and the affectionate honor of all mankind than the Queen Bathildes referred to in the above note. St. Bathildes, Baldechilde, in French Bauteur was *an Englishwoman*, sold when a child, in France, as a slave, and whose virtues in that lowly condition, were so conspicuous, that they even attracted the attention and won the affections of the monarch, Clovis II. By her marriage, with that sovereign, she became the mother of three kings, Clotaire III, Childerie II, and Thierry I. Her elevation enabled her to do great good—to protect the Church, to care for the poor, and to promote religious undertakings. She governed France, as Regent, upon the death of her husband, and the results of her administration of its affairs were the foundation of hospitals—of the great Abbey of Corbie—of the restoration of the monasteries of St. Martin, St. Denis, and St. Medard, and many others—of the banishment of simony from

and who in dying invested it with the bright glory of her perfect sanctity.*

France, and beyond all others *the prohibition that Christians should be made slaves.* It was an Englishwoman who thus first assailed slavery in France—her example was subsequently followed by Saint Louis and Queen Blanche, when they relieved their vassals, and it was completed by Louis Hutin, who abolished slavery. Upon her son Clotaire coming of age, St. Bathildes resigned the power she had so well exercised, and retired to the nunnery of Chelle, where she expired in 680. Her last words were the recommendation to her sisters to persevere in charity, in the care of the poor, and in prayer. See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol i, p.p. 172 173. *Act. Sanct.* (Jan) vol. ii, pp. 732, 749. *Britannia Sancta.* vol. i, pp. 76—79. Les Grandes Chroniques de France. Lib. v, c. 22, 23, &c. Chron. Sigebert. Gembtac. A.D. 662. Chron- Centul- Hariul- mon. A.D. 673; also lives of St. Bathildis, in Rer. Gal. et Franc. Script. vol. iii, pp. 571, 576.

We select two sentences from the most ancient account of the life of Bathildes, as proofs that she was deserving first of admiration, and next, that such admiration was bestowed upon her, in the country, in which she first appeared as a slave, and afterwards ruled as a sovereign:

"Et illud commemorandum est, quia ad mercedis ejus cumulum pertinet, quod captivos homines Christians ire prohibuit, datasque præceptiones per singulas regiones, ut nullus in regno Francorum captivum hominem Christianum penitus transmitteret, sed magis et ipsa dato prætio captivos plurimos redimere præcepit: et liberos relaxavit, et alios ex ipsis in monasteria intrompsit, et præcipue de gente sua viros et puellas quamplures denutritas secum." *Vit. S. Bathild auctore cœtaneo anonymo* c. ii.

"Quam de partibus transmarinis divina providentia advocans; et vili pretio venumdata, huc advenit ipsa pretiosa et optima Dei margarita." Ibid. c. i. *Act. Sanct.* vol. ii, p. 739, *(c)* p. 740, *(e)*.

* "Cala, monasterium apud Gallias sanctitudinis suæ luce vestivit." W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 11. In Beda (Lib. ii, c. 8, §. 173, 174) will be found an interesting account of the miraculous circumstances testifying the purity and holiness of Ercongota, and of her aunt Ædilberga.

In the year 642, King Oswald with the forces under his command, encountered the Pagan army, and Pagan King of the Mercians by whom his predecessor Edwin had been destroyed. The battle took place at Oswestry* in Shropshire, and there the sainted Oswald fell on the fifth of August, in the thirty eighth year of his age.† Even at the moment, that he saw his faithful soldiers scattered by the bands of Penda, and that the barbed javelin, from the hand of an enemy transfixed his breast, neither the anguish of defeat, nor the agony of torture could prevent him, with his last breath, from offering up a prayer to his God, for the salvation of his people.

It was thus, that a man exalted in temporal honors, and enjoying the graces of heaven, poured forth his last breath in prayer, leaving to posterity a memory, that was worthily perpetuated by constant miracles.‡

The rage of his brutal victor was exhibited in his treatment of the lifeless body; from which, the arms and the head were chopped off and impaled. The body, in course of time, dissolved away into its original elements,

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* "Maserfelth—although a place near Winwick in Lancashire, named Maserfield, has claims to be regarded as the spot where this battle was fought, yet there are much stronger arguments in favour of Oswestry (i. e. Oswald's tree) in Shropshire. Monast. Anglic. i, 38. Edit. 1655. Camd. Brit. col. 548." STEVENSON.

"Mares-field." *Sax. Chron.* "Marelfield" ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 140. "Campus *Mesafeld* sanctorum canduit ossibus." H. HUNT. *Hist.* lib. iii. p. 335.

† BEDA. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. c. 9. §. 175.

‡ "Memoriam per miraculorum frequentiam." W. MALMSB. lib. i. §. 49.

whilst the arms and hands remain, as it is testified by a veracious historian, untouched by corruption, and uninjured by decay.*

The faith and devotion of Oswald were made manifest, upon his death, by many miracles. That place, where he was slain by Pagans, whilst fighting in defence of his country† is celebrated, even to this day, by the frequent cures that are there effected both of men and animals.‡ The mere soil, on which his body lay in the battle, seems to have been consecrated by his blood, for many, by taking a mere particle of the dust, mixing it with water, and drinking it, have been relieved from their infirmities. Such benefit has been felt from this, and so much has it been practised, that the gradual removal of the earth, has caused the formation of a foss, so deep, that a person can s and in it to his full height. We cannot, and we ought not to be surprised, that the same individual who, when living, was unceasing in his care for the sick, and the poor, in works of charity, and of alms-giving, should be found in the spot, that he hallowed with his death, to relieve the pains of those, who are in any way afflicted.¶

The constant habit of Oswald was that of prayer...his last words were a prayer for his people—and his pious

* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. i. §. 49.

† "Ubi pro patria dimicans." Beda. "pro patria et gente dimicanti." Brompton.

‡ "Usque hodie sanitates infirmorum et hominum et pecorum celebrari non desinunt." Beda.

Brompton, who wrote some centuries after Beda, observes "in loco autem cœdis illius miracula *usque hodie* plura fiunt." *Chron.* p. 787.

¶ Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 9. §. 176.

custom is preserved in the proverb—"may the Lord have mercy on their souls! as Oswald said, when he fell on the battle field."*

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* BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 12, §. 184.

A full account of the miracles effected through the intercession of St. Oswald will be found in Beda (lib. iii. c. 9. 10, 11, 12, and 13). They are translated and given nearly in the words of the venerable author, in that interesting publication, "*the Lives of English Saints,*" part. ii. p. p. 49 to 75. Even Hollinshed, who is disposed to deny every virtue to Catholicity, writes thus of St. Oswald.

"Afterwards for the opinion conceived of his holinesse, the foresaid Oswald was canonized a Saint, and had in great worship of the people, being the first of the English nation that approued his vertue by miracles shewed after his departure out of this life." *Historie of England,* vol. i. p. 617. See also DUGDALE'S *Monasticon,* vol. i. p. p. 219, 233, 349, 623. Vol. iii. p. 302, and vol. vi. p. 82. In KNYGHTON, p. p. 2372 and 2377, will be found accounts of the remains of St. Oswald and St. Cuthbert, and in Mr. STEVENSON'S edition of Beda, vol. i. p. 184, there is this note :—"The head" (of Oswald) "was placed in the same coffin with the body of St. Cuthbert, and was found when the tomb of that saint was examined in 1827, see p. 187 of the work published by the Rev. James Raine."

Amongst the monkish historians, besides those already cited, who refer to St. Oswald are SIM. DUNEL. p. p. i, 2. RAD. DICET. p. 438, and FLOR. WIGORN. p. 559.

In CAMDEN'S *Britannia* (Gough's Edit.) vol. iii. p. 493, some lines are quoted with respect to Oswald's victory over Cadwallon, and then these remarks are added :—

"Another poet has these lines not absolutely indifferent *considering the ignorance of the age:*

"Quis fuit Alcides? Quis Cæsar Julius? aut quis
"Magnus Alexander? Alcides se superasse
"Fertur; Alexander mundum, sed Julius hostem,
"Se simul Oswaldus, et mundum vicit et hostem."

To the lines thus stigmatised as not "absolutely indifferent," there is appended, as a proof, it may be supposed, of the super-

iority of "modern poets" over "monkish versifyers," the following translation :—

"Who was Alcides? Alexander who?
"Or Julius Cæsar? *Let* the first subdue
"Himself, the next the world, the last the foe,
"Oswald subdued himself, the world, the foe."

CHAPTER VI.

EVENTS IN THE REIGN OF OSWY.

Accession of Oswy. Death of St. Paulinus. Dissension between Oswy and Oswin...Character of the latter. Assassination of King Oswin. The humility of Oswin, and the charity of Bishop Aidan. Miracles performed by St. Aidan. The miraculous invention of the relics of St. Oswin, the benefactor of the poor. Conversion of Peada, King of the Middle Angles. Toleration of the Pagan King of the Mercians...contrasted with modern religious "Reformers." Conversion of King Sigebert and the East Saxons. Erection of churches. Assassination of Sigebert for exercising the Christian virtue of mercy to those who had offended him. The death of Sigebert foretold by St. Cedd. The piety of St. Cedd and his brothers...Fasting and prayer of St. Cedd, when preparing to found the monastery of Lestingham. Attachment of ancient monks to their Bishop exhibited in a time of pestilence. The Mercian King Penda...His desire for war...The number of Christian kings destroyed by him. The battle of Wingfield. Penda his army and vassals destroyed by Oswy. St. Elfleda, the daughter of King Oswy. Assassination of Peada, and revolt of the Mercians. Establishment of King Wulfer on the Mercian throne. His zeal contaminated by the sin of Simony. His wife St. Ermenilda. She is blessed with pious children and dies in the convent of Ely. Foundation of Peterborough Minster. Egbert King

of Kent. Martyrdom of Athelbert and Athelred. Miraculous manifestation of their sanctity. Saints Ermenburga and Mildreda. Disputes respecting Easter...The Synod at Whitby. Consecration of St. Wilfrid as bishop of York. Colman and the monks of Lindisfarne...The ancient monks and their modern traducers. The plague of 644. Apostacy of King Sighere. The piety and charity of King Sebbi...He dies in the habit of a monk. Kings Oswy of Northumberland, and Egbert of Kent send a missionary to Rome...Epistle of Pope Vitalian to Oswy. Theodore appointed Archbishop of Canterbury...His great learning...Schools established by the monks...education of the poor. St. Ceadda or Chad... His humility...Appointed Bishop of Lichfield. Revelation of the death of St Ceadda to the monk Owini. Death of Oswy, King of Northumbria, the last of the Bertwaldas. The laws of Lothair and Edric, Kings of Kent,

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 642—670

The Reign of Oswy.

Oswy, the brother of Oswald, was in the thirteenth year of his age, when he succeeded to the throne of Northumbria. His troublous reign was twenty eight years in duration. During its continuance he was assailed by various enemies; by the Pagan Penda, the slayer of his brother; by the Pagan nation of the Mercians; by his own son Alfred, and by his cousin-german Ethelwald, the son of the same brother, who had preceded him, in the sovereignty.

In the second year of Oswy's reign—A.D., 644, the most reverend father Paulinus, formerly Bishop of York, and latterly of Rochester, expired on the 10th day of October. He had been a prelate for nineteen years, two months, and twenty-one days. The remains of this pious Bishop were interred in the sacristy of the church at Rochester, which had been built by King Ethelbert from

its foundations, and dedicated to the blessed apostle St. Andrew.* The Archbishop Honorius consecrated as his successor Ihamar, by birth--an Englishman--an inhabitant of Kent; and in life, in learning and in virtue equal to his predecessors.†

Oswy had, as an associate in power, in the commencement of his reign, his relative Oswin---the descendant of Edwin —the son of Osric, to whom we have before referred. This prince was his ruler of the province of the Deiri, and he proved his goodness as a sovereign, in the happiness and prosperity of his people, whilst he displayed his own virtues, and amability, in every action of his life.‡ A mutual compact, between both Princes, had given to each. those lands and people, he was to-govern, and both at first seemed content, with that which had been allotted to him.

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* See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. p. 153—188. CAMDEN'S Britannia vol. i. p. p. 336, 337.

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, §. 187. "Itamarum Anglum genere, vita et eruditione antecessoribus suis æqualem." EDMUND DE HADENHAM *Annal. Eccles. Roffens.* (Ang. Sac. vol. i, p. 347).

"Many miracles are said to be wrought by this religious Ithamar, and a great concourse of people frequented the place of his burial, which was (at the first) in the body of of the church. But afterwards his relics were removed by Bishop Gundulph, and enshrined; and after him, by John, bishop of this church, who by his prayers at his shrine was cured, ab acerrimo oculorum dolore, of a grevious pain in his eyes. For this and many other signs and tokens of his sanctity, he was canonised (if we may believe Capgrave) and the fourth of the ides of June solemnised to his memory, of whom a late writer (M. Drayton) thus :—

"Of Rochester we have Saint Ithamar, being then
"In those first times, first of our native Englishmen
"Residing on that seat."

WEEVER'S *Funeral Monuments*, pp. 105, 106. See *Britannia*. Sancta, vol. i. p. 365. GERVAS. p. 1635.

‡ BEDA Lib. iii, c. 14. §. 188.

Many years however had not elapsed, until those, who delight in discord, contrived to produce bickerings between the two Kings---to baffle by their glozing comments the plain words of a simple treaty---to produce dissension where there had been peace; and at length to force the two Kings into open hostilities.*

Oswin was constituted by nature, and formed by religion to command the affections of all, who approached him. His stature was noble, his face angelically beautiful, his address winning; kind in his manners, liberal in his gifts; he was conspicuous for his sobriety in the society of one sex, and for purity in conversation with the other; holding the highest rank, it seemed to be his constant desire to study humility, as the guardian of every virtue—revered by the great as their master, greeted by the humble as their best friend—it was deemed by every man in Deira, a happiness to be subjected to such a King.†

With such a sovereign, his rival Oswy determined to have no peace. The virtues of the one were esteemed to be offences by the other; and the result was the destruction of the nobler of the two. Both Kings collected an army for the purpose of deciding their dispute, in the battle field; but when the armies came in presence of each other, Oswin, perceiving that his foe far exceeded him, in the number of auxiliary forces, he could bring to his aid, determined to disband his soldiers and to reserve

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* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 50.

† Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 141. "Et manu omnibus, id est nobilibus simul atque ignobilibus largus." Beda. See also Malmsbury lib. i. §. 50, Brompton. *Chron.* p. 787, &c. These "monkish historians" on every occasion inculcating the virtues of generosity and charity.

himself, for a more favourable opportunity, to vindicate his rights.* He ordered the soldiers who had marched under his banner to return to their homes; whilst he retired from the place, where they had encamped,† and betook himself accompanied but by one of the most faithful of his soldiers Tondhere, to the house of the Earl‡ Hunwald, for the purpose of concealing himself there, as he believed Hunwald to be a man, on whose honor and fidelity the fullest reliance could be placed. This confidence, was, alas! misplaced---the fugitive King, and his faithful companion were both betrayed by Hunwald to King Oswy; and both, by order of the latter, were put to death, by one of the commanders named Ethelwin.

This abominable crime was perpetrated on the 20th of August, in the ninth year of the reign of King Oswin‖ and at a place called Gilling;¶ where, there was subsequently built, in atonement of this offence, a monastery, in which prayers were daily offered up to God for the

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* The speech and prayer of Oswy to his soldiers, and in their presence, are given in the "English Lives of the Saints" part vi. p. p. 88, 89.

† "He met Oswy at Wilfors Hill, about ten miles from Catterick, near the pleasant Swale, in whose clear waters St. Paulinus had baptised the Saxon peasantry of Yorkshire." *Lives of English Saints*, part vi. p. 88. "Vilfaraesdun—the place here mentioned by Bede cannot now be identified, although he has clearly indicated its situation." STEVENSON. (Beda. vol. i. p. 188, note 9). See also COXE (ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 145, note 2. E.H.S).

‡ "In domo *Comitis* Hunvaldi." BEDA. Upon this title, see PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. *cccl.* DUCANGII Glossarium in verb. "*Comes.*"

‖ *Saxon Chron.* A.D. 655.

¶ "*Ingethingen*—Ongetlingun, Saxon version. Now Gilling, near Richmond in Yorkshire. Dr Whitaker asserts that the

repose of the souls of the martyred victim and of his royal assassin.*

The murdered King was adorned with many virtues, but the greatest of all was his humility, of which the following anecdote, affords a striking proof.

The Bishop Aidan, who was in the habit of making his episcopal journies on foot, had, upon a certain occasion, been presented by King Oswin, with one of his finest steeds to be used by him, either in crossing the rapid and dangerous streams of the country, or, of expediting him on his road, in cases of pressing necessity. A short time after he had received this noble gift, the Bishop was riding along the highway, when a poor man begged some alms from him. The Bishop instantly dismounted, and gave the horse, all royally caparisoned, as it was, to the humble beggar---for he was exceedingly charitable---a lover of the poor---and, it might be even said, a father to those in need.†

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ruins of the castle in which the murder was committed were removed a few years ago, a statement which is contradicted by Raine, in his Saint Cuthbert, p. 8." STEVENSON.

" Gilling monastery, founded by Eanfleda, Queen of Oswy, and related to the murdered king, was so entirely destroyed by the Danes, that no traces of it remained." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 336.

" Corpus ejus ad Ecclesiam Dei Genetricis, quæ in ostio Tynæ fluminis, quæ ad aquilonem sita est, et sub divo sepultum est." ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 147.

* BEDA Lib. iii, c. 14, §. 156.

† " Erat enim multum miserecors et cultor pauperum, ac velut pater miserorum." BEDA. This venerable author delights in dwelling upon St. Aidan's charity, and care of the poor: he combines it, with the other great functions of a Catholic clergy, for which the priests of Ireland have, in latter times, been censured. In book iii. ch. 17, it is said of him " *auctoritatem*

This fact was related to the King; as they were both proceeding to dinner. "How could you," said Oswin, "think of bestowing on a beggar, a horse, intended for "your own use, and taken from the royal stable? Are "there not enough of horses, less in value and of a dif- "ferent kind suited for the poor, if you will make such "presents, which you might have given away, and not "that one, which I had especially selected for yourself?"

"What say you, my sovereign" replied the Bishop— "can it be, that the offspring of a mare, is more dear to "you, than the son of God?

With these words both proceeded to dinner. Whilst the Bishop was seated, the King, who had just come from hunting, stood at the fire, warming himself, and he was there waited upon by his attendants. As he stood thus, the words of the Bishop suddenly occurred to him, and he at once ungirded his sword, delivered it to one of his servants, and then hastening to the Bishop, threw himself at his feet, and begged the prelate to pardon him; "for from this time forth," said Oswin, "I will never allude to this subject—and never attempt "to pronounce an opinion, either as to what you may

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sacerdote dignam redarguendi superbos ac potentes, pariter et infirmos consolandi, ac pauperes recreandi vel *defendendi* clementiam." Such is the character, by anticipation, of the fellow countrymen of Aidan, clothed with the character of the priesthood, or bearing like him the mitre; and that similtude is carried out, in their poverty. for, of each of them, it can be said, as of him, he has nought but his church, and a few fields adjacent to it:— nil propiæ possessionsis, excepta Ecclesia sua et adjacentibus agellis, habens."

"give, or how much of my money, you may choose to "bestow upon---*the Sons of God.*"*

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* "Quia numquam" inquit, "deinceps aliquid loquar de hoc aut judicabo quid, vel quantum, de pecunia nostra *filiis Dei tribuas.*" BEDA.

"The sons of God"—Such is the endearing and respectful name bestowed upon the poor, the needy and the helpless by a Catholic King when addressing a Catholic Bishop. To the church as the almoner of the poor, the chief magistrate of the nation, yields at the same time unlimited power over his wealth, for the benefit of those who are in want! How different from this, is the spirit that dictated the enactment of the New Poor Law—recommended as it was to Parliament by the "reformed" Anti-Catholic Bishop of London, and supported by the votes of the two great Anti-Catholic parties in the state?

Compare the interview between the bishop, St. Aidan, with the king, St. Oswin, respecting the English poor, with the following remarks upon the New Poor Law—*the statute of anti-catholic leigislators*:—

"We have for some years rejected one half of our duty—our duty towards our neighbour. By the New Poor Law charity is totally excluded. It is a law, not for relieving the poor, but for deterring the poor from asking for relief. There is no one of its provisions framed with any other end than this. The ingenuity of its authors has been unremittingly and almost successfully exerted in discovering an alternative worse than starvation. One of its leading principles is that of the most extreme selfishness. The most hardened experience a kind of compunction at leaving the cry of distress unheeded altogether, and this law supplies them with the means of stopping the complainant, and quieting their conscience without drawing on their charity. It offers to the poor their miserable pittance, but clogged with conditions which drive them to refuse it. They have no need to starve; there is subsistence provided for them. They seek it, and they find it worse than the wretchedness of want itself. They leave it, and carry with them the additional burden of hopeless and unpitied despair. The odium is removed from the heads of the rich, and heaped upon their own. They starve, or hang, or drown, while the rich and thriving shake their heads at their wilfulness, with a satisfactory conviction that their own duty has been discharged. It was no easy consummation to achieve. A repulsive force was to be provided equal to the attraction of food to a starving man. A power was to be dis-

At this wondrous spectacle of humility, the Bishop was seized with great fear---he stood up---aided the King in rising, and declared that he would be perfectly happy and content, if his sovereign would partake of the feast prepared for him, and be joyful.

The pious King followed the advice thus given to him---he recovered his wonted cheerful spirits; but, as he did so, the Bishop became sad, and at last burst into tears. His attendant priest asked him in Irish---a language, of which, the King, and his household were ignorant---"why he wept?" The Bishop, in the same language replied to him--- "Because I know that the King is not destined to "have a long life. Never before did I see an humble "monarch; and hence it is, I feel, that he will be speedily "taken from this life; for this is a nation not worthy of "having such a sovereign."

The melancholy prediction of the Bishop was soon after fulfilled in the sad death of Oswin, and that of the monarch, was soon succeeded by the demise of the Bishop who loved him.* King Oswin was slain on the twentieth day of August, and within twelve nights afterwards died Bishop Aidan, on the 31st of August.

Of the Bishop Aidan many miracles performed by his

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covered to drive those back whom cold and hunger beckoned to come on. *To compel a perishing neighbour to expire at his own expense and odium in the midst of your abundance was* A PROBLEM WORTHY OF A DEVIL. *And it has certainly been solved.*"

Times, May 8th, 1846.

To those, who have solved the problem, worthy of a devil, may indeed be addressed the words of Aidan: "Nunquid tibi carior est ille filius equæ, quam ille filius Dei?" Would! that they answered it, like Oswin, and that their repentance equalled, in sincerity, their power!

* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 14, §. 190.

intercession are narrated, and among the rest, this is worthy of being recorded. During the time, that he was Bishop,* a hostile army of the Mercians, led by Penda, filled the provinces of the Northumbrians in every direction with conflagration and slaughter. They proceeded in their devastating career, until they reached the royal city of Bamborough. As they could not take it by force, and were unable to subdue it, by blockade, their commander Penda, determined upon its utter destruction, by fire. He tore down all the hamlets that were in the vicinity of the city; and from the ruins he had made, he collected an immense heap of beams, planks, laths and other combustible materials, and gathering all these into a great pile, he placed it close to the town, and then, as soon as the wind suited his purpose, he set the heap on fire, with the hope that the flames might communicate with the houses inside the walls.

At that time, the most reverend Bishop, Aidan, was in the island of Farne—which is about two miles distant from the city, and whither he was in the habit of repairing for the purpose of private prayer, of silence, and of undisturbed meditation. The place of his retreat in that island is still shewn; and the spot can be pointed out, where it is said, that on beholding the masses of fire, and thick volumes rising over the walls of the devoted city, he raised his hands, and eyes to heaven, and with tears exclaimed—"Behold! oh! Lord, how much evil is done

* "We are unable to decide with certainty when this miracle was performed, but it probably was about the year 612." STEVENSON. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that, it is under that date, the circumstance is placed by Dr. Lingard, although not stated by him as a miracle. See *History of England*, vol. i, p. 93.

by Penda." The moment these words were uttered—the wind suddenly changed, carrying back the burning flames into the faces of those who had enkindled them—scorching the bodies of some, and so far terrifying all the assailants, that they abandoned the city they hoped to destroy; and in their retreat testified, that it was aided and protected by the Almighty hand of heaven.*

Queen Eanfled, the relation of Oswin, had asked and obtained from her husband, Oswy, the place, in which the saint had been killed, as a fitting spot, whereon to erect a monastery. Trumber, a relation of the martyr, was appointed as its abbot.† The body of the martyred King lay in the monastery of the blessed virgin on the north side of the Tyne,‡ whither it had been conveyed, and interred with royal magnificence. There, for a long course of years, great reverence was manifested for his

* Beda Lib. iii, c. 16, §. 193, 194. For an account of other miracles accomplished by the intercession of Aidan, See Beda Lib. iii, c. 15, 17, §. 191, 192. 195, 196. *Act. Sanct.* (August) vol. i, pp. 688, 692.

† Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 24, §. 223.

‡ Edwin King of Deira built here a chapel of wood 627. Tosti, Earl of Northumberland, repaired and endowed it before the Conquest. + * *At the dissolution* it had a separate annual revenue of £997. * * The church, was a magnificent building. * * Much of the priory was pulled down by Col. Villars, governor here, *who built with the materials his own house, and a light-house, for which he received contribution from all ships anchoring at Shields.* The manor belongs to the Duke of Northumberland. * * About two miles north-west from Tynemouth is the *monks-stone*, a rude cross, *broken in half*, the base or pedestal charged with *an idle modern inscription about a pig's head.* It was probably a boundary of the Abbey Liberties." Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii. pp. 513, 514. See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii. pp. 302, 321.

memory, which was glorified by many miracles; and as a testimony of greater respect, there were stationed in the same place, virgins of the convent of St. Hilda. This regard continued to be paid, until the time of the Danish persecution, when this with many other monasteries were destroyed, and the sacred virgins, were permitted, by martyrdom, to ascend to the kingdom of heaven.

For many long years, this portion of the country was so afflicted by the infidel Danes that the memory of the ancient martyr was completely obliterated from the minds of the people. At last, devotion slowly and gradually returned, faith became purified, and the Bishop of the district was able to place priests and clerks in the church of the Virgin Mother, to celebrate the Divine mysteries for the benefit of the laity. Meanwhile, the body of the martyr lay concealed beneath the earth, until the time of Egelwin Bishop of Durham, when it was pleasing to the Divine Will, that the light of this glorious martyr which had been so long hidden, should be allowed to shine abroad and dispel the darkness of infidelity.* There was, at that time attached to the church, in which the body of Oswin was deposited, a man named Edmund. This was a person, who led a pious life, and was peculiarly devoted to the martyr; and although not connected by vow, nor profession to any monastery, he yet always wore the habit of a Religious. This Edmund having one night fallen asleep in the church, after the recital of the nocturnal vigils, there stood by his side, a man remarkable for his noble stature, and whose face appeared to be

* "ut lucerna diu sub modio constituta, super candelabrum accensa, infidelitatis tenebras illustraret," Roc. DE WEND.

irradiated with the glowing light of heaven, who thus addressed the sleeper—"Brother Edmund; brother "Edmund, I am King Oswin whose body lies in this "church, utterly unknown to all. Arise therefore, and say "to Bishop Egelwin, that if he seek for my bones beneath "the pavement of the oratory, they will be found there; "and it is my desire, that they may be, again placed, with "befitting decency, in the same oratory."

Edmund, gladdened by this vision, proceeded to the Bishop, at the earliest dawn, and reverently expounded to him, that which had occurred. The heart of the Bishop Egelwin was filled with ineffable joy.* An immense multitude, to whom these tidings had been conveyed, gathered together from all parts of the country. All headed by the Bishop, proceeded to the church, and there, before they commenced their labours, knelt down and prayed.

The greater portion of the day was passed in digging up the pavement of the oratory, and nothing was discovered, until Edmund, fearful that the saint, whose intercession he had often sought, should not receive the honor due to him, seized a spade, and boldly struck into the earth, where others had toiled in vain before him; and there the iron instrument was heard to grate against the stone, that covered the remains of the saint. The precious relics were exposed. The bones were removed, and

* Of the Bishop Egelwin, the following account is given by Rudborne :—

"Solus inter omnes Angliæ prelatos Egelwynus Dunelmensis Episcopus videns fratrum injustas oppressiones, condolens et zelum Dei habens exulavit spontaneus ab Angliâ; et violentos oppressores, vinculo excommunicationis innodavit." *Historia Major.* p. 249. For an account of his capture and death, see same volume of *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. p. 742, 743.

when washed by the hands of the Bishop, conveyed to a more conspicuous portion of the church, in order that greater reverence might be paid to him, whose virtues had made his memory dear to the poor. The water, which had been used in washing the bones of the saint was deposited, by the desire of the prelate, in the oratory; and by its means many miraculous cures were effected.*

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* Rog. de Wend. vol i, pp. 504, 505, 506. "Florence and Simeon agree in assigning this date (A.D. 1065) to the invention of Oswini; but in his life, Capgrave, *cclvii*, b. it is stated that the discovery was made in 1110." Coxe.

In the life of Oswin lately published by the Surtees' Society, and written by a monk of Tynemouth, this eulogium is pronounced upon the saint-king:—

"He girded himself up to all spiritual exercises, but seemed to pour out his whole being in the corporal works of mercy. His plenty was the needy man's supply: the superfluities of the rich he deemed the necessaries of the poor. He thought a king owed most to those who could do least for him, and that justice was meant specially for the oppressed."

"The king was by no means a forgetful hearer of the word of God, but a zealous doer of the same; and according as he had learned from his good master (St. Aidan) he took care of all with a fatherlike affection, benignantly relieving the poor and especially strangers, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and bestowing favors with a bounty upon all who asked them." *Vit. Osw.* See "Lives of English Saints, Part vi, pp. 82, 94.

The memory of such a king must be most dear to the poor; and many of the miracles achieved through his intercession, as a saint, were for their benefit, their aid, their protection, or in vindication of their wrongs. We have, on this account, taken from Roger de Wendover the legend of the discovery of St. Oswin's relics, as affording, in its mere narration, a strong proof of the frightful devastations of the Danes—and how deeply injurious they must have been to the religious feelings of the people; when the result of them was the almost complete

In the year 653, the nation of the Middle Angles, with the Prince Peada, the son of the Pagan King Penda, were converted to Christianity. This excellent youth, who had proved himself most worthy of the rank and dignity, of a sovereign, had been placed by his father, as the ruler of the Middle Angles* when he came to the court of the King of Northumberland to sue for the hand of the Princess Elfleda, daughter of Oswy. The marriage, he sought for, was refused, unless he, in common with those, over whom he reigned, should agree to be baptized, and to live as Christians. Peada was persuaded by Alfred, (the son of Oswy, and his own brother in law, for Alfred was married to Cyneberga, daughter of Penda) to listen to the preaching of the ministers of the Gospel, and having done so, he was convinced of the truth of the Christian doctrine. So animated did he become with the hopes of immortality—so attached to the belief of a resurrection unto life, that he declared his determination to become a Christian, even though the royal maiden should be refused to him.

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obliteration from the popular mind, of the sovereign and saint, distinguished for his care and love of the poor.

For a further account of St. Oswin, See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. viii, p. 276. (St. Oswin) *Lives of English Saints*, Part vi, pp. 77, to 103. BROMPTON *Chron.* p. 787. THORN, p. 1770. Britannia Sancta vol. ii, pp. 90, 91, 92. HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Eccles. Ang. Sept. Sæc.* c. 27, p. 92.

* In the *Sax. Chron.* this prince is designated "Alderman Peada." A.D. 653.

"All those who in the Latin characters are styled 'Principes' 'Duces,' or 'Comites' were *Ealdorman* in their *various ranks and degrees.*" PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. *cccl.*

Peada was baptized by Bishop Finan. This great Sacrament was administered to him, with all those, that accompanied him to the Northumbrian court—to his Earls, his Knights and even their attendants, at the village called "Ad Murum."* There were also confided to him, on his return to his own country, four priests suited, by their learning, and their virtues, to convert, and enroll as Christians, those who were Pagans.

The names of these priests were Cedda, Adda, Bette, and Diuma—the last an Irishman, and the three others Englishmen.† They were willingly and joyfully brought by Peada to the Province, he commanded. Under his auspices they commenced preaching—they were willingly listened to by the Middle Angles, and many, both of the nobles, and of the lower classes, abandoned the contamination of idolatry, and became purified in the waters of baptism.

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* "*Ad murum*—At Walle, Saxon Version, probably Walbottle near Newcastle." STEVENSON. In the next chapter of Beda, this village is mentioned, as deriving its name from, its being "near the wall which the Romans formerly built in defence of Britain, and at the distance of twelve miles from the Eastern Sea.' In one particular at least, it suits the well-known place *Walls End* :—

"*Walls End* is a well-built village, with a school and two gentlemen's seats. Mr. Pennant mentions a broken inscription lately found here.

HADR...
MVR. COND...
HOC. MARM...
POS. COS. D...

CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii. p. 515.

† Diuma subsequently became bishop, both of the Middle Angles, and the Mercians "Paucitas enim sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis præfici." BEDA. Upon the succession of the bishops of the Mercians, see *Ang. Sax.* vol. i. p. p. 423 *et seq.*

King Penda did not prohibit any one, who desired to do so, from preaching amongst his own subjects, in the nation of the Mercians. All he did was this—he abominated and despised those, who, professing themselves Christians, did not act in conformity with their faith—"they were" he declared "contemptible and miserable beings, who did not obey the God, in whom, they said, they believed."*

About the same time that the middle Angles were converted to christianity, the East Saxons, who had rejected the faith and expelled the pious Bishop Mellitus, were, through the exertions of King Oswy, restored to the church. Sigebert the King of the East Saxons paid

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* This was the conduct of a Pagan prince towards his Christian subjects. Let the reader contrast it, with the following account of a single day's transactions, in the long reign of a "reformed" Christian Princess:

A.D. 1574. "The fourth of Aprill, being Palme Sunday, there was taken *saying of masse* in the Lord Morleis house, within Aldgate of London, one Alban Dolman, priest, and the Lady Morley, *with the children* and diuers others, were also taken *hearing of the said masse.* There was also taken the same day and houre *for saying masse* at the Lady Gildfords in Trinitie-lane, one Oliver Heywood, priest, and for *hearing of the sayd masse* the sayd Lady Gilford, *with diuers other gentlewomen.* There was also taken at the same instant, in the Lady Brown's house in Cow Lane *for saying masse,* one Thomas Heywood, priest, and one John Cooper, priest, with the Lady Brown: and divers others were likewise taken, being *hearers of the sayd masse.* All which persons were *for the same offences* indicted, convicted, and *had the law according to the statute in that case provided.* There was also found in their seurall chappels, divers *Latin bookes, beads, images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pixes, paxes, and such like.*"

STOW'S *Annales* p. 678. (The life and raigne of Queene Elizabeth).

In the reign of Elizabeth 111 Catholic Clergymen suffered death—"*had the law*"—for *exercising the functions of priesthood!* See DODD'S *Church History of England,* vol. iii. p. p. 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, *(Edit. by the* REV. M.A. TIERNEY. F.S.A.

many visits to the court of Northumbria, as he was the intimate friend of the sovereign. The latter frequently spoke to him, upon the absurdity of idolatry—he pointed out to Sigebert, that these things could not be God's, nor deserving of the slightest worship, which were made by the hands of man—that the same material, of which a Pagan formed a Deity, whether it was of wood or of stone, might be burnt, or broken—converted to the basest uses—or trampled upon, as utterly worthless; whereas, God was to be regarded, as Incomprehensible in His majesty, Invisible to the eyes of mortals, Omnipotent, Everlasting! the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and of the entire human race, whom He governed wisely, and would judge righteously—that, He rested not on vile and perishable matter; but that His throne was in eternity; and therefore was it to be concluded, that every sentient being, to whom He had given life, should strive to learn what was His will, and to practice what he had been taught, and that the rewards, which God would allot to such, would be without limit, and without end.

Such discourses as these, frequently urged with the earnestness, and kindness of a friend, produced an effect upon the mind, of Sigebert. They were sustained also by the counsel of his countrymen, upon whose wisdom and sincerity he relied. The East Saxon King, and his courtiers believed, and all were at the same time baptized by Bishop Finan.

It was thus that King Sigebert became a citizen of the heavenly kingdom. His zeal was animated for the conversion of his own subjects, as he had himself been converted; and he besought of Oswy, as he returned to the East Saxons, that he might have with him teachers quali-

fied to preach the gospel, and to baptize those disposed to accept it. Oswy willingly complied with this request. At his desire the godly priest Cedd came from the midland Angles, and accompanied by another clergyman, proceeded on his new mission amongst the East Saxons. Cedd was so successful that he was soon consecrated as Bishop; and once enabled to act with episcopal authority, he proceeded in the work of salvation, with greater energy, and increased vigor. He founded churches in various districts; he ordained Priests and Deacons, who aided him in preaching the Gospel, and in baptizing those who believed in it—and amongst the other places that were thus especially favored by him, were the towns, which in Saxon are named, one "Ithancester," (Malden in Essex) and the other "Tilaburg" (Tilbury)—the first on the river Penta and the second on the banks of the Thames.* In both, he collected a body of persons

* "Two monasteries were erected by him in those parts, which seem afterwards to have been destroyed by the Danes, and never restored. The first, he founded near a city, called by the English Saxons Ythancester, formerly Othona, seated upon the bank of the river Pante (now Froshwell) which town was afterwards swallowed up by the gradual encroaching of the sea. St. Cedd's other monastery was built at another city called Tillaburg, now Tilbury, near the river Thames, and here Camden supposes the saint chiefly to have resided as the first English Bishops often chose to live in monasteries. But others generally imagine, that London, then the seat of the king, was the ordinary place of his residence, as it was of the ancient bishops of that province and of all his successors." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. i, p. 32 (St. Cedd). See also Stevenson. (Beda, vol, i, p. 209, notes 8, and 9, E.H.S.)

The manner in which Saint Cedd was consecrated Bishop of London is mentioned particularly by Beda; and, as it differs in some respects, from that subsequently adopted by Queen Elizabeth's "reformed bishops," it is worthy of being recorded in his words:—

"Fecit eum episcopum in gentem Orientalum Saxonum *vocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationes aliis duobus episcopis.*"

willing to devote themselves to the service of Christ, and these he instructed in the rules of a Regular life, which they, as yet rude, ignorant, and unformed, endeavoured to obey,

Christianity continued, for some years, to make great progress, amongst the East Saxons. It was sanctioned by the King, approved of by the people, and sustained by the priests, when in an evil moment, the enemy to mankind, and to their salvation, inspired two of the relatives of the sovereign to assassinate him. The base crime was perpetrated by the hands of two brothers. When these wretches were interrogated as to their motives to the commission of such a crime, they had nought to allege as an excuse, but that they were indignant with, and inimical to the sovereign; because, as a monarch, he was too much disposed to be merciful—too willing to pardon all who had offended him, at once they acknowledged their fault, and sought for pardon!*

The crime of a christian King, in the eyes of Pagans, was that he faithfully acted upon the precepts of the gospel—and yet it is to be remarked, that in the death which was thus undeserved, there was also to be found, the punishment of a fault, which he really had committed, and it was, too, that species of punishment, which had been predicted to him, by the pious Bishop Cedd.

One of the persons guilty of this murder had entered into a marriage, which Heaven cannot sanction, nor the Church permit. The Bishop had struggled to prevent that unholy union, and to correct the scandal, that had been

* "A propinquis interemptus, quod, evangelici præcepti sequax, hostibus serenus parceret, nec delinquentes, se pœnitere rent, rugato et duro vultu suspenderet." W. MALMSB.

given by it. His exertions in both respects had proved futile, and he therefore placed under the ban of excommunication the guilty husband—prohibiting all persons, in obedience to the Church, from entering into that man's house, or partaking of his hospitality. This prohibition was disregarded by the king; for, upon the excommunicated Earl* inviting him to a festival, he accepted it—sat at his feast, and then departed for his home. As the King was leaving the mansion, he encountered the Bishop. The moment Sigebert perceived the prelate he trembled with fear; he hastily alighted from his horse, and as the Bishop had dismounted at the same moment, the King was seen to throw himself as a penitent, at the feet of this holy confessor of God. The latter, incensed at the evil example that had been thus given by the monarch, touched him with his episcopal staff, as he knelt before him, and exclaimed: "I say to you, because you would "not abstain from the house of a reprobate, and an ac- "cursed man, you will meet with your death in that "very house."

The prediction was fulfilled; but, it may be believed, that the death of a man, so religious, was a full expiation of his fault—that it even added to his merits before the throne of mercy; because the death itself was inflicted on him, on account of his piety, and his strict observance of that commandment of Christ, which bids us all be merciful.

Suidhelm, the son of Sexbald, succeeded Sigebert (A.D. 663.) as king of the East Saxons. This prince

* This person is designated by Beda "*Comes*;" by Henry of Huntingdon—"*Consul*."

had been baptised at Rendlesham by Cedd, and his sponsor at the holy font was Ethelwald, brother to Anna, king of the East Angles.*

Cedd was a native of the province of Northumbria, and it often happened, that whilst acting as Bishop of the East Saxons, that he visited those amongst whom he had been born, in order, that by his exhortations he might preserve fresh and unimpaired the spirit of Christianity that had been diffused amongst them. Oidilvald, the son of Oswald, was at that time the ruler of the Deiri,† and attracted by the virtues, and won by the wisdom of the venerable Cedd, he begged him to accept some portion of the Royal land, in order that a monastery might be constructed—that he, whilst living might resort thither to offer up his prayers, and when dead, be buried, within its sacred precincts; for this king firmly believed that his soul would be benefitted by the daily prayers, of those, who should there dedicate themselves to the service of God.‡ Oidivald had become acquainted with the great merits of the Bishop, through the means of Celin—the

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* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 21, 22, §. 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216. W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 98. H. Hunt. *Hist.* Lib. iii. p. 333.

† He succeeded to the throne of Deira upon the death of Oswin. He is called Oidwaldus by Roger de Wendover, and Althelwald by Florence of Worcester.

‡ "Nam et seipsum fideliter credidit multum juvari eorum orationibus quotidianis qui illo in loco Domino servirent." Beda.

brother of Cedd—a priest as pious as the Prelate himself, and who acted as the father confessor of the sovereign.*

The Bishop approved of the wishes of the king, and determined to carry them into effect. He selected for the site of the monastery, a place, that was in the midst of steep, and pathless mountains—that appeared more suited for the retreat of robbers, or the lair of wild beasts, than a habitation for man; in accordance with the words of the prophet Isaiah "in the dens where dragons "dwelt before, shall rise up the verdure of the reed and "the bushes;" that is, the fruits of good works should spring up, even out of a soil, where beasts had dwelt, or men had lived, as if they were but beasts.

The good Cedd, who in all his acts endeavoured to study what he believed to be the will of God, determined by prayers, and fasting to purge the place he had received as a monastery, from the taint of sin, and crime, that might have clung to it—he desired by his own sufferings to make it acceptable to God; and therefore he obtained leave from the king, to remain during the whole period of Lent in this sad wilderness. There, then, was Bishop Cedd to be found, day after day, with the exception of the Sundays, fasting, as was the custom, until the evening, and then taking as his only nourishment, a small morsel of bread, one hen's egg, and a little milk mixed with water.† According to the rules of regular discipline, as they had

* "Virum æque Deo devotum, qui ipsi ac familiæ ipsius verbum et sacramenta fidei, * * "ministrare solebat." BEDA.

† This was "according to the custom of Lindisfarne, derived from that of St. Columba, by which it appears that, for want of legumes, so early in the year, milk and eggs were allowed in that northern climate, which the canons forbade in Lent." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. i, p. 33.

been taught to him, such was the proper mode to commence the consecration of places, on which churches or monasteries were to be erected.*

The Bishop was engaged in this pious exercise, when his presence was urgently required by the king. Ten days of the Lent were yet to be completed, and he, anxious that the affairs of God should not be intermitted for the worldly concerns of kings, begged of his brother Cynabil—also a priest—to complete for him the work of piety, which he had commenced. With this wish, the latter willingly complied; the allotted period of strict fasting and of devout prayer was accomplished by both brothers; and then the monastery of Lestingham † was erected. In it were established the discipline and pious customs of Lindesfarne, being those in which Bishop Cedd had been educated. It was in this monastery that the pious Bishop died. He had appointed superiors to conduct it, whilst he acted as Bishop of the East Saxons. He visited it, at a time, that a pestilence prevailed. He there caught the contagion, and fell a victim to it.‡ His body was first interred in the open air; but a chapel of stone being afterwards built in the monastery, and dedicated to the Blessed Mother of God, his remains were removed, and deposited to the right of the altar.

* All such customs have been abolished in the "reformed" churches.

† "*Laestingaeau*—Lastingham, near Whitby, in Yorkshire. The present church, if not the original building of Cedd, is probably one of the earliest ecclesiastical structures in the kingdom." STEVENSON. See also CAMDEN'S *Britannia.* vol. iii, p. 327.

‡ Probably in the year 664, See note 24 by STEVENSON (Bed. l. p. 212.)

Cedd, when dying, desired that the monastery of Lestingham should be governed by his brother, who was subsequently elevated to the mitre. Of Cedd's family there were four brothers, all distinguished as priests, and two of them as Bishops. These were Cedd, Cynebil, Celin, and Ceadda.

As soon as the monks, established in his monastery amongst the East Saxons, heard of the death of Cedd, about thirty of them departed from thence for Northumbria, and all animated with the same pious wish, either that they might be permitted to live near to the mortal remains of him, whom they regarded as a father, or if such were the will of God, that dying where he had died, their bodies might be buried close to his.

All these holy persons were kindly, tenderly and hospitably received, by their brother monks, and fellow soldiers, in the church militant; but all, in the course of a few days, were swept away by the destructive pestilence. Of all that had come from Essex, one only—a little boy was permitted to live; and he, it was believed, had been preserved by the prayers of his dying parent. Spared to pass a long life, which was devoted by him to the study of the sacred scriptures,* he became at length apprised,

* "et scripturis legendis operam daret." BEDA.

In this passage, we learn that even boys were taught to read the scriptures by monks in their monasteries. Compare this with M. D'Aubigne's *romantic* description (in the work called "a *history* of the Reformation,") of "the young student" Luther seeing a Bible, for *the first time!* when he was twenty years of age!

"*Il n'en a point vu de semblable jusqu' à cette heure.* Il lit le titre.....c'est un Bible! *livre rare, inconnu dans ce temps-la.*" vol. 1. p. 197. See MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages*..." Notes appended to Second Edition." p.p. 15-22.

that he had not been regenerated in the waters of bap-

There is the less excuse for M. D'Aubigne's fabrication upon this point, when the fact must have been notorious to him, that not only were numerous versions of the Bibles printed before Luther had lived, or passion had become the prompter of heresy; (See *Dublin Review*, vol. 1, p.p. 367—399, vol. iii. p.p. 428, 452.) but even so long back as the first years of the ninth century there had been a metrical translation of the bible in German—that this translation had been undertaken and completed by command of the Emperor Louis-le-Debonnaire, and that in its preface, the following expressions were used, manifesting a most strong desire for the general circulation of the Scriptures.

" Nam cum divinorum Librorum solummodo literati atque eruditi prius notitiam haberent; ejus studio, atque Imperii tempore, sed Dei omnipotentia atque inchoantia mirabiliter actum est nuper, ut cunctus populus suæ ditioni subditus, Theudisca loquens lingua, ejusdem divinæ lectionis nihilominus notionem acceperit. Præcepit namque uno de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis vates habebatur, ut *Vetus ac novum Testamentum* in *Germanicam linguam* poetice transferre studeret: quatenus *non solum litteratis, verum etiam illiteratis sacra divinorum præceptorum lectio panderetur.*" *Rer. Gall et Franc.* Vol. vi: p. 256.

Lest it should be supposed, or alleged that the monarch who exhibited so strong a desire for the circulation of the scriptures was one who had Anti-Catholic tendencies, we may here remark that he was a great founder and protector of monasteries (Vit. Ludov. Pii. c. 18) a profound biblical scholar—" Sensum vero in omnibus scripturis spiritatem et moralem, nec non et anagogem optime noverat." (Thegan. De Gest. Ludov. c. 19); and, that he lived a Catholic, there can be no doubt, for upon meeting the Pope, we find him, according to one authority, waiting on foot the approach of the Pontiff, receiving his Holiness when dismounting, and acting as his conductor into the church—(Vit. Ludov. Pii. c. 26) whilst another says—" Princeps se prosternens omni corpore in terram tribus vicibus ante pedes tanti Pontificis &c." (Thegan. c. 16). That he died a Catholic, is positive for of that death a contemporary gives us the following incidents :—" præcepit ut ante se celebrarentur vigiliæ nocturnæ, et ligno sanctæ crucis pectus suum muniretur; et quamdiu valebat, propria manu tam frontem quam pectus eodem signaculo insignibat. * * * In crastinum, que erat Dominica, jussit ministerium altaris præparai, et per officium Dagonis Missarum

tism. The moment he was assured of this fact, he had the Sacrament administered to him; was shortly afterwards elevated to the priesthood, and proved a most useful labourer in the cause of the Church. We may well believe, upon considering all these circumstances, that this child was snatched from death, by the intercession and prayers of his father;* that his body was spared, in order that his soul might be saved, and he himself be a minister of life and salvation to others.†

In the year 654, Penda King of the Mercians, whose delight was in the clashing of arms, and his joy in the effusion of human blood, attacked Anna, the pious King

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solemnia celebrari; necnon per manus ejus juxta morem communionem sacram sibi tradi. * * * Of the bishops and priests around his death-bed—" benedici petivit, et quæ solent agi in egressu animæ, fieri postulavit. Quibus id agentibus, sicut plures mihi retulerunt &c. (Vit. Ludov. Pii. c. 64). Thus, in the last moments of a monarch, who was anxious for the circulation of the scriptures, we are assured, of his blessing himself with the sign of the cross, hearing mass, receiving communion and having the sacrament of extreme-unction administered to him. Such a character as this is not depicted in any portion of the writings of men, who favour the Reformation of the sixteenth century. They imagine statements; whilst they eschew facts, as perilous to their arguments, and subversive of their theories.

* The conversion of the East Saxons began in 653. Bishop Cedd, it is conjectured, died in 664, and from these facts, it may be inferred, that the pious monk, whose child's life was saved, had been married as a pagan, before he took the vows—it is a proof that the father could have been but recently baptised, when the son had not been sufficiently instructed to receive that rite.

† Beda *Hist. Eccles* Lib. iii, c. 23, §. 217, 218, 219, 220. It is hoped, that these latter paragraphs, relative to the thirty monks travelling from Essex to Northumberland, that they might dwell, if permitted to live, or if doomed to die, be buried close to the body of their beloved bishop and abbot, will be regarded as an interesting historical fact, relative to these monks and monasteries, of whom, and which, it has been too truly

of the East Angles, and in a moment destroyed him, and utterly annihilated his army.*

From the moment, that the conqueror of this good king had been vested with the powers of a Sovereign, a species of fury seemed to possess him. He appeared to be unconscious that there was a crime in war, and he therefore attacked the cities, invaded the lands, and carried desolation and havoc to the homes of his fellow monarchs. Tumult accompanied, and terror preceded him. By his hand were many and great lights of Christianity extinguished. The kings, Edwin and Oswald, of Northumbria; the kings Sigebert, Egric and Anna of the East Angles, all equals in rank, and in sanctity, were slain by him. By him too, the king of the West Saxons was frequently attacked, and once driven into exile. Eager as the vulture is for the carnage of the battle-field, he allied himself with the British king Cadwallon, and assisted in the defeat of St. Edwin, at Hatfield. For thirty years he thus raged, as a wild beast, over the bodies of his victims, and ravened for

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said, by a modern writer, that against them "popular indignation and hatred of the bitterest kind was excited, and *has been studiously kept up;* and that for centuries the general notion in this country has been that a monastery naturally, almost necessarily, is a place dedicated to idleness, gluttony, lewdness, hypocrisy, political intrigue, treachery and blood: so that as a matter of course, a nun is to be supposed something, as bad as can be, and a monk no better." MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages,* (Preface p. x). It was not so in "olden time," for the highest praise *then* that could be bestowed upon a Christian man was to say that he was a monk—completely a monk—a monk in every respect—a monk in body—a monk in manners. "Et ut nos plura paucis comprehendamus, factus est monachus, plane monachus, monachus inquam venerabilis ac per cuncta digne laudabilis, corpore mente, habitu." SIM. DUNELM, *Hist.* pp. 2, 3.

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 149. Sax. Chron. A.D. 654. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 97.

more; but his evil deeds and brutal nature at length met with a fitting end.*

Penda, by frequent invasions—alike unprovoked and intolerable—had endeavoured to force Oswy, King of Northumbria, into war. The latter, although he had a brother's death to avenge, sought to soothe the Pagan, by the offers of regal and costly presents; he struggled to purchase peace, by the exhaustion of his treasury; to give all the gold he possessed, and all the valuables he could command, provided that the Mercian king would cease from the slaughter of the peaceful Northumbrians. The perfidious Penda declared, that he was not to be soothed by prayers, nor bought by gold; that he had determined to exterminate the entire race of the Nŏrthumbrians, the small as well as the great, and that therefore no mercy was to be looked for at his hands.

Oswy, rejected with scorn by the pitiless barbarian, turned his thoughts to that Divine Being, who is all-merciful; and, binding himself, by a vow, he exclaimed: "Since the Pagan will not accept our gifts, let us offer "them to Him, who knows the hearts of all, even to our "Lord and God."

He then vowed, that if he should be victorious in the coming conflict with Penda, he would consecrate his daughter to the Lord, should it be His pleasure to accept her, as His servant, in the purity of her maidenhood; and with her, to endow a monastery, with twelve of his farms.

Oswy advanced to the battle with a scanty army. It is said, that the number of soldiers, under the command of Penda, was three times as great, as that which the Nor-

* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 74. See also same book, §. 48.

thumbrian could muster. The Mercians had this additional advantage, that each of the thirty veteran legions, into which their army was divided, was led by an accomplished general. To meet these there was nought but a scanty force, and two commanders, Oswy and his son Alfred (for his other son Egfred was a hostage at the Court of the Mercian); but the poor army and its king relied upon the goodness of their cause, and the aid of Heaven, although they saw arrayed against them, not merely Pagans, but those who ought to have been, at such a moment, their allies—Oidelvald, the son of Oswald, and nephew of Oswy. These however did not take part in the battle. At the moment the combat was about to commence, they withdrew to a short distance, took up a position safe from attack, and there awaited the issue of the conflict.

The battle began—the hostile ranks rushed to the encounter—they closed—and in an instant the Pagans were slaughtered, or put to flight; whilst every one of the thirty Pagan generals was stretched lifeless on the ground.* God was with the Christians, inspired them with courage, and gave unwonted vigour to their arms. He numbed the strength, and dissolved the courage of the Pagans. Penda who had always dealt blows of death felt his hand fall nerveless by his side; and the heart, that had always been warmed with martial ardour, was chilled with fear. He could not recognise his former self, in this his last battle, either in the blows he dealt, or the wounds he received. Horror seized upon him, and he experienced in the aspect of an enemy, that terror, which he hitherto had inspired in others. He, who had delighted to shed the blood of his

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 24, §. 221.

fellow-men, now fainted, as his exhausted veins bedewed the earth around him. He lay a moveless mass on the ground, when his brains were dashed out. With him were slain many, who had come, as allies, to fight beneath his standard.* Amongst those leaders, who were destroyed with their soldiers, was Ethelhere, the brother of Anna, King of the East Angles, and the exciter of the war, in which he was a victim.

This battle took place on the banks of the Vinwed (the Are); and as it happened, at that time to have been swollen with rain, and to have overflowed the country, many more of the fugitive Pagans were lost in its waters, than were put to death by the sword.† In its stream were at last avenged, the murder of Anna, the slaughter of Sigebert and Egric, the martyrdom of Oswald and Edwin !‡

King Oswy, grateful for the victory he had gained over his remorseless enemy, joyfully fulfilled the vow he had made. He presented to God, his infant daughter Elfleda, and with her twelve small portions of land. It was determined, that as these should be devoted for the abode and maintenance of monks, whose lives were to be passed in pious works, and in constant prayers, for the peace of

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* H. HUNT *Hist.* Lib. iii, p. 332.

† This battle was fought on 15th November, 655. The Saxon Chronicle states, "This year Penda was slain at *Winwidfleda* (Wingfield) and thirty royal personages with him, some of whom were kings, 'and tha wæron sama ciningas.'" A.D. 655.

‡ "Unde exivit proverbium "In Winwed amne vindicata est cædes Annæ, cædes regum Sigeberti et Egrici, cædes Oswaldi et Eadwini." ROG. DE WEND. Lib. i. p. 153.

the nation, that all earthly warfare should cease upon them.*

Elfleda, the daughter of Oswy, entered the monastery of Heruteu (Hartlepool),† which was governed by St. Hilda,‡ as Abbess. Another monastery was subsequently erected at Streaneshalch,¶ (Whitby), in which Elfleda

* "Ablato studio militiæ terrestris." BEDA. May not the meaning attached to these words be that such small portions of land should be considered, as at all times within the verge of the "king's peace?" See as to this term, Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, pp. 165, 245, 246. vol. ii, pp. *cv*, *cvi*. ANSTEY'S *Laws and Constitutions of England*, pp. 105, 106, 107. BLACKSTONE'S *Introd.* §. 4. Book i, ch. 7, and ch. 10. Other meanings may, and have been attached to such words, see LINGARD'S *Antiquities*, vol. i, pp. 178, 179, 224, 225, 226, and note (K) same vol. (Ed. 1845).

† "It is an ancient corporation now much fallen to decay, subsisting only by fishing. Here was a House of Grey Friars founded before 1275." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 382. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1618.

‡ "Hilda was of the Royal Family of Northumbria, born A.D. 614, renounced the world A.D. 647, became abbess of Hartlepool in 649, and died abbess of Whitby, in 680." STEVENSON. For strange and unbelievable legends respecting her, consult the pages of the Anti-Catholic Camden. *Britannia*, vol. iii. p. 251. (GOUGH'S Edition).

¶ "In the Saxon Bede, it is written *Streoneahalh*, which Junius in his Gothic glossary v. *Alh*, derives from the Saxon *healh*, in Cœdmon *Alh*, which like our northern word, *hall*, signifies any eminent building: hence Wodens *Volhol*, or *Valhaul*, so frequently in the Edda and other Cambrian writers, and Crantzius gives *Upsal* the same derivation. * * In this abbey flourished the famous Saxon poet Cœdmon, *who took a religious habit in the close of his life*, and dying A.D. 670, was here buried. Here are *large remains of a beautiful church* in the Saxon style. It was 252 feet long, the nave 30 feet broad, and the side aisles each 13 feet, the tower 104 feet broad, the walls 60. In it are some monuments of abbots &c. *A number of others with figures or crosses removed into the church yard were destroyed about* 1736. The abbey was valued at £137 per annum. * * * The Church of St. Mary belongs to the Archbishop of York, who pays a curate £50 per annum." CAMDEN'S. Britannia. vol. iii. p. 323. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. p. 405—421.

was first a pupil, but died, as its presiding mistress, in the fifty-ninth year of her age. In the same monastery, and in the chapel dedicated to St. Peter, her remains, with those of her father Oswy, of her mother Eanfleda, and of her maternal grandfather Edwin, and of many other distinguished persons, were interred.

The war, which Oswy thus happily brought to a close, was not solely beneficial to himself, or to those over whom he ruled. It not only saved them from destruction, and their lands from devastation, but it was also the means of converting to Christianity the Mercians, and the adjoining provinces.

For three years after the death of Penda, Mercia and the Southern Provinces were governed by Oswy; and in that period also he conquered, and brought under subjection to his throne, the great majority of the Picts. At the end of that time, Imnin Eafa, and Eadbert, generals of the Mercians, adopted as their king, in Mercia, Wulfer, a son of Penda, who had been carefully concealed by them, from the pursuit of his enemies. These generals drove out of the kingdom the officers of Oswy, who were, in their estimation, foreigners. The liberty and independence they struggled for, they were able to maintain; and king and people proved by their subsequent conduct, that they were as strongly attached to liberty, as they were firmly devoted to religion.*

To Peada, the son of Penda, and who was also the kinsman of Oswy, there was given the kingdom of the

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"Streneshalh modo Witebi nuncupatur." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 50.

* "Sicque cum suo rege liberi, Christo vero regi pro sempiterno in cœlis regno, servire gaudebant." BEDA.

Southern Mercians. This district, containing four thousand families, was divided by the river Trent from the Northern Mercia, consisting of seven thousand families.* It was agreed by him, and King Oswy that they should rear a minster to the glory of God, and the honor of St. Peter. To this minster, the first name given was that of Medhamstead; because of a well, which was at the place called Meadswell. This work was entrusted to a monk named Saxulf; a man devoted to God, and beloved by the people.† It had not been long commenced when the death of Peada occurred. He was betrayed by his own queen, at the holy time of Easter:‡ and wickedly killed by her contrivance.§ The district, which had been bestowed upon Peada reverted again to Oswy, and was held by him, both by his rights as the conqueror, and his affinity to Peada, until deprived of it by Wulfer, and the generals of the Mercians.‖

Wulfer, upon obtaining the throne of Mercia was

* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 24. §. 222, 223 224.

† "He wæs swithe Godes freoned, and him luuede al theode." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 655.

§ "Multum nefarie peremptus est, proditione ut dicunt, conjugis." Beda. "Per insidias uxoris, ut dicitur." W. Malmsb "Another tradition, but of slender authority, ascribes it to the arts of her mother, who was still a Pagan. It may have arisen from the resentments of those, who lamented the fall of the ancient idolatry, which Peada had first subverted in Mercia." Turner's, *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i. p. p. 377, 378. See notes, 22, and 23.

‖ W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Anglo.* Lib. i. §. 75.

desirous of shewing, that he was worthy of the hopes, the people had entertained of him. He endeavoured to prove, that he had the wisdom, and the courage, that become a monarch. In the first years of his reign, he was harassed by the attacks, and frequently defeated by the armies of the West Saxons;* but the injuries in the latter years of his reign, were avenged and ample satisfaction taken for them, in the dismemberment of the West Saxon kingdom, and its loss of the Isle of Wight, which was bestowed by him, upon Ethelwald King of the South Saxons.† He gave to that King, for whom he had been sponsor in christian baptism, an island, that up to the time of his invasion had been polluted by the sacrilegious ceremonies of Paganism, in order, that its new christian ruler might conduct the inhabitants in the path of rectitude. In Mercia itself, where Christianity had been introduced by his brother Peada, and where it might be regarded as struggling for existence,‡ he labored zealously, constantly and diligently to cherish, sustain, and firmly establish it.‖

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* "et in Wulferium Pendæ filium paternam ultus injuriam, plurima illum parte regni truncavit.". W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. 1. § 19.

† "In the year 641, Coinwalch King of the West Saxons rebelled against Wulfer, King of the Mercians; but the latter with that bravery and fortune for which his father (Penda) had been distinguished not merely defeated Coinwalch in battle, and compelled him to fly; but he also despoiled him of a large portion of his kingdom; and even proceeded so far, with his victorious army, as the Isle of Wight, of which he took possession." ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. p. 155, 156.

‡ "Christianitatem vix in regno suo palpitantem. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 76.

‖ W. MALMSB. Lib. i. §. 76.

Although these, and other good acts were performed by him, still they were contaminated by the grave crime of simony of which he was guilty, in selling to Wina the bishopric of London. The infamy attaches to him of being the first of the English kings guilty of that offence.* It was his happiness to be united in marriage to Saint Ermenilda the daughter of Erconbert, King of Kent; and it was by her mediation, that the people of Kent and of Mercia were united together, as equal subjects in the same kingdom. Mercia was plunged into the lowest barbarism of Paganism. The Mercians were hardened in their idolatry, when Ermenilda came amongst them; and she, to whom the first rudiments of education had been taught by her parents, the pupils of St. Augustine, at once attracted the infidels by her gentleness, soothed them by her sweet manners, edified them by her transcendent virtues, and at length persuaded them, by her meek exhortations to bend their necks to the ever loving yoke of Christ, and to look with hope for the great reward of never-ending beatitude. Whilst her husband warred against the perverse, and punished the rebellious, Ermenilda was unceasing in her exertions to diffuse Christianity amongst the people, and at length was perfectly triumphant; the idols were struck down; the diabolical rites abolished, and Mercia crowded with priests and covered with churches.† It was in obedience to her prayers, her

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* "Verum enimvero hæc, et quæcunque ejus bona inficit et deprimit gravis simoniæ nota, quod primus Anglorum sacrum episcopatum Londoniæ cuidam Winæ ambitioso venditarit."
W. Malmsb.

† "Regnum Merciorum ecclesiis et sacerdotibus adimpleret."
Brompton.

wishes, and her warnings, that her husband Wulfer banished idolatry from his dominions.

The hope of her father Ercombert, and of other princes, had been, that through her marriage with Wulfer, a race of kings might be given to the world. Ermenilda was more happy in her offspring—they were destined to reign in heaven, and not on earth. Her daughter Werburga dedicated herself to the service of God. Ermenilda herself upon the death of her husband repaired to the convent of Ely, where her daughter Werburga was a nun, and where was to be found, her own mother Sexburga the daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles. and sister of Saint Etheldrida, who shone splendidly amid that choir of virgins as a moon amongst the stars.* There it was that Saint Ermenilda laid aside, with her royal ornaments, every earthly hope and affection, and with her conventual habit, became one of the most humble bondwomen of the Lord.†

It was in the reign of Wulfer, that the minster of Medhamstead (Peterborough) which had been founded during the brief reign of Peada became very rich. Wulfer loved it much, from affection for the memory of Peada, from respect for his twin-brother Oswy, and from a deep regard and affection for the Abbot Saxulf.‡

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* "Inter choros virginum ut luna inter sidera præluxit." *Ibid.*

† Brompton *Chron.* pp. 742, 743. See *Act. Sanct.* Feb. 3.

‡ Saxon Chron. A.D. 656. The account of the foundation of the Abbey of Peterborough is taken from the Revd. Mr. Ingram's translation of the *Saxon Chronicle.* It follows so closely the manner of the original, that a person feels, in reading it, brought back in the midst of those, whose piety and generosity it records.

The Abbot Saxulf was subsequently consecrated as Bishop of Litchfield. See *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, p. 427.

"He (Wulfer) said, therefore, that he would dignify and honor it, by the counsel of his brothers Ethelred and Menval; and by the counsel of his sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha; and by the counsel of the Archbishop, who was called Deus-dedit; and by the counsel of all his peers, learned and lewd, that in his kingdom were. And so he did. Then sent the King after the Abbot, that he should immediately come to him. And he so did. Then said the King to the Abbott: "Beloved Saxulf, I "have sent after thee for the good of my soul; and I will "plainly tell thee why. My brother Peada and my beloved "friend Oswy began a minster, for the love of Christ and "St. Peter; but my brother, as Christ willed, is departed "from this life; I will therefore intreat thee, beloved "friend, that they earnestly proceed on their work; and "I will find thee thereto gold and silver, land and pos-"sessions, and all that thereto behoveth."

"Then went the Abbot home and began to work. So he sped, as Christ permitted him; so that in a few years was that minster ready. Then when the King heard say that, he was very glad; and bade men send through all the nation, after all his thanes, after the archbishop, and after bishops; and after his earls; and after all those that loved God; that they should come to him. And he fixed the day when men should hallow the minster. And when they were hallowing the minster, there was the King Wulfer, and his brother Ethelred, and his sisters, Kyneburga, and Kyneswitha. And the minster was hallowed by Archbishop Deus-dedit of Canterbury; and the bishop of Winchester, Ithamar; and the bishop of London, who was called Wina; and the bishop of the Mercians, whose name was Jeruman; and bishop Inda. And

there was Wilfrid, priest, that after was bishop; and there were his thanes that were in his kingdom. When the minster was hallowed, in the name of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, then stood up the king before all his thanes, and said with a loud voice, "Thanks "be to the High, Almighty God for this worship that "here is done; and I will this day glorify Christ and St. "Peter, and I will that you all confirm my words. I "Wulfer, give to-day to St. Peter, and the Abbot "Saxulf, and the monks of the Minster, these lands, and "these waters, and meres, and fens, and wiers, and all "the lands that therabout lye, that are of my kingdom, "freely, so that no man have there any ingress, but the "abbot and the monks. This is the gift. From Medhem-"sted to Northborough; and so to the place that is called "Foleys; and so all the fen, right to Ashdike; and "from Ashdike to the place called Fethermouth, and so "in a right line ten miles long to Ugdike; and so to May-"rodl; and from Mayrodl five miles to the main river "that goeth to Elm-reach to Wisbeach; and so about "three miles to Trokenholt; and from Trokenholt right "through all the fen to Derworth; that is twenty miles "long; and so to Great Cross; and from Great Cross "through a clear water called Breadney; and thence six "miles to Paslade; and so forth through all the meres "and fens that lye toward Huntingdon—port; and the "meres and lakes—Shelfermere and Wittlesey Mere, "and all others that thereabout lye; with land and with "houses that are on the east side of Shelfermere; thence "all the fens to Medhamsted; from Medhamsted all to "Welmsford; Welmsford to Clive; thence to Easton; "from Easton to Stamford; from Stamford as the water

" runneth to the foresaid Northborough."——These are the lands and the fens that the king gave unto St. Peter's minister—Then quoth the king:—" It is little—" this gift—but I will that they hold it so royally and " so freely, that there be taken therefrom neither gild " nor gable, but for the monks alone. Thus I will free " this minster; that it be not subject except to Rome " alone; and hither I will that we seek St. Peter, all " that to Rome cannot go."

" During these words the abbot desired that he would grant him his request. And the king granted it. " I " have here (said he) some good monks that would lead " their life in retirement, if they wist where. Now here " is an island, that is called Ankerig;* and I will request,

* " In the fens," says Camden, " was a very famous monastery called from the thick thorns, and bushes about it *Thorney*, and anciently from the Anchorites *Ankerige*, where, as we find in the register of Peterborurgh, Sexulphus, a very devout man, built a monastery with cells for hermits. This being destroyed by the Danes, Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, for the encouragement of the monastic life, built this monastery, filled it with monks, and planted it about with trees. The place, according to Malmsbery," (De Pontif, Ang. Lib. iv) " was a picture of " Paradise, and for pleasantness might be compared to Heaven " itself, bearing trees in the very fens, towering with their lofty " tops to the clouds, while the smooth watery plain below at- " tracts the eye with its verdant dress, and may be passed with- " out impediment. Not the smallest spot is here unimproved, " being planted either with fruit trees or vines creeping along " the ground, or supported by poles. Here seems to be tacit " contest between Nature and Art, the latter proclaiming what " the former has forgot. What shall I say of the beauty of the " buildings, which one is amazed to find so firmly supported in " the fenny soil! This vast solitude is given to the monks to " fix their affections more on things above, and to make holier " men. A woman would be deemed a prodigy here; but men " are welcomed as angels. I may justly say this island is the " abode of chastity, the residence of virtue, the school of di-

" that we may there build a minster to the honour of St. " Mary; that they may dwell there who will lead their " lives in peace and tranquillity." Then answered the king, and quoth thus. " Beloved Saxulf, not that only " which thou desirest, but all things that I know thou " desirest in our soul's behalf so I approve and grant. " And I bid thee, brother Ethelred, and my sisters, Kyne- " bourga and Kyneswitha, for the release of your souls, " that you be witnesses, and that you subscribe it with " your fingers. And I pray all that come after me, be " they my sons, be they my brethren, or kings that come " after me; that our gift may stand; as they would be " partners of the life everlasting, and as they would " avoid everlasting punishment. Who lesseneth our " gift, or the gift of other good men, may the heavenly " porter lessen him in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso " advanceth it, may the heavenly porter advance him in " the kingdom of heaven."—These are the witnesses that were there, and that subscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and confirmed it with their tongues. There was first the King Wulfer, who confirmed it first with his word, and afterwards wrote it with his finger on the cross of Christ, saying thus: " I Wulfer " King, in the presence of kings, and of earls, and of " captains, and of thanes, the witnesses of my gift, be- " fore the Archbishop Deus-dedit, I confirmed it with " the cross of Christ."[†]

" And I, Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, the friend

" vine philosophers." *Britannia,* vol. ii, p. 216. This place was, on the change of religion in England, granted for the sole use and benefit of " a Protestant Reformer," John, Earl of Bedford.

" of this minster, and of the abbot Saxulf, commend it " with the cross of Christ."[†]

" And I Sighere King ratify it with the cross of " Christ.' [†]

" And I Sibbi, King, subscribe it with the cross of " Christ."[†]

" And I Ethelred, the King's brother, granted the " same with the cross of Christ."[†]

" And we, the King's sisters, Kyneborga and Kynes- " witha, approve it."*

" And I Archbishop of Canterbury, Deus-dedit, " ratify it."

" Then confirmed it, all the others, that were there with the cross of Christ: namely, Ithamar, Bishop of Rochester; Wina Bishop of London; Jeruman, Bishop of

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* At this early period in English history, we find women called upon to act as witnesses, to an important transfer of property. In this respect, there is a most important and curious distinction between the ancient law and custom in Scotland, and Anglo-Saxon England. " Anciently in Scotland the testimony of women was not admitted in any case. ' Ane woman may not pass upon assize or be witness, *nather in ony instrument or contract*, nor zit for preiving of ane persoun's age.' " Balfour's Practicks, p. 378. " By our constant usage, women are not admitted as instrumentary witnesses, and as universal custom is law, so I doubt not, but it will be a nullity in any writing, that is attested by witnesses, who are both or even one of them, women." Bonkton's Inst. b, i. §. 7.

Modern authorities state, that the act for excluding females, as witnesses, was recognised so late as the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was subsequently abrogated, whilst the practice continued of excluding them as instrumentary witnesses. See HOWELL'S *State Trials*, vol. xx. p. p. 44. 45.

In the ancient British Law, we find it declared, " a woman cannot be admitted as surety or witness concerning a man." See DE COURSON. *Histoire des Peuples Bretons.* Vol. ii. p. 397. See, in illustration of this point, the Laws of the Visigoths, Lib. ii. Tit. 3. §. 6. Lib. ii. Tit. 4. §. 1.

the Mercians; and Inda Bishop; and Wilfred priest, who was afterwards bishop; and Eoppa priest, whom the King sent to preach christianity in the Isle of Wight; and Saxulf abbot; and Immine alderman, and Edbert, and Herefrith aldermen, and Wilbert alderman, and Abo alderman; Ethelbald, Brord, Wilbert, Clement, Frethegis. These and many others that were there, the King's most loyal subjects, confirmed it all.

"This charter was written after our Lord's nativity 664 the seventh year of King Wulfer—the ninth year of archbishop Deus-dedit. Then they laid God's curse, and the curse of all the Saints, and all christian folks, on whosoever undid anything that there was done. "So be it," saith all, "Amen."

"When this thing was done, then sent the King to Rome to the Pope Vitalianus that then was, and desired, that he would ratify with his writ and with his blessing all this aforesaid thing. And the Pope then sent his writ, thus saying:

"I Vitalianus, Pope, grant thee, King Wulfer, and "Deus-dedit archbishop, and abbot Saxulf, all things "that you desire. And I forbid, that any King, or any "man, have any ingress, but the abbot alone; nor shall "he be subject to any man, except the Pope of Rome "and the Archbishop of Canterbury. If any one break-"eth any thing of this, St. Peter with his sword "destroy him. Whosoever holdeth it, St. Peter with "heaven's key undo him the kingdom of heaven."

"Thus was the Minster of Medhamsted begun, that was afterwards called Peter-bo-rough."*

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* *Sax. Chron. translated by the* Rev. J. Ingram, B.D. p. p. 41, and 46. For the confirmation of the Charter by the pope. See Sax. Chron. p. p. 51, 52, 53. *Chron. Ang. Petriburgens* p. i (Ed. Gile's) Kemble Codex Diplom. Introduction. §. vi.

Egbert succeeded to the throne of Kent, upon the death of his father Erconbert, in the year 664. In the palace of this sovereign, there were educated under his especial care, the young princes, Athelbert and Ethelred, the sons of his relative Ermenfrid;* both distinguished for their virtues, and their purity, and both guarding with care, by their humility, their baptismal innocence.

One of the King's minister's named Thuner,† regarded the princes with hatred, for their virtues were a reproach to his vices; and he therefore sought, in his daily converse with the sovereign, to render these amiable youths odious, to blacken their character by his calumnies, and to impute to them designs upon the crown of Kent. "I find," he was accustomed to say to Egbert, "that your majesty is "tenderly nurturing those who will yet despoil you of "your kingdom. Believe me, that it would be more for "your advantage, either to banish them to some far dis-"tant country, or allow me to get rid of them."

Such discourses constantly repeated, at last produced their evil effect. The minister was eager to commit crime; the king was not decisive in his prohibition of it; and in proportion as the latter was weak, the former became strong. The consequence was, the wickedness that had been at first but suggested was finally executed, and the innocent were destroyed.

Thuner, in the absence of the king, assassinated the two princes, and concealed their bodies in the royal

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* Ermenfrid was the half-brother of Egbert. See W. Malmsb. Lib. i. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 13, Lib. ii. §. 209.

† "*Thunur* quod Latina interpretatione sonat tonitrus." S. Dunelm. *Hist.* p. 87. See W. Malmsb. Lib. ii. §. 209. Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 149.

palace, beneath the throne, on which the King was in the habit of sitting.*

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* "In aula regia sub regali cathedra indecenter sanctorum copora sepelivit." ROG. DE WEND.

"Inhonestis subselliorum locis humo contegi regalium." SIM. DUNELM. Both manifestly indicate some place in the open air, although within the verge of the royal palace. May not both be considered as referring to that place, where the king was in the habit, like the patriarchs of old, of administering justice "at the gate?" Egbert is described as not seeing the light resting upon the bodies until he had gone outside the house—"egressus a domo." We call attention to this apparently insignificant point as illustrative of ancient manners and customs. As to the administration of justice, in the open air, See SIR. FRANCIS PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, Vol. i. p. p. 138, 139, 150. 151, and Vol. ii. p. *clviii*. In p. 140, Vol. i. he observes, "many of the earth-works, often supposed to be camps or military stations, were probably intended for judicial purposes." That the ancient Bretons so administered justice is placed beyond a doubt by M. de Courson. See his *Histoire des Peuples Bretons*. Vol. ii. p. p. 69, 104 and p. 406. According to the ancient British laws, the king or his representative was to sit with his back to the sun or the weather, lest the weather should incommode his face, then there was to be the judge "whoever is the oldest" to sit before him, and at that person's left, "the other judge that *may be in the field*," and on the right hand the priest or priests, if any be in the field; next the lord or his representative "*the two elders*"—a passage to be made for the judges—then the pleader for the Plaintiff with his left hand to the passage, and next to him in the middle, the pleader and his guider on one hand; and "the other part" (the defendant) "on the other side of the passage"—whilst it was stipulated that "whoever will go to law with another, must in the first place *give surety to abide the law*."

In these rules, we see exemplified the picture of litigation amongst the ancient Greeks.

Λαοι δ' ιν αγορη εσαν αθροοι· ενθα δε νεικος
Ωρωρει * + +
Κηρυκες δ' αρα λαον ιερητυον· οι δε γεροντες
Ειατ' επι ξεστοισι λιθοις, ιερω ενι κυκλω.
* * * * * *
Κιτο δ' αρ εν μεσσοισι δυο χρυσοιο ταλαντα,
Τω δωμεν, ος μετα τοισι δικην ιθυνταται ιπη.

HOMER Iliad. Lib. xviii. l. 497, 507.

The King returned the same evening that the murder had been perpetrated; but at the dead hour of night, a column of light descended from heaven upon the palace, and covered it with a brightness, clear and glowing as that of day. At sight of this miraculous light, the servants of the sovereign, filled with terror, fell shrieking to the earth. Egbert was awakened by the clamour, and utterly ignorant, as to what had given rise to it, he arose from his couch, fancying, that the time was come, when he should proceed to the matin prayers. The moment he stepped outside the door, he saw before him a great globe of fire, flashing forth dazzling rays of light. The instant he beheld it, his past conversations with Thuner, with respect to the young princes, were recalled to his mind; and his heart was filled with sad forebodings. "Where," said he, to Thuner, "are my relatives, that were always here to "greet me?" Thuner answered him in the language of Cain: "I know not—am I the keeper of the young princes?"

"Wretch," said the king, "you have ever spoken ill "of them to me; and you therefore must declare, what "you have done with them."

Thuner, so pressed, boldly pointed to the place, in which the bodies of the youthful martyrs had been cast. The King was conscience-stricken; and the remainder of the night was passed by him, in vain lamentations, and in bitter tears.

As soon as the day dawned, the King summoned to council the Archbishop Deus-dedit, and as many of the Great men of the land as could, in a short time, be collected together; and upon their assembling, he declared to them the fact of a light having descended from heaven,

and irradiated with its brilliancy the spot in which the bodies of these two saints rested.

The Archbishop advised, that the bodies of these innocent youths should be borne to the metropolitan church, and there interred in a manner, that became their temporal rank. This advice was approved of, and at once carried into effect.

The place where these murders had been committed was in the royal villa of Eastreia.* The bodies were found beneath the throne, and borne upon a bier to the monastery of Wakering.† They were deposited near to the great altar, where to the praise of God, in their honor, and through the Divine clemency, many miracles have since been operated.‡

At the same time, that these occurrences took place, the King's sister, Ermenburga, had parted from her husband, one of the sons of King Penda,‖ and, with his assent, had determined to pass the remainder of her days as a nun. Upon returning to her brother, and explaining to him the resolution she had adopted, he bestowed upon her lands

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* "In villa regali, quæ vulgari dicunt *Easterige* pronunciatione." S. DUNELM. "Now called Estria." BUTLER.

† "*Wærinense Monasterium.* In Capgrave it is called Wakering, in Simeon Wacrinse, who also speaks of it as 'famosissimum.' The remains of the brothers were finally removed to Ramsey Abbey in the time of Edgar, by Oswald Archbishop of Worchester and York. Malmsb. 209." COXE (ROG. DE WEND).

‡ "Ad laudem Dei et eorum gloriam multa miraculorum insignia operatur divina clementia." ROG. DE WEND. "Dominus * * eos creberrimis ditare miraculis voluit." SIM. DUNELM. "Ex qua die multis se miraculis manifestarunt supplicum votis exorabiles." W. MALMSB.

‖ "Eormunburga vel Domneva nomine quam habebat in conjugium Rex Merciorum Mearwoldus nomine." S. DUNELM.

sufficient for the noble maintenance of a monastery,* in honor of her martyr-relatives. There, Ermenburga, associated with seventy nuns, passed a life, that was wholly occupied with prayer and works of piety.† To aid her in this task, she summoned to her assistance, her daughter Mildreda, who had been educated in the discipline of foreign nunneries, and who proved by many miracles, the perfection of her devotion, and the lustre of her virtues.‡

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* "As much as a stag could travel over in one day. Minstre in Thanet is supposed to have been the Abbey founded, over which Domneva appointed her daughter Mildred first Abbess. Dec. Scrip. 89, 90. This abbey was burned by the Danes, 988. Hasted, Hist. Kent, iv. p. 295. COXE (ROG. DE WEND. E.H.S.) Egbert animated by "sentiments of compunction sent for Eormenburga out of Mercia to pay her the *Weregild* which was the mulct for a murder ordained by the laws to be paid to the relations of the persons deceased. In satisfaction for the murder he settled on her forty-eight ploughs of land, which she employed in founding a monastery, in which prayers might be continually put up to God for the repose of the souls of the two princes." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. ii. p. 251. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. §. 9, 2, 15.

† ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. p. 149, 150, 151.

‡ SIM. DUNELM *Hist.* p. 90.

"Domneva sent her daughter Mildred to the Abbey of Chelles, in France, where she took the religious veil, and was thoroughly instructed in all the duties of that state, the perfect spirit of which she had imbibed in her tender years. Upon her return to England, she was consecrated first Abbess of Minstre in Thanet, by St. Theodorus Archbishop of Canterbury. * * This great monastery was often plundered by the Danes, and the nuns and clerks murdered, chiefly in the years 980 and 1010. After the last of these burnings, there were no more nuns but only a few secular priests. Two churches in London bear her name." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. ii. p. p. 251, 252.

"The monkish historians" delight in praising St. Mildred.

In the year 664, various questions were discussed with respect to the due observance of Easter, the manner of wearing the tonsure, and other ecclesiastical matters, and it was determined that a synod should be held at Whitby, in the monastery over which the Abbess Hilda, a woman devoted to God, then presided, and that there these points should be all finally settled.* At this synod appeared the two Kings, Oswy and his son Alfrid; the Bishop Colman and the Scotch clergy; the Bishop Agilbert, with the priests Agatho and Wilfrid, James (the deacon of St. Paulinus) and Romanus were attached to the opinions of the latter—the Abbess Hilda coincided in the opinions of the Scots; and the venerable Bishop Cedd who had been ordained by the Scotch prelates acted as the earnest and diligent interpreter of both parties.†

As soon as all the members of the synod had taken

Malmsbury observes, that though the monastery at Canterbury was filled with the bodies of saints, "nullo tamen illa colitur inferius, quin inmo amatur et commemoratur dulcius." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. §. 215 HARPSFIELD. *Hist Eccles*, p. 66. See also. W. THORN. *Chron.* p. p. 1770, 1783, 1906, 1907. 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912. Thorn agrees in the account given by Simeon, of Thuner the murderer having been struck dead, by lightning, on the isle of Thanet, at a placed since called *Tunor-sleap*. *Decem. Scrip.* p. p. 90 and 1907.

* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 25, §. 228. A full account of the controversy is given in this chapter of Bede, with the embarrassment, that preceded it, and rendered the settlement of it indispensable; for instance, in the palace of King Oswy, the sovereign and some of his courtiers were celebrating the feast of Easter, whilst the Queen, the Prince Alfrid, and St. Wilfrid were observing the Lent. BEDA. §. 226.

† BEDA Lib. iii, c. 25, §. 228. A different office is assigned to St. Cedd by another author "Cedda vero Lundoniensis Episcopus, una cum rege Oswio erat quasi Judex." GERVAS. *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* p. 1636.

their seats,* King Oswy addressed them. He remarked, that as they all worshipped the one God, it was necessary that all should observe an uniform practice in the same religion, by which all hoped to gain the same kingdom of heaven; that it now became their duty to enquire what was the true tradition of the Church, and when that had been ascertained, unanimously to adhere to it.

Colman thus argued: "The Pasch," said he, "as we "celebrate it, is derived from those, by whom I was con- "secrated, and it is precisely the same, as that transmitted "by our pious ancestors. Our mode is not to be repro- "bated by our opponents; because it is believed to be "that, which was sanctioned by the Evangelist John, in "all churches over which he presided."

Wilfrid replied to these and similar arguments in the following manner.

"Our mode of celebrating Easter, is that which is ob- "served by the Romans, Italians, French, Greeks, and "the entire Church in every part of the world, with the "exception of the Picts, the Scots, and the Welsh, who "in vain toil against Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, to "whom our Lord said 'Thou art Peter, and upon this "rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall "not prevail against it; and to thee I will give the keys "of the kingdom of heaven.' "†

Wilfrid concluded his address with these words, and the King then turning to the Bishop of the Scots, said— "Is it true, these were the words said, by our Lord, to

*"Considentibus cunctis ostendit rex Oswius &c." Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 157.

† Rog: de Wend. Vol. i. p. p. 157, 158.

" Peter?" Colman replied, " King, it is true." The King continued: " Have you it in your power to show, that He " uttered such words to your Apostle, Columba?" Colman answered, that he could not do so.

The King then continued his interrogatories thus:— " Do you both, without any controversy, coincide in this "—that these words were especially addressed to Peter, " and that to him, the keys of the kingdom of heaven " were given by our Lord?"

They replied: " We both agree in that."

The King hearing this, thus concluded his discourse— " Then I say to you, since he is the door-keeper, I will " not do that, which is in contradiction to him; but I will, " as far as I have knowledge, and capacity, obey his sta- " tutes; lest perchance when I come to the gates of the " kingdom of heaven, there may be none to open them " for me, should he who is proved to hold the keys, be " opposed to me.*"

These words of the king were approved by those present—by the great as by the small—by those, who sat as members, as by those who stood as listeners. They abandoned the less perfect institution, and were eagor to adopt

* " The king seems (!) to have been swayed in this controversy by this distinction of St. Peter's apostolate; and by his answer *it looks as if he understood* the text gave St. Peter the keys of the Kingdom, either exclusively of the rest of the apostles, or at least to some degree of advantage, and that this apostle was the rock upon which the Church was principally founded." COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. i. p. 229.

The admission of the truth, so grudgingly made, by this Protestant historian is of far more value, than the arguments, by which he seeks to controvert it. See as to the points of controversy between Colman and Wilfrid, DR. LINGARD'S *Ang. Sax. Church*. Vol. i. p. p. 49 to 63. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*. Vol. x. p. 639 (St. Wilfrid).

that which was shewn to them to be the better rule of discipline.*

The same year (664), in which this controversy was decided, Colman, the Bishop at Lindisfarne, retired to Scotland, with his friends; and was succeeded in his see, by the Bishop Tuda. In the same year, there was an eclipse of the sun on the 1st of May, and it was followed by a most dreadful pestilence. In the same year, Deus-dedit the Archbishop of Canterbury died, and the See was vacant for four years. In the same year, Alfrid, son of King Oswy, sent Wilfrid to France to be ordained as bishop of York.† The consecration was there performed by

* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 25. §. 235. The words used by Bede seem to imply, that this controversy was carried on not before a mere synod, but at a Witanagemot. There are the great men of the land present, as will as the lower classes "majores una cum mediocribus" that is, there are the Prelates, the Ealdormen, and the Thanes—and with these the Jurors of the Hundreds the Four men and Reeves of the Townships—the former "assidentes" and the latter "assidentes." Roger de Wendover, from whom is taken the abstract of the speeches made at this controversy states, the manner, in which the assent of the assembly to the judgment of the king was notified:—"Hæc rege dicente, *elevatis in cœlum manibus*, faverunt *adsidentes &c.*" Vol. i. p. 158.

† "Tuda living but a very little while, Alchfrid, King Oswy's son sent Wilfrid, then only in priest's orders, to the King of France to recommend him to the French prelates for consecration. And here it may seem a little strange, that Wilfrid should take a journey into France, and not apply to Deusdedit of Canterbury for his episcopal character. Did he know the metropolitan jurisdiction of that see, and the privileges granted to it by the Pope? *But it seems the regulations of the see of Rome were not, at that time of day, received with such an absolute submission, even by those of their own communion*" Collier's. *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 230. This, and a few more pages of argument are grounded on *the fact*, that Wilfrid did "not apply to *Deusdedeit* for his episcopal character." Mr. Collier

Agilbert.* As Wilfrid however remained a long time absent, King Oswy sent the priest Ceadda to the Bishop of the West Saxons, Wina, to be consecrated. The consecration took place, although it was contrary to the canons of the Church—for a Bishop cannot be selected to officiate in a place, during the lifetime of another, who had been already appointed to it. This error in discipline was however subsequently corrected.†

When Colman was about to retire to his own country, he asked for, and obtained from King Oswy, the appointment to the Abbey of Lindisfarne, of Eata, who had been abbot at Mailros,‡ a most pious and charitable man, and who had been one of the twelve youths chosen by Bishop Aidan, to aid in the instruction of the English people in the Christian doctrine. Colman then took with him a

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ought to have recollected these circumstances—first, that Tuda died about June, in the year 644, and next that Deusdedit, died on the 14th July, following. Beda Lib. iv. c. i. §. 252, See *Anglia Sacra* vol. i. pp. 93, 639. Wilfrid did not act from an indisposition to manifest his obedience to Rome; see STEVENSON (Bed. vol i. p. 234, note 12, and page 235, note 8).

In the Peterborough Chronicle, the events of this fatal year are thus referred to.

"A.D. Lues magna. Rex Ercombertus, Deusdedit archiepis copus, Ethelburga Abbatissa, Boisilus monachus, et alii plures, obierunt. Ordinatio sancti Wilfridi." *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, pp. 1, 2, (Ed. Giles).

* "Agilbert joyfully received Wilfrid, and with twelve other Bishops, performed the ceremony of his ordination with great solemnity at Compeigne, St. Wilfrid was then in the thirtieth year of his age, (in 664); he was carried by the Bishops in a golden chair, according to the custom of the Gauls," BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol, x. p. 639. (St. Wilfrid.)

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 158, 159.

‡ See *Ang. Sax.* vol i, p. 694.

portion of the bones of the most reverend father Aidan, whilst some were left, by him, in the sacristy of the Church, over which he had presided.

The humility, the abstinence and the voluntary poverty of Colman and his predecessors were demonstrated, by the place in which they had lived, and from which, they had separated themselves. Nought was to be seen there, but the church in which they prayed and the few humble houses in which they dwelt—habitations, that were barely sufficient, for the common purposes of life. They had neither treasures, nor great flocks and herds. If the rich presented them with money, they instantly bestowed it, upon the poor. They wanted not riches, and they did not require a magnificent dwelling, to entertain or to lodge the great men of the world; for then, these never visited the church, except to offer up their own prayers, or to hear the word of God expounded to them, by the priests. Even the King himself only visited the church, for the purposes of devotion; and when he came, he was attended, but by some five or six servants, and then having fulfilled his religious duties, he returned with them to his palace. Or if, as it occasionally happened, the rich, the noble, and the great required that the rites of hospitality should be exercised towards them, they were content with that ordinary simple food; on which the monks sustained existence, and neither asked for, nor expected any better. The entire thought, the sole care, the undivided anxiety of these pious teachers was to serve God and not the world—to glorify the soul, and to mortify the flesh.

Hence it was, that at that time, the habit of a Religious was regarded with the greatest veneration—that, wherever a priest or monk were seen, he was willingly looked

upon, and gladly received, as a servant of God: if travelling upon a journey, all who met him bowed their heads before him, and rejoiced if he made the sign of the cross upon them,* or uttered a benediction over them—or edified them, with an exhortation. On the sundays, the people, animated with piety, betook themselves with great eagerness to the church, or to the monasteries, not for the purpose of receiving food, but of hearing the sermon; and if any of the priests appeared in a village, its inhabitants crowded around him, to hear the word of God---for priests and clerks were only found in the villages in the performance of their religious duties---in preaching, baptising, visiting the sick---in brief, for nought else, than "the cure of souls." The pest of avarice was so completely excluded from their hearts, that they would not, unless compelled to do so by the powerful, receive lands, or goods, to aid,-even in the erection of monasteries—a rule, that for some time, subsequent to the period to which we refer, prevailed amongst the churches, established in the provinces of Northumbria.†

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* "Manu signari." BEDA. See MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages*, p.p. 14 15, 78, in his reply, to the misrepresentations of Robertson.

† BEDA *Hist Eccles.* Lib. iii c. 26: §. 237, 238, 232.

A modern *liberal* historian has given an account of England during the period, of which the venerable Bede has presented the preceding description. It is worthy of perusal, as a contrast to Bede, and as a specimen of the fashionable, "philosophical" mode of discussing events:—

"Reverence towards saints and relics was deemed, *almost a higher object than adoration, of the Deity;* monastic observances were esteemed *more meritorious than the active virtues.* The knowledge in natural causes was neglected, from the universal belief of miraculous interpositions, and judgments; *bounty to the church and pilgrimages to Rome atoned for every violence against*

The plague (of 644) depopulated first the Southern coasts of Britain; it then spread to Northumbria, where it raged, in every place, and carried off a great multitude of human beings. Its dire effects were also felt in Ireland.* In the year 665, the malady had increased to such a fearful extent, in England, and so frightful were the agonies, with which it was accompanied, that persons were to be seen rushing madly to the sea, dashing themselves from the rocks, and thus by a sudden death, seeking to rid themselves of the slow and intolerable tortures which they endured.† At this time the Kings Sighere and Sebbi, though subject to Wulfer as King of Mercia, governed conjointly the provinces of the East Saxons. Upon this plague appearing amongst them, Sighere and a portion of his subjects, abandoned the sacraments of the Christian faith, and apostatised to Paganism. The King, as well as a great many of the people and nobility, either loved the enjoyments of this life more than they cared for a future existence; or, being without Christian faith, they restored the temples they had abandoned, and

society; and remorse for crimes was appeased not by amendment, but by penance, servility to monks, and abject devotion. It was *a religion of forms, not of practical uses;* and the disputes which divided the clergy relative to the tonsure, and the festival of Easter attest it to have been *an age of unprofitable theological trifling.*" WADE'S *British History*, pp. 7, 8.

It is unnecessary to apprise the judicious reader, that in the preceding short paragraph, there is not an assertion, which is not directly the opposite of the fact; but at the same time, perfectly consistent, with the deliberate misrepresentations of facts, which have been palmed upon the world, as "*English History.*"

* BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 27, §. 240. For an account of two pious English priests. See §. 241, 242.

† ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. 159. See BEDA., Lib. iv. c. 13, §. 290. H. HUNT. Histor. Lib. iii, p. 334.

set up again the idols, they had previously rejected, as if they really believed, that these things could defend them, from the disease they dreaded. This scandal was afterwards repaired through the exertions of the Bishop Jaruma.

Sebbi pursued a course far different from that of his colleague. He devoutly adhered to the faith he had received. His example was followed by his subjects, and a happy death afterwards rewarded his life of virtue.* That life was constantly occupied by good works, by pious prayers, by unceasing bounty to the poor. In his estimation, the humble and retired life of a monk was far preferable to all the riches, power, and glory of a king. It was one, that he would have willingly adopted, had his queen acceded to the wish, that animated him, to abandon the crown and throne, for the cowl and cell. To the multitude, he appeared, as a man more suited to hold the Bishop's staff, than the royal sceptre.

For thirty years he had governed his kingdom, like a true servant, and ardent soldier of Christ, and was then attacked with a sickness, which not merely threatened, but was certain to terminate fatally. Seeing this, he besought of his wife, that he might, at last, be allowed to devote the remaining hours of his life to heaven, since he could no longer be of service to the world. To this request, the queen reluctantly assented, and then the king's desire was accomplished: he received from the hands of Waldhere Bishop of London, and the successor of Earconwald, that religious habit, he had for years sighed to wear. He brought with him to the monastery he had

* Beda. Lib. iii. c. 30, §. 250.

secluded, no inconsiderable sum of money, all of which he destined for the poor, keeping nothing for himself; but wishing that he might be treated as a poor man—poor in spirit, for the sake of that heavenly kingdom, to which he aspired.

The malady, to which the royal patient was subject, assumed a more dangerous form—its pains daily became more agonising, and as he was a man of truly royal spirit, he feared, that either by his words, or his actions, the tortures, that he was enduring, and which he expected to be greatly aggravated, in his last moments, might force him to say or do anything, unbeseeming in a monarch, or a Christian. He therefore besought of the Bishop of London, in whose diocese he was dying, that the prelate and two of his ministers should be the only persons permitted to witness his death. Such a petition was instantly acceded to by the Bishop; but a few days afterwards, when this pious sovereign had sunk into sleep, he was favored with a consolatory vision, which dispelled from his mind, the only anxiety, that had oppressed it. He saw, as he himself stated, three men, clothed in garments of light, enter his room; one of these sat down before his bed, whilst his two companions remained standing, and asked of him, who was sitting, what was the condition of the person they had come to visit? The King heard the answer—it was that the soul would part from the body without agony, that it would be accompanied by the glory of a great light; and that three days from that time, the man would die.

The events occurred, as they had been predicted, in the vision. On the third day from that time, and exactly at the ninth hour, King Sebbi, suddenly, without the slight-

est pain, and, as if he were sinking into a gentle slumber, breathed forth his last sigh.*

In the year 665,† the most noble of the kings of the English, Oswy of Northumberland, and Egbert of Kent, held council together, as to the fitting course to be pursued, with respect to the church of the English; for Oswy truly understood, though educated by the Scotch, that the Roman, is the Catholic and Apostolic Church. These Kings then adopted, by the election and with the consent of the holy church of the people of England, a virtuous and good priest, amongst the clergy of Deus-dedit, named Wighard, and sent him to Rome, to be ordained there, as a bishop; so that he, having been there vested with archiepiscopal rank, could consecrate bishops for the churches of the English people, in all parts of Britain. Wighard died shortly after his arrival at Rome, and before the intended consecration could take place. Upon this occasion, a letter was addressed by Pope Vitalian to King Oswy.‡

The Pope, having instructed the sovereign as to the proper and uniform mode of celebrating Easter, in every part of the world, thus wrote:—

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* Beda. Lib. iv. c. 11. §. 283, 284. See W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i. §. 98. H. Hunt. Lib. iii. p. 333. R. Dicet. *Abb. Chron.* p. 440. Brompton *Chron.* p. p. 744, 745. Harpsfield p. p. 68, 69.

† "*His temporibus*—Smith, upon the authority of Florence and the Saxon Chronicle ascribes this mission to A.D. 667, but the connexion of the events shows, that it is to be referred to an earlier period." Stevenson.

‡ Beda Lib. iii. c. 29. §. 245.

"Taking into consideration, the great length of the "journey, from this to your kingdom, we have not, as "yet, been able to discover, in accordance with the tenor "of your letters, a man docile, and in all respects, suited "to be a bishop. As soon as we shall find an individual, "capacitated for the various duties he will have to per- "form, we shall send him well instructed to your country; "so that by word of mouth, and by the Divine Com- "mandments, he may, aided by Heaven, root out every "tare, that can be discovered, in your island.

"We give thanks to your majesty, for the gifts, which "you have offered to the Prince of the Apostles,* and "we receive them, as memorials, to his honour; and with "the clergy of Christ, we pray incessantly, for your "salvation.

"We have greatly grieved for him, who brought these "gifts; for him, who is now dead; and who, withdrawn "from the light of this world, now rests in the porch of "the Apostles' Church.

"To the bearers of these letters, we have entrusted, for "you, relics of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and "of the holy martyrs, Laurence, John, and Paul; with "those of Gregory and Pancras. We also send, by the "same messenger a golden key and cross, compacted with "the ever venerated chains of the blessed Apostles Peter "and Paul. These are for your spouse, our spiritual daugh- "ter, whose piety is known to, and as much rejoices the "Apostolic See, as her pious works, are fragrant and "fruitful in the sight of God.

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* "Missis paritur apostolico papæ donariis, et aureis atque argenteis vasis non paucis." Bæda Lib. iv, c. i. §. 252.

" Hasten then, we beseech your majesty, to dedicate " your entire island to Christ. May our Lord Jesus " Christ, who is the Redeemer of the human race, be " your protector, may He prosper you in your under- " taking, and enable you to gather together a new people " to Him, by implanting in your kingdom, the Catholic " and Apostolic faith; for it is written—' Seek first the " ' Kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all those " ' things shall be added to you.' "*

The apostolic pope made (as he had promised) diligent inquiry, as to the person best suited to act as archbishop amongst the English.† There was at that time in the Niridon monastery—near to the City of Naples, in Campania—an abbot named Adrian—by-birth an African—a man imbued with a perfect knowledge of the sacred Scriptures—thoroughly instructed in monastic, and ecclesiastical discipline, and a complete master of the Greek and Latin languages. The Pope desired this monk to come to him, in order that he might consecrate him, as a bishop, and send him to Britain. Adrian replied, that he was unworthy of a dignity, so great and so exalted; but that he could point out another, whose age and erudition would render him more fitted to accept the mitre. He therefore proposed to the Pontiff, a certain monk named Andrew, who was attached to a neighbouring convent, as the man, beyond all others, that he was acquainted with, the most worthy of being consecrated, as a bishop. Bodily infirmity prevented Andrew from taking upon himself the onerous office; and Adrian was therefore again pressed to

* Beda. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 29, §. 248, 249.

† Beda. Lib. iv. c. i. §. 253.

submit to episcopal ordination—again however, he begged that time and opportunity should be afforded to him, to discover another, worthy of the office.

At that very time, there happened to be in Rome, and known to Adrian, a monk named Theodore, a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, a man perfectly well informed in sacred and profane literature—in Greek, and in Latin—and as distinguished for the probity of his manners, as he was venerable for his age—being at the time in his sixty-sixth year. Adrian presented this monk to the Pope, and requested that he might be consecrated as Bishop, a request that was complied with, on condition, that Adrian should conduct Theodore to Britain—first, because he had on two different occasions, travelled to those parts of France, which adjoin Britain, and therefore knew which was the best way of making the journey, and had men on whom he could rely, for protection; and, secondly the Pope desired, that Adrian should accompany the new Archbishop, lest Theodore should introduce anything after the manner of the Greeks, and not in accordance with the true faith, into the church over which he presided.*

Theodore arrived at his church, on Sunday 27th May (A.D. 669), the second year after he had been consecrated, and he immediately proceeded upon an episcopal visitation of all parts of the island, occupied by the English. He was willingly received, and devoutly listened to by all.

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* BEDA Lib. iv, c. i, §. 254, 255. He gives the details of this journey—of Adrian having been detained in France, by Ebroin, mayor of the palace, and his subsequent arrival, and appointment to the monastery in Canterbury. See LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 76, 77.

Through his means, and the aid of his constant companion Adrian, the proper discipline, as well as the canonical mode of observing Easter, were established.

Theodore was the first archbishop to whom the entire English church yielded obedience;* and as he and Adrian were both profoundly skilled in sacred and secular literature, they gathered around them crowds of students, whose minds they purified, and whose hearts they refreshed, with the streams of that science, which leads to salvation.† Not content with instructing their pupils in the volumes of the holy Scriptures—they also taught them ecclesiastical discipline, poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic.‡ The excellence of the teachers was proved in the accomplishments of the scholars—for these were able to speak the Greek and Latin languages, as well and properly, as that which they had known from their childhood.¶ In fine, never from the period that the English

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* Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum Ecclesia manus dare consentiret. BEDA Lib. iv, c. 2. §. 256.

Acceperat enim legationis potestatem a præfato apostolico super *Angliam, Scotiam et Hiberniam.* THORNE *Chron.* p. 1769.

† "Scientiæ salutaris quotidie flumina irrigando eorum cordibus emanabant." BEDA.

‡ "This prelate" (Theodore) "being a great master in most parts of learning, both sacred and secular, drew an audience together; the place of their meeting is supposed to be Grekisláde, or Crecgelade, from whence the University of Oxford might possibly be afterwards supplied." COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 234.

¶ "Indicio est quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam æque ut propiam in qua nati sunt, norunt." BEDA.

"They made," says Wm. of Malmsbury, "this island which had been the nursing place of tyrants, the familiar abode of philosophy." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 12.

had sought and settled in Britain, had there been happier times. The kings were valiant Christians, and a terror to barbarous nations—the hopes and wishes of all were fixed, upon the joys of heaven that were preached to them; and *whosoever desired to be instructed in religious reading, found masters, both prompt, and competent to instruct him.**

Even Holinshed admits that the men, who produced this change, were "moonkes" (vol, i, p. 627.) And yet what Englishman is there, who from his childhood, has not been taught, as if it were an article of his faith, to believe that "monkery" is synonimous with "superstition" and "ignorance?"

* "Quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri haberent in promptu magistros, qui docerent." BEDA. He adds, that the proper mode of singing was then, for the first time, introduced into all the churches, in England. It had previously been only practised in Kent, and in Northumbria, where it was taught by James, the deacon of Paulinus.

"The word "quicumque" in the preceding extract, we may safely calculate, applied to all classes—including even the poor and the servile. We know, that St. Aidan elevated men, from the condition of slaves, to the rank of the priesthood. We find it laid down, in the council at Cliffe, that "children in the schools should be brought up to the love of sacred learning, that by these means well educated persons may be found for every kind of service in the church of God;" we know, that Charlemagne in his capitulary to the clergy in 789, directs them "to collect and keep under their care not only *children of servile condition* but those of better rank"; and we have it proved in a hundred instances by Mr. Houard the similarity between the laws and customs of England and France to the reign of Edward the elder here, and to the end of the reign of Charlemagne in France, see MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages*, pp. 20, 21, HOUARD'S *Traités sur les Coutumes Anglo Normandes*, vol. i, pp. 4, 8, 9, 10, to 61.

DE COURSON *Histoire des peuples Bretons* observes:—"Non seulement les institutions domestiques de Galles, mais meme les offices etablis a la cour des *brenins* Bretons indiquent pour employer, les paroles de Houard, que les lois Gallois Anglo Saxones et Franques avaient une origine commune," vol. ii, p. 81.

Theodore, when making his general visitation, consecrated bishops, for those places, in which they were required, and with the aid of such bishops, he corrected every thing in religious matters, in the slightest degree incorrect. Amongst these things was the ordination of Bishop Ceadda,* and when he found fault with it, for its irregularity, Ceadda humbly replied to him—"If you

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The following extract from an Anti-Catholic author proves that the labours of the monks in the diffusion of learning were not confined to France, and England:—

"Bonifacium, Utiloni Duci Bavariae auctorem fuisse, ut passim per ditionem monasteria excitaret tanquam scholas, unde verbi divini præcones accerserentur. Lazius de Migrat, Lib. vii. Indicatur caussa et finis, cur pii principes, tam ambitiose, tantis sumtibus monasteria passim excitarint, nempe, ut studia doctrinarum, Ecclesiæ pernecessaria, alerent; juvarent, promoverent. Fuisse autem antiquitus coenobia meras scholas, testem, do omnem antiquitatem, quæ de hoc testimonium perhibet luculentum. Nec uno in loco idem inculcat Tritthemius, monachorum doctissimus priscæ in vita religiosa integritatis et assertor flagrantissimus. Cujus locum ex chronico Hirsaugiensi ad annum 890 adseribamus. 'Erat' inquit, 'his temporibus hæc consuetudo celeberrima, ut scholæ monachorum in singulis pene coenobiis haberentur, quibus non seculares homines, sed monachi moribus et eruditione praeficiebantur nominatissimi; qui non solum in divinis scripturis docti essent, verum etiam in Mathematica, Astronomia, Arithmetica, Geometrica, Musica, Poesi, et caeteris omnibus literaturae scientiis Eruditissimi haberentur. Ex his multi, non solum in Romana lingua docti erant, sed etiam in Hebraica, Graeca, et Arabica doctissimi, quod ex eorum opuslis facile cognoscitiur.' Et paullo post: '*Multi ex monachis propter scientiam litterarum incomparabilem ad Episcopatus honorem sublimati sunt, qui ordinem suum vita et doctrina mirabiliter illustrarunt*' Cum Trithemio facit Cuspianus in Austrias his verbis: 'In coenobii optimae artes docebantur, erudiebantur fratres in virtutibus ac disciplinis: vitam vivebant honestam ac sanctam: omnis conatus erat in adipiscenda simul eruditione et tranqillitate vitae." MEIBON *Notae in Diploma Thassilonis.* Rer German, Vol. iii. pp. 196, 197.

* "Ceadda commonly called St. Chad." *Britannia Sancta.* vol. i, p. 147.

" know, that I have not been rightly consecrated as a " bishop, I willingly resign the office—I never deemed " myself worthy of it; and never, unworthy as I am, " would have consented to take it, but as a proof of my " obedience."

Theodore observing the humility of the bishop, in his meek reply, said, that he could not be permitted to abandon his bishopric; and therefore ordained him, in due and catholic form.

Upon proceeding to Rochester, where its former Prelate Damianus had died, and the bishopric was a long time vacant, Theodore ordained as the new prelate, Putta, a man well informed in ecclesiastical discipline, more remarkable for his contentment with a simple mode of life, than his activity in worldly affairs,* and who was particularly skilful in church singing, as it is practised in Rome—an accomplishment that he had acquired from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory.†

Upon the death of Bishop Jaruman, Wulfer, King of the Mercians, requested the Archbishop Theodore to send a Bishop to his people. The Archbishop instead of consecrating a new prelate, requested of King Oswy, that he

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* Bishops now-a-days are not appointed by the Popes Legate, but by a Prime Minister. They are not accomplished church musicians; but clever pamphleteers. To how few amongst them can we apply the character, given by Beda, of Putta!

" Virum magis ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutum et *vitae simplicitate contentum, quam in seculi rebus strenuum.*"

† Beda Lib. iv c. 2. §. 258.

would permit Ceadda to proceed thither. Ceadda was at that time passing his days in retirement at his monastery, at Lastingham; whilst Wilfrid as Bishop of York presided over the Northumbrians and Picts, who were subjected to the sceptre of King Oswy.

It had been the custom of Ceadda (as of his brother Cedd) in going upon his scriptural mission, to travel more on foot, than on horseback. The Archbishop Theodore hearing this, ordered Ceadda to ride, whenever he had a long journey to make; and as he found, there was a disinclination to execute this command, on the part of Ceadda, he, with his own hands, aided him to mount a horse. He did this, for the purpose of enforcing obedience in a prelate, whose piety imposed upon him an additional labour. Ceadda was installed as Bishop of the Mercians, and of Lindisfarne; and, as a prelate, his conduct was worthy of his pious predecessors, for all his duties were discharged in the perfection of a devout life. The King Wulfer bestowed upon him fifty hides of land for the construction of a monastery in a place called Baruc,* that is "the Grove," in Lincolnshire, and where the traces of that strict and regular discipline instituted by him, were long discernible.†

The place of Ceadda's episcopal See was Litchfield. There he died, there he was buried, and there is conti-

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* "Of uncertain locality; Smith conjectures that it may have been Barton upon Humber; but it seems to me more probable that it was the place now called Barrow, near Goxhill, in Lincolnshire." STEVENSON.

† "In quo usque hodie instituta ab ipso regularis vitæ vestigia permanent." BEDA.

nued the seat of his successors.* He built for himself a mansion, which was not far distant from the church, and there he passed his time in privacy, along with seven or eight monks, in whose society, every moment, that was not occupied with his labors and preaching as a Bishop, was passed in prayer and study.

Ceadda had governed for two years and a half, with great advantage to man, and glory to heaven, the diocese assigned to him, when, in accordance with the Divine Will, the period had come, to which the Scripture refers—"there is a time to cast stones, and a time to gather them"—that is, a pestilence had descended upon men, when by the death of the flesh, those who were to form a portion of the eternal temple, were to be gathered from the earth, on which they had been cast. Many members of the church of this most venerable prelate had been so removed, when his hour also came, that he should pass from this world to his God.

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* See *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, pp. 65, 424, 425, 426, 428, 459, 693.

"Ecclesia angusto situ erat, antiquorum virorum mediocritatem et abstinentiam præferens." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iv, p. 288.

"Roger Clinton began here a most beautiful church A.D. 1148, in honor of the Virgin Mary and St. Cead, and repaired the castle, now utterly destroyed and vanished." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii, p, 497.

"*Lycetfeld* (Saxon) i. e. *body-field.* The bodies of many martyrs were found buried near this town. The cathedral was repaired by King Etheldred, who also made four bishops of this one. The martyrs suffered under Diocletian." Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 585. See on this point the *Act. Sanct.* vol i, p. 10, (January) vol. i, (March) p. 113.

"The diocese of Lichfield was very large at this time, comprehending the county of the Mercians, Middle Angles, and that afterwards called the county of Lincoln." COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 237.

A few days before that event occurred, the Bishop was alone in his mansion, with a single attendant monk, named Owini, whilst all the others were engaged, in their necessary duties, at the church.

The monk Owini, it must be stated, was a man possessed of great merits. He had abandoned the world, with the pure and simple intention of earning the eternal reward; and he was alike worthy of a special revelation, as that full credit should be given to any statement he might make. He came with the Queen Etheldrida from the province of the East Saxons—he had been the first in her favour, as a minister, and the chief of her household; but faith encreased upon him, and with it, the fervour of his piety: both disposed him to renounce the world, and when he once determined upon such a course, he instantly put it into execution. He shook off every thought of earthly affairs—he abandoned all his wealth, and dressed in common attire, and bearing in his hands an axe and a hatchet he presented himself at the monastery gate of Lastingham, for admission. The instruments that he bore, gave signification of his intention, that he desired to be there, not idle, like some, but to labour—an intention, the sincerity of which, was proved by his subsequent conduct; but as he was less capable than others, to devote himself to a meditation on the Scriptures, so did he far exceed all others, in hard manual labour. Such a postulant was readily received, by the bishop, in his mansion, and for his piety and devotion willingly enrolled amongst the monks. Whilst they were engaged within doors, at their studies, he was to be seen outside, labouring at all things, that it was necessary to have done.

Whilst Owini was thus occupied outside of the man-

sion, and his brother monks had gone to the church, leaving the Bishop alone in his oratory, and engaged in his devotions, Owini heard, as he afterwards stated, the dulcet sounds, of persons singing a joyful hymn, as they descended from heaven to earth—the sounds seemed to advance towards him from the South-East, to descend down upon him, from the highest heavens, until they, at length, gathered in chorus, on the roof of the oratory, in which the Bishop was praying, and then passing through it, to invest, and at the same time fill up every portion of it, with a thrilling burst of exaltation.

Owini was greatly troubled at what he heard—he listened—and it seemed to him, that half an hour had thus passed away—when, again the canticle of joy appeared to ascend from the roof, to mount up into the sky, and to die away in the sweet sounds, with which it had first attracted and charmed his attention.

Amazement made him moveless for about an hour's time—he was endeavouring to guess—for he was a man of much shrewdness—what all this could be, or what it might portend, when the Bishop opened the window, and clapped his hands,* as he was accustomed to do, if any one was outside, whose presence he desired in the house.

Owini, much moved, went up to the Bishop's oratory. "Go quickly, to the church," said Ceadda, "and bid the "seven brethren come to me. Come you also, along "with them."

As soon as the monks appeared, in the presence of the Bishop, he admonished them to maintain the virtues of peace and love amongst themselves, and towards all the

* "Sonitum manu faciens." BEDA.

faithful; to adhere rigidly to those rules of regular discipline, they had been taught; that they had seen practised, by himself, or they had observed in their predecessors. He then added, that the day of his dissolution was fast approaching; "for the guest "said he," "that amiable being, who used to visit our brethren, has "condescended, even this day, to visit me, and to call me "from this world. Therefore, return to the church, and "bid the brethren commend by their prayers, my death "to the Lord; and let them also prepare, by vigils, by "prayers, and by good works, for their own end, the "hour of which they know not."

These words, and many others, were spoken by the Bishop to his monks, who then received his blessing, and departed from him in great grief. One amongst them however soon returned. It was Owini...he who had heard the celestial hymn, and he, casting himself at the feet of the Bishop, said—"I beseech your permission, "father, to ask you one question."

"Ask," replied the bishop, "whatever question you "wish."

"I beseech you then to tell me," said Owini, "what "was the meaning of that canticle of joy, that I heard de-"scending from heaven, upon this oratory, and after a "short time again ascending from it.

The Bishop answered—"If you have heard the sounds "of the hymn, and have been able to notice the celestial "choir coming down upon this place, I command you, in "the name of God, not to utter a word, respecting either, "before my death. They were the spirits of angels who "came to call me, to that heaven and its joys, which I "have always loved, and ever desired; and they have

"promised, at the end of seven days, to return and bring "me with them."

It came to pass, as the bishop had stated. He was instantly attacked with a great langour—he fell sick, each day became worse, and on the seventh, having fortified his soul with the reception of the body and blood of our Lord, his holy spirit was released from the prison of the body, and it may be well believed, that conducted by guardian troops of angels, it ascended to possess the everlasting joys of heaven.*

In the year of our Lord 670, and the second year after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore in Britain, Oswy King of the Northumbrians, who had suffered severely from sickness, expired in the fifty eighth year of his age. So great was the affection, that he bore to the Roman and apostolic institution, that he had determined, if he had recovered from his sickness, to proceed to Rome, and finish his life, at the holy places in that city. He had entreated the Bishop Wilfrid to be his guide and companion in that journey, and had promised no inconsiderable donation in money. This King died on the fifteenth of February, leaving as the heir to his kingdom,

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* Beda Lib. iv. c. iii, §. 259, 260, 261, 262. Beda adds to these statements, facts, demonstrating the piety of Ceadda; as well as with respect to the death of his brother, Cedd, and the miraculous circumstances accompanying it. For both, Beda is particular in giving his authorities, and shewing them to be trust-worthy. See same chapter §. 263, 264, 265. See also with respect to the two brothers, S. Dunelm. p. p. 2, 58. R. Hagust. p. 293. Brompton. p. 744. Gervas. p. p. 1636, 1638. Stubbs. p. 1689. Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. p. 143, 155, 157, 159, 161. H. Hunt. p. 333. W. Malmsby. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* p. p. 196, 235, 259. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart) vol. i. p. p. 113—148. (Januar) Vol. i. p. p. 373—376.

his son Egfrid.* His remains were interred in the monastery at Whitby, where the body of King Edwin had previously been deposited†—a monastery that at the time of the Danish invasion, was, with so many other places in the same district, utterly destroyed, and the bodies of many saints removed and irrecoverably lost.‡

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* BEDA. Lib. iv, c. 5, §. 267. *Saxon. Chron.* 670.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 162.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 50. Oswy was the last of the Bretwaldas of Britain. See TURNER'S History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, p. 381. PALGRAVE'S Rise and Progress of the English commonwealth, vol. i, pp. 562, 563, 564, LINGARD'S *History of England*, vol. i, p. 161.

This may not, perhaps, be considered, an inappropriate place to refer to the laws of Lothair King of Kent, who ascended the throne in the year 673 and was killed in battle in 685. (See *Saxon Chronicle*, Beda. Hist. Eccles. Lib, iv. c. 5. §. 271. Roger De Wendover, vol. i, p. 178. W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. §. 13). The obscurity of these laws is, in a great degree, removed by the translation and notes of Mr. Thorpe, by whom they are published, in his work, the "ancient laws and institutes of England," (pp. 11-15), under the title of "the laws of Kings Hlothhaere and Eadric." The following are "the dooms" most interesting to us :—

1. "If any ones esne (slave) slay a man of an Earl's degree, whoever it be let the owner pay with 300 shillings, give up the slayer and add three *man-wyrths* thereto.

2. "If the slayer escape let him add a fourth *man-wyrth*, and let him prove with good aewdas (compurgators) that he could not obtain the slayer.

3. "If any ones esne slay a freeman, whoever it be, let the owner pay with a hundred shillings, give up the slayer and a second *man-wyrth* thereto.

4. "If the slayer escape, let the owner pay for him with two *man-wyrths*, and let him prove with good aewdas that he could not obtain the slayer.

5 "If a freeman steal a man; if the man return, and denounce him before the stermelda (sheriff), let him clear himself, if he be able, and let him have the number of free aewdamen and one with himself, each at the tun (township) to which he belongs; if he be unable, let him pay as he *gone hage* (can according to his means).

6 "If a husband die, wife and child yet living, it is right that the child follow the mother; and let there be sufficient borh (security) given to him from among his paternal kinsmen, to keep his property till he be x years of age."

Mr. Thorpe proves that according to the Anglo Saxon law, the master was held responsible for the conduct of his slave; and he then observes as to the term *man-wyrth*, there is a difficulty in explaining its meaning.

"There is certainly," it is said by Mr. Thorpe, "a strong analogy between the expressions *leod-gild*, *wer-gild*, and *man-wyrth*. But among all the Germanic tribes, the terms '*weorthe*' and '*ceap*' or whatever may have been their equivalents, appear generally to relate to things having a market price; and while these are limited in their application to the servile classes, as a part of the stock of an estate, the term "gild" or retribution seems to have been the epithet by which the free orders chose to dignify the price paid for averting or soothing their vengeance. Perhaps some objections may be raised to the exposition here given from the singular phraseology of c. 3. '*Se agend thone banan agefe, and other man-wgrth thaereto,*' which when strictly translated is, "Let the owner give up the slayer, and *a second* man-wyrth thereto." (p. 11, note b.)

The meaning, which we venture to put upon this is, that in addition to the lord of the esne paying 300s, and delivering up the criminal slave, he had to give up a second slave, or the price of a slave along with it. This suggestion may be considered to derive confirmation from the fact, that we find in the Welsh laws men making compensation, even for murder, by bestowing their slaves, *females* as well as males, upon the family of the deceased. "Si quis invidia hominem occiderit, *ancillas* quatuor totidem servos reddat et ipse securitatem habeat." (Leg. Wall. m. s. latin. T. ii, p. 875, §. 2, quoted in De Courson's Histoire des Peuples Bretons, vol. ii, p. 68, note 3). By these laws, we are aware however that there was no compensation price allowed for the slave who murdered a freeman. "If a bondman (caeth) kill a *boneddig* (freeman) there is to be no *galanas* (price of blood) other than the life of that bondman; and there is the murder for which *galanas* is not paid, since the worth of the criminal is not equal to the galanas of the boneddig.

(See De Courson, vol ii, p. 66, note 4). In the same laws, we find a striking similarity between one of these provisions and that of c. 5; for a person accused of having killed or stolen a slave, was obliged to repel the accusation by the oaths of twenty four witnesses, twelve of whom should be freemen of known distinction—*gwr-nod*. (De Courson, vol. p. 66, note 9. See also in illustration of these points Lex Salica Tit. xxxvii. §. 7—a Carolo magno emendata, Tit. xxxvii. §. 8. Lex Burgundiorum, Tit. iv. §. 3. Addit. Prim. Tit. v. §. 4, 5, 6. Leges Wisigothorum. Lib. v. Tit. 4, §. 3.)

With the exception of the two last, there seems to be but little humanity exhibited in the laws of Lothair. He appears to have cared as little for the poor, as for religion, and with respect to the latter, his character is thus described by William of Malmsbury :—

" Sunt qui non tacent fratres ambos cita morte merito crudelitatis absumptos; quod Egbertus filios patruî innocentes occiderit; *Lotharius martyres propolatos irriserit. Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 13.

CHAPTER VII.

Events in the reign of Egfrid, King of Northumbria.

Accession of Egfrid—Death of Coinualch, King of the West Saxons—Succeeded by Queen Sexburga. Synod at Hertford. Account of Queen Etheldritha—her purity as a wife—persecuted by her husband—receives the veil at Coldingham—becomes Abbess of Ely—her mortification and prayers—her sanctity testified by miracles. The East Angles. Munificence of Prince Earconwald, Bishop of London. Hostilities between Escwin, King of Wessex, and Wulfer King of the Mercians. St. Wereburge. Saints in the family of King Wulfer. Death of Cadwallo King of the Britons. Kent laid waste by Ethelred, King of the Mercians. St. Wilfrid persecuted by King Egfrid—is deprived of his See—appeals to Rome—converts the Frisians—protected by King Algisius—by King Dagobert, and by King Berchter—his cause decided by the Pope. Wilfrid assists as Bishop of York, in the council at Rome—on his return imprisoned—miracles performed by him—restored to liberty—preaches the gospel amongst the pagan South Saxons —improves the condition of the people—frees many persons

from slavery. Battle between the Northumbrians and Mercians. Prince Elwin slain—peace established by Archbishop Theodore. Anecdote of Imma—efficacy of the Mass demonstrated. Catholic Council at Heathfield. Death of St. Hilda—her great virtues—her sanctity manifested. An account of Caedmon, the Anglo Saxon poet. Unjust invasion of Ireland by Egfrid King of Northumbria speedily followed by his death. Death of Lothair King of Kent. Accession of Alfrid to the throne of Northumbria. St. Cuthberth, Bishop of Lindisfarne—the manual labours of monks. Cuthbert's life as a monk—as an anchoret—as a bishop—his care of the poor—miracles of St. Cuthbert. Ceadwall, King of the West Saxons. Extermination of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight. Invasion of Kent by Prince Mull—his frightful death. The penitence of King Ceadwall—travels to Rome—is baptised by the Pope, and dies in his baptismal robes.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 670—689

Upon the death of Oswy, the younger of his two sons, Egfrid, succeeded him on the throne. The preference was given to him because he was the legitimate son of Oswy; and he likewise came commended to the people, not so much by his own personal qualities, as by the merits and the virtue of his wife, the sanctified Etheldritha.* He obtained the crown of Northumbria in the year 670; and in the year 672,† died Coinualch, King

* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 50.

† In the *Saxon Chronicle* under the date of 671, we are told "This year happened that great destruction among the fowls." To which, the Revd. editor of the *Saxon Chronicle* has attached the following note:—

"From the equivocal signification of the word 'wæl,' Henry of Huntingdon, and Matthew of Westminster have derived an ingenious story of a great battle among the birds, &c. Not so Ethelwerd, and Florence of Worcester, who are better interpreters of the Saxon annals." Ingram's *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 49, note 3.

In the passage referred to, as in a thousand others, Matthew

of the West Saxons, after a reign of two and thirty years.*

Coinualch, in dying, bequeathed to his wife Sexburga the crown, which he had so long held; for, he believed her to be worthy of its possession by her great qualities. As a sovereign, Sexburga proved that she was gifted with all the qualities that can fit an individual for the exercise of supreme power. New armies were levied by her—the veteran soldiers restrained within the limits of a strict discipline; the humble treated with clemency; the haughty controlled by the exhibition of a becoming spirit —in fine, all things done, that could be required from a valiant warrior and a wise statesman: the name of the queen alone disclosed the sex of the sovereign; yet scarcely more than a year had passed away when her life and her reign were both terminated!†

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of Westminster is but the copyist of what he found written by Roger de Wendover. The latter writes, vol i, p. 162.

"Maxima avium pugna fuit in Anglia, ita ut multa millia invenirentur." See MAT. WEST. p. 122 (Edit. Franc.) Henry of Huntington gives a curious account of this battle of birds, see Lib. ii, p. 318.

* Rod. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 162. Coinualch inflicted a severe defeat upon the Britons, of which the following notices are sufficient for this work:

"This year, Kenwal fought with the Welsh at Pen, and pursued them to the Parret. This battle was fought after his return from East Anglia." *Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 658.

"Et persecuti sunt eos usque ad locum qui Pederydan nuncupatur. ETHELWERD *Chron.* Lib. ii, c. 7. p. 836

"Facta est super progeniem Bruti plaga insanabilis in die illa. H. HUNTIND. *Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 317.

Mr. Turner, intimates, that the Britons who were defeated in this battle, were inhabitants of Cornwall and Devonshire. *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i, p. 379.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. †. 32. Roger de Wendover, states, that she was driven from the Kingdom by the

Theodore, the archbishop of Canterbury, held in the year 673 a synod at Hertford, which was attended with all the bishops, kings, and nobles of England.* There were present at this synod, Wilfrid, the bishop of York; Bisi, Bishop of the East Angles, Leutherius of the West Saxons; Putta of Rochester, and Winfrid of the Mericans. To this Synod, Archbishop Theodore proposed ten chapters for its adoption. The first had reference to the due time for the celebration of the festival of Easter—the second, that no Bishop should intrude on the diocese of another; the third, that no monastery consecrated to God should be disquieted nor disturbed by a Bishop in any of its possessions; the fourth, that monks should not be allowed to travel about from place to place; but should remain wherever they had taken the vows of obedience; the fifth, that a priest should not part from his Bishop, without permission, and that his services should not be accepted by another Bishop, without letters from his superior; sixth, that Bishops and Priests in a strange

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nobility, who could not endure that a warlike nation should be governed by a woman "nolentibus sub sexu fœmineo militare." Vol. i, p. 162. This view is confirmed by Bede, who says, there was a species of Oligarchial Government established for ten years on the death of Coinualch—"acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis, et *divisum inter se* tenuerunt annis circiter decem." Lib. iv. c. 12, §. 286. See on this point, LINGARD'S *Hist. of England*, vol. i, p. 132 and note (*); TURNER'S *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons* vol. i, p. 382, note 39, HOLLINSHED. vol. i, p. 269, and STEVENSON. (Beda. vol. i, p. 272, note 28).

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 162. The words of Bede refer to a Synod of clergy—and cannot be supposed to include laymen —"concilium *episcoporum*, una cum *eis*, *qui* canonica patrum statuta et diligirent et *nossent*, *magistris ecclesiæ pluribus*." Lib. ib. c. 5. §. 267.

diocese, should not act in their clerical character, without the permission of the Bishop in whose diocese they were stopping; seventh, that, a Synod should be held at least once a year, since the diversity and pressure of their occupations prevented the Bishops from meeting oftener; eighth, that no Bishop should have precedence of another, but that each should take rank according to seniority of ordination; ninth, that the number of Bishops might be encreased according to the encreasing number of the faithful; tenth; that every species of impurity be forbidden, and that no person be allowed to leave his wife, unless upon full proof of her infidelity. These chapters were unanimously assented to,* and confirmed by the subscription of each of the Bishops.†

The same year, that the synod was held at Hertford, St. Etheldritha began the monastery at Ely.‡

Etheldritha¶ was the daughter of Anna the pious King of the East Saxons, and the wife of King Egfrid. Pre-

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* "His itaque annuentibus episcopis universis." Rod. de Wend.

This is correct with respect to all the chapters but one; the ninth, which is thus given, by Bede.

"Nonum capitulum. In commune tractatum est ut plures episcopi, crescente numero fidelium, augerentur: *Sed de hac re ad praesens siluimus.*" Lib. iv. c. 5, §. 269. See on this point Dr. Lingard's. *Anglo Saxon Church.* Vol. i. p. p. 76, 77, 78, 79, (Ed. 1806).

† Rod. de Wend. Vol. i. p. p. 162, 163. See Bede. Lib. iv. c. 5, §. 268, 269, 270, where the chapters are stated in full.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 673.

¶ "*St. Etheldreda* or *Ediltrudis*, commonly called *Audrey* was the third daughter of Annas, or Anna, the holy King of the East Angles and St. Hereswyda." Butler's *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. vi. p. 832.

vious to her marriage with Egfrid, she had been the spouse of Tonbert, Prince of the Southern Geirvii, who died shortly after he became her husband; but with both her husbands she lived as a maiden, in pure and virgin innocence.*

For twelve years she had borne the title of Queen, and during all that time, her constant thought and her sole wish frequently expressed to the King, her husband, were, that he would permit her to abandon the cares of the world, and devote herself exclusively to the service of Christ in a monastery. The request so repeatedly made, and so frequently urged was at last granted. She received the veil from the hands of Bishop Wilfrid, in the monastery of Coldingham, over which then presided as Abbess, Ebba,† the aunt of King Egfrid.

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* BEDA, Lib. iv. c. 19, §. 309.

† "Ebba was the daughter of Ethelfrid, and the sister of Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswiu, Kings of Bernicia; Ecgfrid was the son of Oswiu, consequently the nephew of Ebba. Her name is preserved in the promontory near Coldingham, named St. Abbs head. See Acta S. S. Aug, tom. v, p. 194." STEVENSON.

"*Coldingham*, called by Bede, the city of *Coldana*, and of *Colud*, perhaps Ptolemy's *Colonia*, many ages ago famous for its nuns, whose chastity is recorded in history: they having with their abbess Ebba cut off their noses and lips, preferring their honor to their beauty, to save themselves from the Danes, who nevertheless burnt them in their houses. * St. Ebba was the daughter of Edilfred King of Northumberland, and upon her father's being made prisoner, seized a boat in the Humber, and coming hither in it across the stormy ocean, became renowned, and left her name to this place." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iv, p. 31—See also, p. 42.

Mr. Coxe, the Editor of Roger de Wendover, vol. i, p. 301. (E.H.S.) in reference to the statement of the nuns, and their abbess Ebba, mutilating their persons in the year 870, to save themselves from dishonor, designates it, as "*the romantic scene* at Coldingham!"—See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pp. 1149, 1150.

Etheldritha had lived for about twelve months as a nun at Coldingham, when Egfrid determined upon reclaiming her, as his wife, and in accordance with the suggestion of his associates resolved upon taking her, by force, from the monastery. The abbess heard of this, at the very time that he was hastening to Coldingham; and by her express command, Etheldritha was directed to fly towards Ely, where she could alone hope to be safe from pursuit.

Distracted with grief Etheldritha fled with two of her attendants, Sewenna and Sewera, first to the hill of Coldingham; and scarcely had they ascended it, than the rains of heaven poured down in such torrents as to make the place inaccessible to all, for it became entirely surrounded with water, as if it were an island, in the midst of a deep lake. There, did these holy virgins remain in prayer, without any kind of nourishment for seven days. They were however safe from their pursuers. Egfrid terrified by this prodigy—and seeing no means of approaching them—returned back, in confusion to York. He then determined upon marrying Ermenburga; and then too his heart was weaned from the affection, with which he had formerly regarded St. Wilfrid.*

Twelve months after she had taken the veil at Coldingham, Etheldritha removed to Ely, and became the Abbess of the monastery she had herself constructed. There, by her virtuous example, and her pious discourse she proved herself the worthy, and the prudent maiden-mother of a vast number of virgins, whose lives and thoughts were alone occupied with the service of God. It is stated of her, that from the moment she entered the monastery, until her death, she never wore anything but

* Thom. Elien *Hist. Eliensis* (*Anglia Sacra*. vol. i, p. 598).

coarse garments of wool—never indulged in what from practise had become almost a necessity---the use of the warm bath, except on the eve of the great solemnities of Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Nativity; and never even then, until she had washed with her own hands, the meanest of those who were to be found in her convent. Seldom, except during the great festivals, or, when forced by illness, did she partake of food more than once a day---and at all times, unless prevented from doing so, by bodily infirmity, she remained at her devotions in the Church, from the nocturn prayers, until sun-rise.* It is even said of her, that filled with a spirit of prophecy, she predicted not only the pestilence, to which she was destined to be a victim; but also that openly, and in the presence of the community, she stated the names of those attached to her convent, who were to be taken, by the same calamity, from the world.

Etheldritha had discharged the duties of abbess for seven years, when she was removed from the midst of the sisterhood; and in accordance with her direction, interred where she had passed the last years of her life, and her body deposited, in a plain wooden coffin.

Etheldritha was succeeded, as Abbess, by her sister,

* It is more curious than edifying, to read the manner, in which an anti-Catholic author writes, with respect to this saint :—

" He (Beda) tells us that Ecgfrid's first queen, Ethelred, had a strong inclination to quit the court, and retire. Ecgfrid, who was very unwilling to part with her, promised Wilfrid a large gratification to bring her off ' *her monastic fancies*, with which she seems to have been somewhat overgrown.' Whether Wilfrid used his interest with her or not, this author (Bede) does not tell us ; but the queen, *whose piety seems greater than her knowledge, persisted in her singularities*, and at last went into a monastery, and received the habit from St. Wilfrid." COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 245.

Sexburga, who had been married to Earconbert, King of Kent. At the end of sixteen years, the Abbess Sexburga desired that the bones of Etheldritha should be removed, in order that they might be placed in a new coffin, and deposited in the church; but upon the coffin being opened, and the body of the sacred virgin and spouse of Christ exposed to the plain light of day, it was found to be as free from corruption, as if it had been but that very hour interred. This is a fact which Bishop Wilfrid did, (and many others, who knew it to be true) testify.* When placed upon a bed, she appeared to those who looked upon her, like one who was living, but sleeping.† Even the very linen, in which her corpse had been buried, appeared as fresh, and new, as the day on which it had been first rolled around her sacred limbs.

Of St. Etheldritha, it has been mentioned, that when she was afflicted with a great swelling, accompanied with a severe pain, both in the side of her face, and her neck, she expressed her satisfaction that she had been subjected to such an ailment; "because," as she herself said, "I "know that I justly am thus tortured in my neck, on "which I was, when a young girl, accustomed to wear "gaudy, useless, and jewelled ornaments. I trust, that

* "Sicut ut præfatus antistes Wilfridus et multo alii, qui novere, testantur." Beda. We may here remark that, Beda, and bishop Wilfrid were contemporaries. Beda states in another place his conversing with bishop Wilfrid about St. Etheldritha—"Sicut mihi sciscitanti, cum hoc an ita esset quibusdam venisset in dubium, beatæ memoriæ Wilfridus episcopus referebat dicens se testem integritatis ejus esse certissimum." See BROMPTON *Chron.* p. 791.

† "Et positum in lectulo corpus sacræ Dei virginis, quasi dormienti simile." Beda. Other particulars respecting St. Etheldritha will be found in the same author.

" the Divine mercy has been thus pleased to punish my " past levity—and that where I formerly displayed gold, " and pearls, I should now have nought to exhibit but a " reddened inflammation, and nought to feel, but the " burning pain of a disgusting tumour."

The body of Etheldritha was clothed in new garments, deposited in a marble sarcophagus, and placed in the church of Ely, where it was long held in veneration.

Ely, which is in the province of the East Angles, is a district of six hundred parishes. It is like to an island, for it is enclosed with marshes and streams, and from the number of eels taken there, its name has been derived. This great and glorious handmaid of Christ, desired to have her monastery here, because it was in this part of England she had been born.*

+ Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iv, c, 19, §. 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314. The monastery built by Etheldritha, was destroyed by the Danes in the year 868. " It had been," observes the History of Ely, " a place distinguished for its relics, and most celebrated for its miracles; but the Pagans in their ruthless invasion destroyed the building by fire, cruelly put to death its numerous female inmates, and uprooted every vestige of its former magnificence and sanctity. *Historia Eccl. Eliensis* Lib. i, c. i, p. 464. See also *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, p. 594. The monastery and its possessions were afterwards restored to the church; but monks were established at Ely instead of nuns. For the present, a few lines from Camden will shew the difference in its position *before* and *after* the Reformation in this country :—

Ely abounded in plenty and wealth to the last age, so as to surpass all the monasteries of England. Whence a poet of that time, said not amiss .—

Prævisis aliis Eliensia festa videre,
Est quasi prævisa nocte videre diem.

In the year 674,* Bisi, Bishop of the East Angles, was removed from his diocese, because incapacitated by severe illness from the performance of its duties; and two prelates, Acca, and Baduin, were ordained to preside in his place. The first of these held his See at Domnoc, and the other at Helmham; and from that time forth, the province of the East Angles was divided into episcopal districts, and governed by two Bishops. Shortly afterwards, Archbishop Theodore deposed for disobedience Winfrid, Bishop of the Mercians,† and consecrated as his

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They "(the Catholic Bishops) gradually rebuilt the church, decayed by time, and brought it to its present magnificence. It is a large, lofty, and beautiful structure; *but the ruinous state of the monuments of the nobles and bishops in it is no small disgrace to it.* The numerous company of monks are now succeeded by a dean, prebendaries, and a grammar school, where twenty-four boys are educated and maintained. Four things are commonly celebrated about this church: the lanthorn on its top over the choir raised on eight pillars, with singular art *by Bishop Hotham*: the chapel of the Virgin Mary near the church on the north side, built in a most elegant style *by Bishop Simon de Montacute*; a high artificial hill on the south side called the mount, with a windmill on it; and the vineyard formerly so fruitful now decayed. ... ... *The cloisters and conventual buildings have been long since demolished.* The Refectory is the deanry; and *an elegant little chapel built by Prior Craudon, now a granary,* adjoins to it. ... ... Here *were* two hospitals of St. John and St. Mary Magdalen. *No traces of the vineyard are now remaining, except in Bishop Hervey's charter.* CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* vol. ii. pp. 214, 215, 232, 233. See also DUGDALE'S *Monasticon,* vol. i, pp. 457, 500.

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 163.

† "It appears highly probable that Winfrid's disgrace arose from refusing to permit his diocese to be divided into two. See the ninth chapter in the council recited above." STEVENSON. (Beda, vol. i, p. 262.) This suggestion is sustained by Dr. Lingard, who says in reference to Winfrid, "The contumacy of Winfrid, the Mercian bishop, he chastised by deposing him from his dignity, and successively consecrated four other

successor Sexwulf, the abbot and founder of the minster at Peterborough. Winfrid retired to his monastery at Barwe, where he finished his life, in peace and holiness.*

Archbishop Theodore consecrated, at that time, as Bishop of London, amongst the East Saxons, Earconwald, a man, who as a prelate and a priest, led a life of the most perfect purity and holiness, and whose transcendent virtues have, since his death, been testified by many miracles. Previous to his elevation to the mitre, he erected two magnificent monasteries; one for himself; the other, for his sister; and for the regulation and conduct of both, he laid down strict rules of discipline. That which he built for himself was in the district of Surrey, near to the river Thames, in a place called Chertsey,†

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prelates for the administration of his extensive diocese." *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 86, 87. A great authority on these subjects, Harpsfield admits, that he knows not, why Winfrid was deposed:—"Nescio qua in re eum mandatis ipsius parum inobedientem invenisset Theodorus." *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* Sept. Sæc. c. 22, p. 82. See also *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 426, note (g). All that Chesterfield says in the text is, "propter meritum ejusdam inobedientiæ." p. 427.

* Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 164. Beda, Lib. iv, c. 5, 6, §. 271, 272.

† "*All that now remains of the mitred abbey*, valued at £659 per annum is the outer wall of the circle, with a gate in it, and six or eight parallel ponds in the orchard." Camden's, Britannia. Vol. i. p. 247. See Dugdale's Monasticon. Vol. i. p. p. 422, 435.

"Here for some time rested the body of that devout king, Hen. VI., till it was afterwards removed to Windsor. * * The house was standing, till lately, an ancient and venerable pile, till the late proprietor, a zealous bigot to fanaticism, thought fit to carry on a more thorough reformation, and at a great expense pulled it down, and erecting in its stead a fabric as ridiculous as the caprice of its founder." Rev. J. Gile's L.L.D. notes on Bede. p. 365.

that is 'the island of Cerot;' the other for his sister was constructed in the province of the East Saxons, in a place called Barking;* and where she lived as the devout mother and the tender nurse of women, who had devoted their existence to the service of their God. Edelberga proved herself in every respect to be worthy of such a brother as the good Bishop of London, and her virtues, like his, were testified by Heaven, in the operation of many miracles.†

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* "Here are to be seen *the ruins* of the first nunnery in England, built in the infancy of the Saxons' conversion to Christianity. This house was valued at the suppression to be worth £1084 „ 6 „ 2¾." Weever's *Funeral monuments* p. 360. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon.* Vol. i. p. p. 436, 445. CAMDEN'S *Britannia.* Vol. ii. p. p. 119, 129.

Many interesting particulars respecting the pious and royalty descended Erconwald will be found in WEEVER'S *Funeral monuments*, p. p. 149, 170, 360, and 454. In the reign of Edward VI. those foundations established by a Catholic prince, and bishop, for the service of God and the good of the poor were bestowed on Protestant reformers, for their own benefit. The first upon Sir. Wm. Fitzwilliams, the second on Edward Lord Clinton.

† BEDA. Hist Eccles. Lib. iv, c. 6. §. 272, 273. Some of the miracles which occurred at the convent at Barking are stated by BEDE. §. 275, to 281.

As to the miracles performed at the tomb of St. Earconwald, we have the following testimony given by a Protestant author:—

"And in regard of the miracles wrought at his tomb, as it was generally believed, the corpse was enclosed in a very rich shrine, and a great many offerings of value made at it. In the year of our Lord 1386, Robert Braybrooke, *Bishop of London*, made a constitution for the revival of St. Erkenwald's holiday, which of late had been neglected. The solemnity was kept upon the last of April, and a relaxation of forty days penance to those, who should duly observe it." COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History.* vol. i, p. 261.

Escwin succeeded to the throne of Wessex in 674; and the following year he was engaged in hostilities with Wulfer King of Mercia.* Escwin's reign was brief and stormy. His contest with Wulfer was marked by a frightful carnage. The King of the Mercians, inspired by his innate courage, and employing that military prowess, which he seemed to have inherited, gained—if it might be termed a gain—some slight advantages, in a field of battle, that was frightfully contested, and in which many thousand men on both sides lost their lives.

We are reminded, by these conflicts, how worthless are the mightiest achievements of mortals; how full of vanity their glorious deeds; how transitory that terrestrial fame, for which they struggle: for here we find, the two kings, whose ambition, or whose pride had entailed such misery and such destruction upon their respective subjects, both swept from the face of the earth, in the course of a few months; for Wulfer died the same year the battle was fought, and the body of Escwin was, in the year succeeding, consigned to the grave.†

Wulfer, King of the Mercians, had been united in marriage with Ermenhilda, the daughter of Earconbert, King of Kent, and of the Queen and Saint Sexburga; the sister of St. Etheldrida. His child Wereburge became a nun upon his death;‡ and acted for many years, as the

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* *Saxon Chronicle.* A.D. 674, 675.

† H. Hunt. Hist. Lib. ii, p. 318.

‡ Roc. de Wend. vol. i, p. 166. It is stated by the Revd. Alban Butler that Wereburge took the veil during the life-time of her father.

"Wulfor," it is said by him "conducted her in great state to Ely, attended by his whole court, and was met at the gate of the monastery by the royal abbess St. Audrey, with her whole

Abbess over several convents, which were endowed by her uncle Ethelred. Wereburge died in the convent of Trentham in Staffordshire, and her body was subsequently removed, in accordance with her own request, to the monastery of Hanbury in Staffordshire,* a monastery that remained in a state of perfect preservation, until the time that the accursed Danish spoilers, filled, by their crimes and their cruelty, the provinces of the English with slaughter and desolation.† The brothers of Wulfer were Athelred, Peada, and Merwald. The last was the husband of St. Ermenburga, and the father of the three sainted

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religious family in procession, singing holy hymns to God. Wereburge, falling on her knees, begged to be admitted in quality of a penitent. She obtained her request, and Te Deum was sung. She went through the usual trials with great humility and patience, and with joy exchanged her rich coronet, purple, silks and gold, for a poor veil and a coarse habit, and resigned herself into the hands of her superior, to live only to Christ. King Wulfere, his three brothers, and Egbright, or Egbert, King of Kent, and Adulph, King of the East Angles, together with the great lords of their respective states, were present at these her solemn espousals with Christ, and were entertained by Wulfere with a royal magnificence." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii, p. 192 (St. Wereburge). The authorities on which this statement rests are specified in p. 191. See also *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. i, pp. 289, 294.

* At the dissolution of the Trentham monastery, it was bestowed, for his personal profit, and pecuniary advantage, upon Charles, Duke of Suffolk, by the great leader in the Reformation in religion, Henry VIII. Hanbury is worthy of being mentioned, as in its immediate neighbourhood was born the last abbot of Westminster. See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, pp. 298, 443, 482, 496, 507, 516.

† At the time of the Danish invasion, her body was removed to Chester. BROMPTON, *Chron.* p. 810. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, p. 597. Her remains were preserved until the reign of Henry VIII, when they were ignominiously cast out of the church, by "the religious reformers." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*.

women, Milburga, Meldrida, and Milgytha, and of the boy Saint Merefin.*

The same year, A.D. 676, that King Wulfer died, Cadwallo King of the Britons expired, after a reign of eight-and-forty years. His body was preserved by balsam and precious spices, and then enclosed in a brazen statue, which, cunningly contrived to represent him, was seated on a bronze horse, placed over the western gate of London, as a perpetual memorial of the cruelties he had exercised upon the English people. At the base of the gate itself there was erected a church in honor of St.

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* Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p.p. 166, 167. "Surely," says a Protestant writer, "never was there such a family as that of Wulfers! * * How the grace of God ran over and abounded in that peerless family. There was much grace for there was much affliction.,' *Lives of English Saints*, part viii, p. 53.

Amongst the sainted relations of St. Wereburge were St. Ethelbert, St. Ethelburga, St. Edwin, St. Edburga, S. S. Athelbert and Ethelred, St. Anna, St. Eanwida, St. Sexburga, St. Withburga, St. Etheldritha, St. Ermenilda, St. Erkengotha, S. S. Milburga, Meldrida, and Milgytha, S. S. Kineburga and Keneswitha, St. Merefin, &c., &c. See *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. 1, pp. 386, 387.

In the life of Wereburge attributed by Bollandus to Goscelin, the following description is given of her and her mother (St. Ermenilda) whilst destined to take part in the affairs of the world as a Queen and a Princess.

"Viluerant divitiae tam matri quam filiae: palatium habebant pro monasterio: aurum, gemmae, vestes auro textae, et quicquid fert pompatica mundi jactantia, onerosa sibi magis erant, quam gloriosa; et si forte his uti ad tempus regia compelleret dignitas, dolebant se potius vanitati subjectas tanquam captivas." With this humility there was united great charity. "Ad indigentes promptissima illi largitas: ad afflictos compatientissima erat pietas." Ibid. pp. 387, (f.) 388 (c). See also *Act. Sanct.* (Januar) Vol. ii. p. p. 176, 177. (July) Vol. v p. 481. Vol. vi. p. p. 316, 319.

Martin, where masses were offered up for the repose of his soul, and of all the faithful departed. He was succeeded in his kingdom by Cadwallader—the same that Bede calls the young Cadwallo—and whose mother was the sister of Penda, to whom Cadwallo became united in marriage upon his entering into alliance with the King of the Mercians.*

Ethelred, the King of the Mercians, in the year 676, at the head of a ferocious army attacked and laid waste the province of Kent—desecrated its churches, ravaged its monasteries, and seemed in all his acts, to feel neither a fear of God, nor the slightest pity for man. The city of Rochester, was in the absence of its Bishop, involved in the general destruction. The Bishop at that time was Putta, who as soon as he was apprised, that his church had been destroyed, and its property confiscated, pro-

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* "GAL. MONUM. Lib. xii. c. 13. This, like several other things written by Geoffery of Monmouth, is the pure emanation of his fancy. We have copied it, as the last specimen of that much abused historian's imagination. See TURNER'S *Hist. of the Ang. Sax.* Vol. i. p. 366, note 35, p. 384, note 46. In this statement respecting Cadwallo. Jeffrey is copied by Roger de Wendover. Vol. i. p. 165, and by Mathew of Westminster, p. 123.

There is, it may be observed, in the imagination of such a mode of treating a ruthless enemy, something of nobleness, and of generosity, compared with the scenes that England presented under her reformed religious sovereigns. Take as one intance out of many, the following from the reign of Queen Elizabeth :—

"James Earl of Desmond in Ireland, *secretly wandering without any succour*, being taken in his cabin *by one of the Irish*, his head was cut off, and sent into England, where *the same* (as the head of an Arch-rebel) *was set on London bridge* on the thirteenth of December" (1583.) STOW'S *Annales* p. 698) "The Life and Raigne of Queen Elizabeth."

ceeded to Sexulf, the Bishop of Mercians; and having procured from him a church, and a small spot of land, he there peaceably ended his days. Putta, as profoundly learned in ecclesiastical affairs, as he was utterly ignorant of secular matters, never made an exertion for the restoration of his Bishopric. His whole thoughts were engrossed in the divine service of the church, and all his acts confined to the teaching others the proper mode of religious chanting. The Archbishop Theodore consecrated in his place, as Bishop of Rochester, Cuichelm; but the latter, from an extreme poverty—the absolute destitution in the see, was compelled to resign it; and it was then transferred to Gefmund.*

A dissension arose in the year 678 between King Egfrid and Bishop Wilfrid, in consequence of which, that most reverend prelate was driven from his see, and two bishops appointed to administer the spiritual affairs of the Northumbrians—the one Bosa over Deira, and Eata over Bernicia—the former holding his see at York, and the latter at Hexham, or Lindisfarne.†

Dissension was provoked between Egfrid and the pious Bishop, by the insinuations of the Queen Erminburga. She penetrated the heart of the King, with the poisoned arrows of slander.‡ She enumerated, with a woman's

* Beda. Lib. iv, c. 12, §. 287, *Saxon Chron*: 676, Ernulf *de Ecc. Roff*, p. 330-note, f, g, h, *Chron. S. cruc. Edin.* (Ang. Sac.) vol. i. p. 155.

† Beda. Lib. iv, c. 12, §. 288. In the same chapter, he states the further changes made by Archbishop Theodore. "This year" observes the *Saxon Chron.* "appeared the comet-star in August and shone every morning during three months, like a sunbeam." A.D. 678.

‡ "De pharetra sua venenatas sagittas venefica in cor Regis." Eddius. c. 24.

eloquence, all the temporal glory that was enjoyed, and all the secular riches that were possessed by the Bishop, the number of his monasteries, the magnificence of his edifices, and the army of his associates, decorated with King-like vestments and arms. By such means she corrupted the King's mind, and at last induced him to agree to her plan, of despoiling the prelate of those goods that had been given for the glory of God, and which were faithfully devoted to His service.* The mind of the monarch was blinded by the queen's wiles, and Wilfrid unjustly deprived of his diocese. When Wilfrid remonstrated against this treatment, it was replied to him, that no fault could be found with his conduct as a bishop; but still, the decree that had been made against him would not be abrogated. Upon hearing this, St. Wilfrid turned to the Royal Council, and seeing the court flatterers rejoicing over his downfall; he said to them:—"I tell "you, that upon the anniversary of this very day, on

* The manner in which Bishop Wilfrid employed his wealth has been already shewn in the description of the magnificent minster at Hexham. York was another monument of his piety, Ripon, a third specimen of his genius, and a proof of his boundless generosity. A description of it will be found in Eddius, ch. 17. as well as the manner in which its dedication was celebrated, when kings were the guests of the noble-hearted bishop, who amongst other gifts made by him to the church, presented a copy of the Gospels, of which the following description is given :—

"Quatuor Evangelia, de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis, pro animæ suæ remedio scribere jussit." Wilfrid was not content with this :—"Nec non et Bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem *de auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosissimis* fabrifactam, compaginare inclusores gemmarum præcepit; quæ omnia *et alia nonnulla*, in testimonium beatæ memoriæ ejus, in ecclesia nostra usque hodie reconduntur." Eddius *Vit. S. Wilfrid*, ch. 17, p. 60. (Gale).

"which you now smile over my unjust condemnation, "you shall have to weep bitter tears for your own dis- "asters."

The prophecy was fulfilled; for it was upon the anniversary of that very day, that the corpse of Prince Elwin was carried into York—that all the courtiers and citizens were dissolved in tears; whilst King Egwin was thenceforth destined to be unblessed, during his life-time, by a single victory.

St. Wilfrid was not content with the judgment that had been pronounced against him; and with the advice of his fellow bishops, he determined upon appealing to the Apostolic See. He left England accompanied by a few friends,* and some of his priests, and amid the tears, the sighs and prayers of many thousands of his monks.† The enemies of the bishop in this country supposing that he would proceed by the usual route to Rome, and land first at St. Josse-sur-mer in Ponthieu (Quoentavie) despatched messengers to Thierry King of the Franks, and his wicked minister Ebroin, begging them to intercept him—to secure his exile from England—to slay his friends, and to rob him of whatever wealth he might have brought with him. Wilfrid was saved from the hands of his enemies; whilst Winfrid, who was, about the same time, deprived of his See of Litchfield, happening to land at St. Josse-sur-mer, fell into the hands of the enemies to Wilfrid; was instantly made captive—de-

* One of these was certainly Eddius, from whose life of St. Wilfrid these extracts are made. See chapter 36, p. 64, line 6, (Gales Ed.) also BEDA. Hist Eccles., Lib. iv, c. 2. §. 257. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. i, p. 233.

† "Multa millia monachorum suorum."

spoiled of his money—many of his companions cruelly put to death, and he himself reduced to utter destitution. The mistake of a single letter entailed upon one bishop, the calamities that were intended for another.* Contrary to his intention, the wind drove him upon the coast of the Frisians, where he landed with his companions, and was hospitably and honorably received by the King Algisus. The Bishop perceiving that the land was filled with Pagans, he, (with the permission of their sovereign), preached to them the word of God—announced to them the mighty mystery of the Trinity—the remission of sins, and the resurrection unto life everlasting.† By his preaching, the nobles, with a few exceptions, and many thousands of the humbler classes were converted and baptised.‡ There was laid by him the foundation of that faith, which one of his pupils, in the monastery of Ripon, the pious

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* "Errore bono unius syllabae seducti." EDDIUS. Mr. Collier in his Ecclesiastical History falls into a stranger mistake, in referring to this circumstance, see vol. i, p. 247.

† "There can be no doubt," it is observed by a Protestant Dutch Historian, "that Wilfrid introduced the discipline of the Church of Rome amongst these converts; and that he preached to them the Supremacy of the Roman Bishop, of which he was the devoted advocate."

"Buiten twyfel heeft Wilfrid deezen nieuwbekeerden de Roomsche kerkgebruiken ingeschorpt, in den opperhoofdigheid des Roomshen Bisschops, met welke hy zeer ingenomen was." *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol. i, p. 353. See *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. i, p. 223.

‡ Wilfrid to this day is honoured as the patron saint of that country. Batavia Sacra p. 25, as quoted in BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. p. 640. In the estimation of the Protestant author referred to in the preceding note, he was nothing better than "a restless spirit."—"Deeze ongeruste geest." Vol. i, p. 354.

prelate Willibrord, with much labour, much toil, and great anxiety afterwards firmly established.*

Whilst Wilfrid was thus engaged, Ebroin the minister of the Frankish King sent letters to the Prince Algisus, in which he promised him a bushelfull of golden crowns, if he would send to him Wilfrid, if living, a prisoner, or his head, if dead. The letters were received when the King, with Wilfrid and his friends, and many of the kings subjects, were feasting together. The letters were read, in the hearing of all; and the king taking them in his hand, tore them in pieces, cast them into the fire, which was burning before him, and then thus addressed the messengers—"*This* is my answer to your master—"May God, the Creator of all, thus treat him, who would "be guilty of the baseness you ask me to do—may He "thus rend the kingdom of the perjurer, and may He so "consume in fire, the perjurer himself!"†

The Bishop Wilfrid remained an entire winter amongst the Frisii. During that time he was engaged in their conversion; but at the approach of spring he left them, to proceed on his way to Rome. He visited the King of the Franks, Dagobert, who received him with that kindness which a man of generous mind feels towards a benefactor; for this king had, in his youth, been compelled to fly from his native country, and take refuge in Ireland. Upon returning from that island he was hospitably received by Wilfrid, who was not content with merely entertaining and bestowing great riches upon him, but sent him

* Eddius *Vit. S. Wilfrid.* c. 12. 23, 14. Beda Lib. v, c. 19, §. 418.

† Eddius. c. 26.

back to his own country, stored with wealth, and supported by powerful friends. Dagobert, mindful of these eminent services, tendered to Wilfrid the greatest bishopric in his kingdom, that of the city of Strasburgh; and when he found that Wilfrid could not be persuaded to accept it, tendered to him most valuable presents, and sent one of the Frankish bishops, Deodatus, in his company to Rome.*

In his journey, Wilfrid stopped at the court of Berchter, king of Campania. This sovereign thus addressed him: "Your enemies in Britain have sent messengers, by "whom, they have tendered to me immense gifts, if I "would intercept you in your clandestine escape (as they "termed it) and prevent you from proceeding to the "Apostolic See. To such a nefarious proposition, I have "given a positive refusal, telling them, that in the days "of my youth I was compelled to become an exile, and to "seek refuge with a Pagan king of the Huns, who, in the "presence of his idol, promised, that he would neither be-"tray me, nor allow me to be given up to my enemies. "In a short time afterwards, messengers came to "that Pagan king, offering him an enormous quantity of "golden crowns for my destruction. Still that Pagan "king, faithful to his oath and his idol, would not be "guilty of perjury to me. He said he could not so scorn "his God; how then can it be supposed, that I would be

* See *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. 1, p.p. 224, 231. W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii. p. 262. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France.* Liv. v. c. 22. Chronic. S. Benigni Divionens. Chron. Sigebert. Gemblac. A.D. 656, 657. Chron. Centulens. Hariulf. Lib. 1. Chron. Virdunens. Hugo. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* p.p. 317, 350, 361, 495, 547, 602, 603, 694.

" forgetful of mine—of the true God; or barter my soul
" for gold; or give myself to perdition, for all the wealth
" and greatness this world could bestow upon me?"

With these words the king kindly received Wilfrid and his companions, and then sent them forward to Rome, where they soon after happily arrived.*

The cause of Wilfrid was heard at Rome in the presence of the Pope, and a great number of Bishops; and by their unanimous judgment, it was declared, that he had been accused without cause, and was worthy of the bishopric, to which he had been appointed.†

A council was at that time sitting at Rome, to which the Pope had summoned one hundred and twenty-five bishops, for the purpose of declaring what was the true faith against those, who asserted that there was but one will and operation in our Lord and Saviour. To this council, Wilfrid was also summoned for the purpose of taking his seat as a bishop, and of declaring, what was the faith both in the province over which he presided, and the island from which he came. Wilfrid so declared, and it was thus inserted amongst the Acts of the Councils:

" Wilfrid, the beloved of God, bishop of the City of
" York, an appellant, on his own behalf, to the Apostolic
" See, absolved by that Power of matters certain and un-
" certain, and appointed with one hundred and twenty
" five bishops, to this judicial seat, in Council, has declared
" on behalf of the northern part of Britain and of Ireland,
" whether inhabited by English and Britons, or by Picts,

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* Eddius c. 27.

† Beda. Lib. v, c. 19, §. 418. See Eddius c. 29, 30, 31.

" and Scots, what is the true and Catholic faith, and con-
" firmed it, with his subscription."*

Wilfrid accompanied by the few friends, who had left England along with him, returned safe from his long and perilous journey both by land and sea. He was received with tears of joy, by his faithful priests and devoted monks; for they were aware that he brought with him, in the Decree of the Apostolic See, the proof of his victory. The bishop humbly proceeded to the presence of the Sovereign, and exhibited the Pontifical letters with their appropriate seals. A solemn council was convened; but when its members heard that the judgment of the Pope was opposed to their wishes, they treated it with contumely. There were even some, who did that which was still more execrable; forgetful alike of truth and their own salvation, they averred that these letters had been purchased from the Apostolic See!

Wilfrid was, by the order of the king, with the assent of his counsellors and of the bishops who held his See, arrested and ordered to be imprisoned as an individual not worthy of the least personal honor, for the space of nine months. This holy servant of God was only permitted to retain a single garment as his covering; his attendants and companions were removed from him, and driven upon the highways, and his friends strictly forbidden to afford him the slightest assistance. Even his case of relics —filled with the memorials of the Saints of God—was taken from Bishop Wilfrid and seized upon by the Queen. These were hung by her in her chamber,† or borne about

* Beda, Lib. v, c. 19, §. 419.

† " In thalamo suo manens, aut curru pergens juxta se pependit." Eddius, " Vel collo vel vehiculo circumferre." W. Malmsb.

with her in her chariot, whenever she travelled.*

The Bishop was placed in the hands of a captain remarkable for his severity, in order that he might be thrust into a prison. These wrongs neither shook the courage, nor disturbed the firmness of Wilfrid. With an unmoved countenance he heard the cruel command given, and bore with fortitude the indignities offered to him. His only care was for his friends, his only thoughts for his faithful companions. He bid them be of good cheer; he exhorted them to prove their firmness in their misfortunes, and he bid them rely with confidence on the goodness and mercy of God, as certain, at last, to convert their grief into joy, and their sorrow into happiness.

With such words, Wilfrid was led from the king's palace to the prison assigned to him. The jailer, who was barbarous and merciless to all others, was mild and gentle in his treatment of Wilfrid, or at least, he did not add any other torture to that of imprisonment, beyond his confining Wilfrid, in a place that was utterly destitute of light:† and the jailer did this, because he was afraid to violate, in every particular, the commands imposed upon him, by the King. Heaven however would not permit that the bishop who might be regarded as the light of Britain, should be immersed in darkness. A light brighter than that of day filled the cell in which Wilfrid was incarcerated; its daz-

* Eddius *Vit.* S. Wilfrid, c. 33.

† W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii, p. 264. Eddius gives a more particular description of the dungeon in which Wilfrid was confined—"In latebrosis locis, ubi raro sol per diem inluxit, et lampas in horrorem noctu non accenditur." c. 35. He adds, that whilst confined in this dark and lonesome dungeon the pious Bishop passed his time in singing psalms:..." Custodes vero jugiter Psalmodiam sancti hominis Dei audientes."

zling rays flashed upon the eyes of the guards, who, attracted by the unusual appearance, presumed to look through the chinks into the dungeon to discover the cause. Almost blinded with the brightness, and confounded with this miracle, they hurried to the jailer to inform him of what had occurred. The jailer was terrified with the intelligence; but his fear of Egfrid prevented him from acting upon the information he had received. Another and a more frightful event decided him, whilst he was still hesitating. On a sudden the jailer beheld his wife start up—her mouth distorted—and her lips covered with the foam of madness—and then fall, motionless and speechless, before him.

Upon beholding this terrible spectacle, the jailer ran to the bishop, and cast himself at his feet, and with little difficulty obtained from the gentle prelate the pardon he sought for. The Bishop instantly knelt in prayer, and then pouring some holy water into her mouth, she was not merely cured from the malady that had so suddenly and terribly affected her; but she was restored to her usual state of health.*

The man, Osfrid, to whose care Wilfrid had been confided, felt deterred no longer, from a fear of the king to manifest for the bishop, the respect, and the honor, which were due to his station and his sanctity. He sent a messenger to say to the sovereign on his behalf—"I beseech

* W. Malmsb. Gest. Pont. Ang. Lib. III. p. 264. Eddius mentions, that at the time he wrote, this woman was still living, and was in the habit of narrating the circumstances connected with her miraculous cure. "et *adhuc vivens illa*, nunc sanctamonialis mater-familias, nomine Ælbbe cum lacrymis narrare consuevit." c. 36.

" of you, as you value my life, and your own salvation, " not to compel me, to my perdition, any longer to be the " means of afflicting this holy bishop, and this innocent " man; for I had rather die, than again be guilty of a " single act of cruelty towards him."

King Egfrid, upon receiving this message, was greatly incensed; he ordered Wilfrid to be taken from Osfrid, and conducted to one of his captains named Tiidlin, who was, as he conceived, more ferocious, and less accessible to feelings of compassion than Osfrid had proved himself. Egfrid especially directed that so great and so good a bishop should have manacles and fetters placed upon him, and that he should be kept separated from all human society. Under the orders of Tiidlin, the chains were forged; but when they were applied to the limbs of the bishop, it was discovered, that they could not be made to adhere to his person; their clasps widened; their links sprang asunder—they fell from the hands and feet of the bishop, as the bonds of sin are loosed from him, who worthily receives the sacrament of baptism.* His jailers were struck with terror—they ceased from their impious attempt, and the man, whose heart was devoted to God, unfettered, but joyful, was ever engaged in his solitary prison singing psalms, until the moment appointed for his liberation had arrived.†

The miracle was told to Egfrid; but it made no impression upon his mind. On the contrary, persons were frequently sent by him, to the bishop, to say, that if he would declare, that the decision of the Apostolic See,

* " Aut tam dilata et laxata, ut de pedibus evangelizantis, et de manibus baptizantis resoluta caderent." EDDIUS.

† EDDIUS c. 37.

was the result not of its solemn deliberation but bought by bribery, a portion of his bishopric, with all his property should be restored to him; and if not, that as the criminal in this transaction he should suffer both in his person and his purse. These threats produced no effect on the mind of Wilfrid—his only reply was, that sooner would he sacrifice his life, than do anything, which could tend to diminish the respect due to the Apostolic See.*

Meanwhile, King Egfrid and his queen Ermenburga passed their days in joyous festivals—they travelled from cities to castles, and from castles to villas in all the pomp, the glory, and the magnificence of royalty. Amongst other places visited by them was the monastery of Coldingham,† over which then presided a most wise

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* "non se illud facturum pro discrimine capitis, ut infamaret authoritatem sedis Apostolicæ." W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib, iii, p. 264.

† The piety for which this monastery was celebrated subsequently decayed, and its destruction was predicted by a certain holy man named Adamnan of whose miraculous fasting and prayer particular mention is made by Bede. The venerable author states that Adamnan in confessing his sins to a priest, desired a severe penance should be imposed upon him, such for instance, as fasting for an entire week. The priest remarked that the human frame could not endure such severe treatment; but permitted him to fast for two or three days at a time, until his next confession. The confessor was compelled to depart hastily for Ireland: he died there, and Adamnan regarded it, as the will of Heaven, that he should, as an atonement for his sins, persevere with his fasting; and this severity at length to use the words of Bede, "became a habit." Quæ quidem illi districtio vitæ arctioris, primo ex necessitate emendandæ suæ pravitatis obvenerat; sed, procedente tempore, necessitatem in consuetudinem verterat." Beda. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv, c. 25, §. 335, 336, 337, 338.

and virtuous woman—the Princess Ebba, sister of King Oswin. There, the Queen was taken so suddenly and so dangerously ill, in the course of the night, that it was not expected she could live until morning. As soon as the day dawned, the Abbess proceeded to the queen's chamber, and there beholding her limbs contracted, her body drawn up as if in the extremity of agony; and death manifestly coming upon the hapless woman, the pious nun told to the king the condition in which his wife then lay, and whilst she lamented over his wife's misery, she did not hesitate frankly to tell him the cause of this calamity.

"I know," said Ebba, "as certainly as I speak to you, "why this has come to pass. You have, without the "shadow of a crime on his part, deprived Wilfrid of his "episcopal rights; and when he appealed to Rome, and "brought the Decrees of that Apostolic See, which has "power both to loose and to bind, you foolishly contemned "them; wickedly despoiled him, and adding sin upon sin, "you have cruelly incarcerated him. Attend then, my "son, to the words that I now say to you—loose the bishop "from his bonds; restore the sacred relics of which you have "deprived him, and that your wife, by placing upon her "neck, and carrying about with her, has treated as sacrilegi-"ously, as the Pagans of old did the ark of the God; and "if you are unwilling to do all that becomes you, by re-"storing to him his See, at least, let him depart freely

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This Adamnan is not to be confounded with the celebrated Adamnan, the Abbot of Iona, who laboured so strenuously both in this country and in Ireland, to enforce the due observance of Easter, and from whose work concerning the holy places mentioned in the Scriptures, Bede has given extracts in his Ecclesiastical History. See STEVENSON'S note on Bede. Vol. i. p. 342, note 4, and *Hist. Eccl.* Lib. v. c. 15, 16, 17, §. 402—408.

"from your kingdom, withersoever he may desire to go. "Do this; and rely upon me—upon my truth—and upon "the accuracy of what has been revealed to me; "your Queen will be saved from the death, that is immi- "nent: refuse to do it, and God is my witness, that the "punishment of Heaven will fall heavily, certainly, and "quickly upon you."

The King manifested his respect for the sacred nun, in his prompt obedience to her words. The holy Bishop was liberated; his Relics were given back; and permission was granted to him, and his companions, to depart from the kingdom. The Queen was immediately restored to health,* and after the death of her husband, she sincerely repented of her past sins and died a pious and penitent nun.†

Wilfrid was banished from his native land. He first sought for refuge amongst the West Saxons, and was kindly and generously received there, by a certain nobleman, Berethwald. He was however permitted to enjoy peace but a few days; for Ethelred, the King of the Mercians, wishing to gratify Egfrid, to whom he was lately united in marriage, forbade Berethwald his subject, under pain of his displeasure, to afford shelter to one who had made himself odious to the Northumbrian King. Wilfrid, leaving his monks, in the monastery, founded by him, on the territory of Berethwald, fled to the South Saxons, who were then Pagans, as no place of refuge was

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* Eddius *Vit. S. Wilfrid* c. 38.

† W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii, p. 264. "Et post obitum mariti habitu mutato religiose de facto pœnituit."

permitted, and no moment of repose conceded to him amongst those states, that were Christian.*

The enmity of a king could deprive Wilfrid of his rights as a bishop, and a subject; could despoil him of his See, and render him an exile from his country; but it could not deprive him of his faculties, nor lessen his zeal in preaching the gospel of Christ.†

Wilfrid proceeded to the county of the South Saxons, a district of country, which extending from Kent on the south and west, to the West Saxons, contains the land of seven thousand families, and where, until the coming of this bishop, the population had been plunged in the darkness of Pagan infidelity.‡ To the inhabitants of this kingdom Wilfrid preached the word of God, and administered the rites of baptism. Their King, Ethelwalch, had been baptised in the province of the Mercians, a short time previously, in the presence of King Wulfer, who having advised Ethelwalch to become a Christian had subsequently acted as his sponsor, and, as a proof of his satisfaction, bestowed upon him two provinces, the Isle of Wight, and the district of the Meanwar, located in the land of the West Saxons.¶

The Bishop, with the assent of the King, or it may with greater propriety be said, to the extreme delight of

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* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii, pp. 264, 265. Eddius c. 39, 40.

† Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iv, c. 13, §. 289.

‡ Eddius states of Sussex in his day :—Quæ pro rupium multitudine, et silvarum densitate, aliis provinciis inexpugnabilis extitit." c. 40.

¶ " Traces of this name remain in East Meon, West Meon, Meon Stoke, and elsewhere in Hampshire." Stevenson.

that sovereign, converted and baptised as Christians, the principal lords and military commanders of the kingdom; whilst the priests Eappa, Padda, Burghelm and Eadda baptised the remaining portion of the population, either then, or at a subsequent period. The Queen Eabba had been, as a Christian, baptised in her own country; but the provinces over which she and her husband reigned were, up to that time, ignorant of the name and of the religion of Christ; although there had been established amongst the people a small monastery, of five or six monks, by Dicul, an Irish priest, at a place called Bosanham. In that place, nearly surrounded with the waters of the sea, or by dense forests, these monks passed their lives in poverty and prayer; but none of the inhabitants exhibited a desire to imitate their example, nor to benefit by their preaching.

The preaching of Bishop Wilfrid produced a momentous change amongst this population. It rescued them not merely from the horrors of everlasting damnation; but from the dire misery of bodily death, in its most afflicting form. For three years before his arrival in that province, no rain had descended upon it, and a frightful famine had inflicted its tortures upon the miserable population, and doomed them to the worst of deaths; driving the hapless pagans to precipices and the sea beach, in order that they might by suicide rid themselves of an existence that had become intolerable. Forty and fifty persons, it is said, were to be seen thus seeking for immediate death.

Upon the day this unhappy nation received the sacrament of baptism, copious and gentle showers descended upon the earth, giving verdure to the parched soil,

and vegetation to the perishing seeds; making the land fruitful, and the trees frugiferous. A joyful harvest blessed the people, who had become Christian. Their old superstitions and idolatry were rejected, whilst the hearts of all exulted in the knowledge and the goodness of the one true God, Who blessed their souls, with internal graces, and enriched themselves and their country, with innumerable exterior gifts. In every way the people were benefitted by Bishop Wilfrid; for he taught them, starving when he came amongst them, the mode of sustaining life, by fishing. The seas and their rivers abounded with fish, but the inhabitants did not know, how of all these, any species but eels, were to be gained by the industry and skill of man. The Bishop perceiving them to be so ignorant, had collected together all the eel-nets, that could be procured; these were cast into the sea, by his own attendants—the Divine blessing favored his humane efforts; and in one draught three hundred fish of various kinds were taken. These were divided into three equal parts—the first hundred were allocated to the poor—the second to those, whose nets had been used—the third to those, for whose benefit the fishes had been caught.*

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* "Centum *pauperibus* dederunt, centum his, a quibus retia acceperant, centum in *suos usus* habebant." BEDA. The last phraze will bear either the interpretation put upon it, in the text, or that the last hundred were retained by the Bishop for the necessary sustentation of his own attendant priests, and followers. See CAPGRAVE *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fol. 250. Upon the fact of Wilfrid's teaching the people of Sussex fishing, it is observed by a Protestant writer :—

"When time corrects the mistakes of men, and sets their judgments right, it is a gradual work. Time was when the saints were regarded by so-called philosophic writers, as weak useless people, who retarded improvement, rather than accelerated

The good that he thus conferred upon them, disposed the hearts of all not only to love the Bishop, but to receive willingly the doctrines he preached to them. It inclined them to think, that he who spoke to them of happiness in the next world, was eager to facilitate their possession of it, when he proved his willingness, to administer to the relief of the temporal necessities of mankind, in this life.

The King Ethelwalch at this time bestowed upon the most reverend bishop, the land of eighty-seven families, in Selsey,* called in latin, "Insula Vituli Marini," (Sea Calf island), as a place of refuge, for his attendants, who were wandering as exiles, over different parts of the country. In this place Wilfrid established a monastery, principally composed of the monks, who had come with him, from Northumbria, and whose successors long continued to occupy it.† He remained in this province for four years—until the death of Egfrid—discharging the duties of a bishop. When the King gave him this place, he transferred to Wilfrid dominion over its lands and their occupants, and amongst the latter, there were two hundred and fifty male and female slaves.‡ The Bishop be-

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it. Now both Protestant and infidel, have discovered that *the saints were the great civilizers of their day*, and the laborious lives of many a German, and French disbeliever have been, and are being, dedicated to repair *the injustice their forefathers have done to the church and saints of the dark ages*" *Lives of English Saints*, part viii, pp. 133, 134.

* "From this monastery," (Bosenham) "and Selsey arose the episcopal establishment of Chichester." STEVENSON. See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, pp. 268, 285; and for curious particulars with respect to Bosenham, pp. 267, 276, 277.

† "Quod usque hodie successores ejus tenere noscuntur." Beda.

‡ "Et quoniam illi rex cum præfata loci possessione, omnes, qui ibidem erant, facultates *cum agris et hominibus* donavit."

stowed upon all the blessing of baptism; and *as to the slaves, he not only preserved them from the servitude of the demon, but in bestowing upon them their liberty, he freed them from the yoke, which their fellow men had imposed upon them.**

Saint Wilfrid was driven from his bishopric,† in the

These were "the Ceorls," or "villians"—the tenants ascribed to the glebe; and who though unable to depart from the land that they held, had "a recognised estate in the soil." Below them there was another class—"inter quos, *servos et ancillas* ducentos quinquaginta; quos omnes, ut baptizando a servitute dæmonica salvavit, etiam libertate donando *humanae jugo servitutis absolvit.*" Beda. These were "the theowes, or esnes," "the servi," of Domesday. "The Theowe was entirely the property of his master, body as well as labour. Like the Negro slave he was part of the live stock of the land, ranking in use and value with the beasts of the plough." See PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, pp. 12, to 20. These were released from slavery—were made fully free by St. Wilfrid in Selsey. It was the adoption of the noble policy of the Catholic Church towards the poor, and the oppressed. It was following out the good example given by the Irish Catholic priest, St. Aidan, when he redeemed men from slavery and made them priests. That Wilfrid was diligent in his exertions to abolish domestic slavery, and that "the theowes" of Selsey were only treated like those in the same condition in his many possessions in Northumbria, and Deira, we may safely infer, from the fact, that the result of his labors, and his example may be found, at a subsequent period in English history. In the return of the population in Domesday, "in the extensive county of York, not a single slave is registered, and in the neighbouring counties only a very small number." See LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 321. *Lives of English Saints*, part viii, p. 135. PHILLIP'S *Angelsachsischen Rechts.* p. 123, §. xxxiv. Tit. 3.

* Beda Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv, c. 13, §. 289, 290, 291. See CASSGRAVE f. 305.

† "And Wilfrith biscop wæs adrifen af his biscopdome." Sax. Chron. 678.

year 678, and in 679, Elwin was slain near the river Trent, on the spot where Egfrid and Ethelred fought.* Elwin was brother to King Egfrid. He was a mere youth; not more than eighteen years, and endeared by his amiable qualities to the people in both provinces, as well in those, over which his brother held supreme sway, as in Mercia, where Ethelred ruled, who was married to Osrith. the sister of Elwin.† In his death was to be found the provocation to furious wars, and lasting enmities between kings and people alike ferocious, and alike bloodthirsty; had not Theodore, relying on the Divine assistance, interfered. The pious Archbishop, by his temperate counsels, and his religious exhortations, completely extinguished a fatal conflagration, even at the moment that all the materials of destruction had been collected, and the torch itself had been applied.‡ Peace was established between both kings and people—their animosities stayed—the life of no man sacrificed in expiation of the death of the king's brother; the usual pecuniary Were was paid to the sovereign, who had the right of stern vengeance for that death,¶ and thus friendly relations for a long time se-

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* *Sax. Chron.* 679.

† In his death, the prophecy of St. Wilfrid was verified. "Contigitque ut anno revoluto eodem die, quo ille præjudicium in Eboraco passus fuerat cadaver regii adolescentis illatum urbi longum indiceret judicium." W. Malmsb. Gest. Pont. Lib. iii, p. 262.

‡ "Cœptum tanti periculi funditus extinguit incendium." Beda.

¶ "In cases of homicide, the kinsman of the Slain was allowed by the Anglo Saxon laws to raise the deadly feud against the slayer." Anstey's *Guide to the History of the Laws and Constitu-*

cured between the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria.*

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of England, p. 110. "An affray at a banquet" (in cases of homicide) was considered as an adequate excuse; and he who laid his enemy low in fair and open fight, though accompanied by a violation of the peace was allowed to tender the legal blood-fine." PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, p. 205. The slayer or wrong doer was liable to two penalties—the *were* in satisfaction of the individual the *wite* to be paid, to the state for perpetrating a public wrong: see KEMBLE'S *Codex Diplomaticus* vol. i, p. viii, TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol ii, p. 506.

In the "Grandes Chroniques de France," there is an instance given of so rigid an enforcement of the Were in the year 591, that the murderer, though a great duke, was by its payment reduced to an absolute state of poverty. "Cet Ebrechaire cheu puis in grant povrete, pour ce qu' il fu contraint à rendre la grant somme d'avoir que la loi commande que l' on rende aus enfans dont le pere est occis." Lib. 4, c. 7. Amongst the Gauls and Germans, the "faidum" or "faida" was equivalent to the "Were," and the "fredum" to the "wite." See *Rer Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. iv, pp. 114, 115, note g. See also in reference to this point, the "Lex Salica," Tit. lxvi, §. 1, Lex Ripuar. Tit. lxiii, §. i; and the very remarkable doctrine as to the right of retaliation, and compensation for personal injuries laid down in the laws of the Visigoths, Lib. vi, Tit. iv, §. 3.

The *Were* and the *Wite* are distinctly defined by Tacitus—"pars multae *regi*, vel *civitati*, pars *ipsi*, qui vindicatur, vel *propinquis* ejus exsolvitur." *Germania* §. 12. The manner in which "the blood fine" was paid is also stated: "luitur homicidium certe armentorum ac pecorum numero, recepitque satisfactionem universa domus," *Germ.* §. 21. Such too was the ancient law in Greece, with this distinction, as it appears to us, that the blood fine was paid in money.

——δυω δ' ανδρις ενικιον ενικα ποινης
Ανδρος αποφθιμενου· ὁ μιν ευχετο παντ· αποδουναι
Δημω πιφαυσκων. ὁ δ' αναινετο μηδεν ελεσθαι
Αμφω δ' ιεσθην επι ιστορι πειρας ελεσθαι·

... ...

——εν μεσσοισι δυω χρυσοιο ταλαντα

ILIAD, Lib, xviii, v. 499-507.

See that curious book, SHERINGTON, De Anglorum Gentis origini Descerptatio, p. 99, where a similarity is proved between the Greeks and the ancient Britons.

* BEDA, Lib. iv, c. 21. §. 316.

In the battle, that proved fatal to Price Elwin a memorable circumstance is proved to have occurred, which it is not deemed proper to pass by in silence, because its recital may tend to the salvation of many.* Amongst the Northumbrian soldiers, who were struck down on the field of battle, was one named Imma, who lay as dead amongst the bodies of the slain, both during the day, on which the conflict took place, as in the succeeding night. At length he recovered his senses—sat up, and bound as well as he could the wounds, that he had received. Weak with this slight exertion, he rested awhile, and then proceeded in search of his friends. In making this attempt, he was observed by some of the soldiers of the enemy, who took him prisoner, and conducted him to their commander, one of the Ealdormen of King Ethelred. Imma, upon being asked who he was, feared to avow himself as a soldier; he pretended, on the contrary, that he was nothing better than a rustic; a poor and a married man who had come with his companions to the Northumbrian camp, for the purpose of supplying the soldiers with provisions.† The Mercian commander ordered Imma to be taken care of—his wounds dressed; and as soon as he be-

* "Memorabile quoddam factum esse constat, quod nequaquam silentio prætereundum arbitror, sed multorum saluti, si referatur, fore proficium." BEDA. Lib. iv. c. 22, §. 317.

† In each of the fabrications of Imma, an insight is afforded into the nature of "military service," amongst the Anglo Saxons, and the exemptions from its perils, privileges and honors. Imma was a thane (nobilis), and therefore bound to military service. He subsequently designated himself "ministrum regis," and therefore a person of the highest rank. See PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, ch. xix, pp. 576, *et seq*; LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii, pp. 311, 316.

gan to recover his health, to be bound, at night, lest he should attempt to escape back to his countrymen. This last order was duly executed; but the bonds imposed upon the limbs of Imma had scarcely been firmly tied, when their knots relaxed, and the cords fell to the ground.

Imma had a brother named Tunna, a priest and the abbot of a monastery in a town which is still called Tunnacester.* This brother hearing that Imma had been killed in battle, went in search of his body, and having found on the field of battle, one that he fancied was Imma's, he removed it; interred it with all the honors due to his brother's rank, and had Masses frequently offered up, for the repose of his brother's soul. It was by virtue of the celebration of these Masses, that the circumstance occurred, which has been stated, viz. that none could fetter Imma, and that the moment bonds were placed upon him, he was loosed from them. This strange event excited the astonishment of his noble captor, who at length asked him, whether it was by magical liberating letters,† (with regard to which many fables are told) that he was always freed from the ligatures, with which his limbs were encircled? Imma replied that he knew nothing of such artifices; "but," he added, "my brother, still living in my country, "is a priest; and I know, that believing me to be dead,

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* "*Tunnaciester*—of uncertain locality.,' Stevenson.

† "*Literas Solutorias*:—In illustration of this superstition, Smith quotes the following passage—*Ephesia grammata* i. e. incantationes quædam obscuræ, quas et Crœsum in rogo dixisse ferunt. Et Olympiæ Milesio et Ephesio luctantibus, aiunt Milesium luctari non potuisse, quod alter literas Ephesias talo pedis alligasset. Ea autem re comperta, literisque illis solutis Ephesium tricies prostratum fuisse tradunt. Suidas." Stevenson. See on this subject Turner's *History of the Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. iii, pp. 137, 138, notes 13, 14, 15 16, and 17. *Ducange Glossarium, in verb.* "*literæ.*" *(3).*

" he offers up many Masses for me; these, if I had wor-
" thily passed into another life would be available to me;
" and my soul, by his intercession, would have been
" loosed from the pains of purgatory.*

Imma was for some time a prisoner with the Mercian commander, when it was observed by those who narrowly watched his demeanour, that neither in his manners, his appearance, nor his language, was he like to the class—the vulgar poor—to whom he had stated himself to belong—but on the contrary he must be one of the nobles of Northumbria. The Ealdorman calling him apart one day, questioned Imma more strictly than he had done before, as to his situation in life; and at the same time promised, that he would not inflict personal punishment upon him, if he candidly confessed who and what he was. Imma then declared that he was one of the king's attendants.

" I knew," said the Mercian, " that you, by your
" mode of answering, were not a mere Ceorl; and now
" indeed you might justly be put to death, by my hands;
" because all my brothers and kinsmen were killed in the
" battle, in which you were taken prisoner. But you
" are safe—I have promised not to slay you; and that
" promise, I will not evade."

As soon as Imma had been perfectly restored to health, his captor sold him to a certain Freson at London; but this man found that on his road thither, the new slave could not be bound by him. Various kinds of fetters, and manacles were tried, but all proved useless; and then

* " Sed habeo fratrem, presbyterum in mea provincia, et scio quia ille me interfectum putans pro me missas crebras facit, et si nunc in alia vita essem, *ibi* anima mea per intercessiones ejus solveretur a pœnis." Beda.

the Freson afforded to Imma the opportunity of ransoming himself, if he could. It was observed, that the time when the bonds fell from the person of Imma was at that hour of the day, (nine in the morning) when most Masses are celebrated.*

Imma pledged himself by oath, that he would either return as his slave to the Freson, or that he would send him, the money, the price of his liberation from thraldom. He proceeded to Kent, to the King Lothair to whom he was known, as the former attendant of the king's sister Etheldritha; and from that monarch he asked and received the price of his redemption, which he immediately sent in accordance with his promise, to his Freson master.†

Imma upon returning to Northumbria, and visiting his brother, narrated all the adventures that had occurred to him—of the mishaps that had befallen, and of the consolations he had received in the most adverse circumstances. By his discourse, it was discovered, that he was particularly relieved from the tortures of his bonds, at the very hour when Masses were said to him—that all the

* "A tertia autem hora, quando missæ fieri solebant, sæpissime vincula solvebantur." BEDA.

† In this statement, we have an exemplification of the manners of the Anglo Saxons. The Mercian commander exercising the rights of war—selling the captive soldier as a slave—and contented in this instance, with the price he received, as "the Were" of his brothers and friends killed in battle. And on the other hand, we find the Freson merchant at London dealing with *his slave*—as a nobleman, on whose truth and honor, he could place the most perfect confidence—permitting him to go free, on his mere promise, that he would return, to be treated as a slave, or send the stipulated price for his liberty. Such facts afford more information than volumes of legal and learned disquisitions.

succours he had received, and all the consolation that had been bestowed, and all the favourable events that had taken place with respect to him, in his dangers, his sorrows and his afflictions, were plainly traceable to the priestly intercession of his brother, and the oblation, by that brother, of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, on his behalf.*

There where many persons, who upon hearing these facts from Imma, were inflamed with a new ardour of faith, and inspired with a stronger feeling of devotion. It acted as an incentive to them to pray—to give alms—to offer up to God, the Victim of most sacred oblation, for the relief of their relatives, who had departed from this world—for all plainly perceived how available to the eternal redemption both of soul and body was the Sacrifice of Salvation.†

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* "Sed et alia, quæ periclitanti ei commoda contigissent et prospera, per intercessionem fraternam et oblationem hostiæ salutaris cœlitus sibi fuissse donata intellexit." BEDA.

† "—accensi sunt in fide ac devotione pietatis ad orandum, vel ad *eleemosynas faciendas;* vel ad offerendas Domino victimas sacræ oblationis, *pro ereptione suorum, qui de seculo migraverant;* intellexerunt: enim quod sacrificium salutare *ad redemptionem valeret et animae et corporis sempiternae.*" BEDA.

"Hoc quoque audivimus, quemdam apud hostes in captivitate positum, et in vincilis religatum fuisse, pro quo sua conjux diebus certis sacrificium offere consueverat: qui longo post tempore ad conjugem reversus, quibus diebus ejus vincula solverentur, innotuit ejusque conjux illos fuisse dies in quibus pro eo sacrificium offerebat, recognovit et ex aliâ nobis re quæ ante annos septem gesta est certissime confirmatur. S. GREGORIUS, *Opera Omnia*, vol. ii, p. 469.

The same incident, which resembles so strongly that stated in Bede, is also narrated by St. Gregory, vol. i, p. 631. St. Gregory mentions another instance, where a person was saved from drowning by the prayers of the pious, and states his belief as to the soul of a monk, relieved from the horrors of purgatory by thirty masses, which he had said for him. The reflection

These circumstances stated to the writter (Bede) by some of those, who had heard them, from the very person to whom they had occurred; and having been clearly ascertained to be true, have been, without hesitation, inserted in this history.*

The Archbishop Theodore in the year 680, convened a council at Heathfield.† This council had been summoned by him, in consequence of his hearing, that the faith of the Church of Constantinople had been much disturbed

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with which he concludes the naration of these incidents is this —"sed sciendum est quia illis sacrae victimae mortuis prosunt, qui hic vivendo obtinuerunt ut eos etiam post mortem bona adjuvent quae hic pro ipsis ab aliis fiunt," vol. ii, pp. 465, 466, 469, 470, 471, 472. In the life of St. John the Almsgiver. an instance. similar to that of Imma, is mentioned, c. 8, §. 49. Of the saint himself, is is said, "asserens et affirmans defunctis multum prodesse quae pro iis fiunt commemorationes et sacra ministeria." *Act. Sanct.* (Januar) Vol. ii, pp. 508, 525.

At no time were masses said for the benefit of those who had manifestly died in a state of impenitence. We find a remarkable instance of this in the case of an infamous man who died as a suicide.

"Ad monasterium Chrononensem delatus sepulturæ mandatur, sed non juxta Christianorum cadavera positus, sed *nec missarum solemnia meruit.*" GREGOR. TURINE'S. *Hist. Franc.* Lib. iv, c. 40.

See on the subject of Masses for the Dead, the Penitential of Theodore, c. 45. "De commemoratione defunctorum vel de missa pro eis." THORPE'S Ancient Laws and Institutes of England pp, 301, 302, 303. BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v, c. 12, §. 394.

* BEDA. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. c. 22, §. 317, 318, 319, 320, 321. Bede's excuse for narrating the circumstances connected with Imma must plead, in this instance, as the apology of his humble translator, who does not however profess to write an ecclesiastical history. Bede is an unimpeachable witness, and his words are these :—

"Hanc mihi historiam etiam quidam eorum, *qui ab ipso viro in quo facta est,* audiere, narrarunt; unde eam *quia liquido comperi,* indubitanter Historiæ nostræ Ecclesiasticæ inserendam credidi."

† *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 680. ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i, p. 172.

by the Eutychian heresy, and he was desirous that the Churches of the English, over which he presided, should be preserved free from its contamination.* The archbishop with his Suffragan bishops presided over this council,† and all unanimously agreed in the exposition of the true faith. Amongst other expressions used by them, were the following:—‡

"We have received the five holy and general councils "of the fathers, blessed and beloved of God; that is the "council of the three hundred and eighteen who assem- "bled at Nice, against the most impious Arius and his "dogmas; of the council of one hundred fifty who assem- "bled at Constantinople, against the insane dogmas of "Macedonius and Eudaxius; of the council of two hun- "dred, first at Ephesus against the iniquitous Nestorius "and Eutyches, and their dogmas; and the fifth council at "Constantinople, in the time of Justinian the younger, "against Theodore, and Theodoret, and the epistles of "Iba, and the doctrines contained in them, as opposed "to St. Cyril."

To this declaration was added, "We also receive "the council held in Rome, in the time of the most "blessed Pope Martin: and we glorify our Lord Jesus "as they glorified him—adding nothing, substracting "nothing: and we anathematise in our hearts, and with "our lips, what they have anathematised; and what "they have received, we receive: we glorify God the

* Beda. Lib. iv, c. 17. §. 301.

† It would appear that the Kings of Northumbria, Mercia East Anglia, and Kent, were also present. See R. de Dicet, p 401.

‡ Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 172.

"Father, who is without beginning; and his only begot-
"ten Son, generated before all ages; and the Holy
"Ghost, proceeding ineffably from the Father and the
"Son, as they have preached, whom we have before
"mentioned, and as have preached, the holy apostles,
"and prophets and doctors. And we all thus subscribe,
"who expound with Archbishop Theodore, the Catholic
"faith.*

On the 17th of November in the year 680 (the same year in which the council at Heathfield was held) the most religious handmaiden of Christ, Hilda, abbess of the monastery of Whitby, passed, after the performance of many heavenly works on earth, to receive the rewards of everlasting life. Her life of sixty-six years had been divided into two equal parts—the first thirty-three were nobly occupied in the secular habit—the succeeding thirty three still more nobly engaged; for they were devoted by her, as a nun, to the service of God. She was a member

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* Beda Lib. iv, c. 17, §. 303, 304. According to "the Saxon Chronicle," it was at this Council, that the Bull of the Pope, confirming its privileges to the monastery of Peterborough, was published. Amongst these privileges, were first, that, men who had made a vow to go to Rome and were afterwards prevented from doing so, "from infirmity, or from their lords' need, or from poverty, or from any other necessity," might go to Peterborough, and enjoy the same advantages, as if they had gone to Rome; next, "that neither king, nor bishop, nor earl, nor any man whatever, have any claim, or gable, or gild, or levy, or take any service of any kind, from the abbey." It would appear by the same authority, that St. Wilfrid, by whom the Pope's letter had been brought from Rome, assisted at the witan, certainly, and we may infer, at the council, as Bishop of York. *Sax. Chron.* pp. 51, 53, (Edited by the Rev. J. Ingram.) BROMPTON, pp. 800, 801.

of the royal family of Northumberland—the daughter of Hereric nephew to King Edwin, and with that king converted by the preaching of St. Paulinus, first bishop of the Northumbrians. The faith of Christ, that she received, remained unbroken; His purifying sacraments, of which she had participated, remained uncontaminated to the moment, she was permitted to behold Him.* Abandoning her secular habit, she resolved upon serving God, and God only. With this intention she proceeded first to the province of East Angles, for the purpose of travelling from thence to the monastery of Chelle, in France, where her sister Heresuid, mother of the East Anglian sovereign, was living as a nun. She remained in East Anglia for a year, waiting for an opportunity to pass to France, when she was presented by Bishop Aidan, with the land for one family, on the Northern bank of the river Wire; and in that place, with only two or three companions, she passed another year, as if she were living in a monastery. Subsequently, she became abbess of the convent of Heruteu (Hartlepool). This convent had been founded a short time previously by a religious woman named Heru—the first of the females of Northumbria, it is said, who took the vows, and assumed the habit of a nun. Heru soon after the foundation of Hartlepool monastery repaired to another at Tadcaster,† which she made the place of her permanent abode.

Hilda established the best rules of regular discipline.

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* BEDA. *Hist Eccles.* Lib. iv, c. 23, §. 322.

† All the information that can now be collected with respect to these places, will be found in CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, pp. 240, 291, 362, and DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. v, pp. 510, 511, vol. vi, pp. 1511, 1618, 1626.

She had been taught them by learned men, and she acted in accordance with the advice of Bishop Aidan, who constantly visited her, and anxiously aided her; because he respected her, for her wisdom, and loved her, for her devotion to religion. She had been, for some years, thus employed in the management of this monastery, when the duty was imposed upon her, either of constructing, or of directing the monastery at Whitby. The task assigned to her, was as willingly undertaken, as it was zealously performed. In Whitby, as in Hartlepool, she established a strict discipline of regular life; for there were taught, by word and by example, justice, piety, chastity, and all o her virtues, but especially those of peace and cha ity; there, the example of the primitive Church was literally adopted---for there, no one was rich, none were poor—all things were common to all—no one thing the personal or peculiar property of any individual.*

The wisdom and prudence of Hilda were so well known, that not only the humble appealed to her, in their difficulties; but Kings and Princes, similarly circumstanced, relied upon her prudence, were advised by her, as to the course they should pursue, and willingly acted upon her counsels.† Within the precincts of her monastery, she so

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* This description applies to a double monastery—in one part of which there was a sisterhood of nuns—in the other, a confraternity of monks. The policy of such establishments—the strictness with which they were governed, and the precautions adopted, to prevent even "the suspicion of evil" are fully explained by Dr. Lingard, in his *History of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 211, 212, 213, 214, 215.

† "Tantæ autem erat, ipsa prudentiæ, ut non solum mediocres quique in necessitatibus suis, sed etiam reges ac principes nonnunquam ab ea quærerent consilium, et invenirent." Beda.

actively enforced amongst those subject to her jurisdiction the reading of the sacred scriptures, and the constant performance of good works,* that vast numbers were at the same time fitted for the ecclesiastical state; that is, as priests, to officiate at the altar. The proof of her excellence, as the head of a monastery, was afforded in the singular merits, and sanctity of the clergy, who were educated under her care; amongst whom may be mentioned five, who were subsequently consecrated as bishops, viz. Bosa, Ætla, Oftfor, John, and Wilfrid.†

The Abbess Hilda, designated by the respectful and endearing name of "mother" by all who were under her controul, afforded not merely an edifying example to those who dwelt within the bounds of her monastery, but to all beyond them; for the fame of her great virtues, and her indefatigable zeal had spread over the entire country, and served as an inducement to numbers who dwelt at a distance from Whitby, to correct their habits, and amend their morals, and seek, like her, the path which leads to salvation.‡ She had presided for many years over her monastery, when it pleased the Saviour of mankind, to subject her to a long and tedious sickness, so that like to the apostle, her virtues might, through infirmity, be made perfect. For six long years, she was afflicted with the burning heats of a fever; and in all that time, she never ceased to offer up to her Creator her grateful prayers, nor to instruct by public admonition, and by private counsel,

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* "Tantum *lectioni divinarum scripturarum* suos vacare subditos, tantum *operibus justitiae* se exercere, faciebat." BEDA.

† BEDA. Lib, iv, c. 23, §. 322, 323, 324, 325, 326.

‡ BEDA. Lib. iv, c. 23, §. 327.

the flock entrusted to her care. She taught all by her example; she shewed that they ought, as she had done, in the days of their health, be active and diligent in the service of their God; and in times of sickness, when infirmity had fettered their limbs, and sickness incapacitated them from bodily exertion, be unceasing in their prayers, and untiring in the expressions of their gratitude to their Maker. In the seventh year of her doleful illness, it attacked the vital functions. Her last day of mortal life had come. She received the Viaticum of the Most Holy Communion;* and then summoning the maiden servants of Christ, who were in the same monastery with her, she exhorted them ever to maintain the peace of the gospel amongst them; and as the words of exhortation were on her lips, death, to her great joy, appeared before her, and to use, as they may well be applied to her, the words of the Lord himself, she "passed from death to life."

Upon the same night that Hilda died, her death was made known by a manifest vision from Heaven in another monastery, Hackness,† which had been built by her, in that very year.

There was in the monastery at Hackness, a very pious woman, named Begu, who for more than thirty years had dedicated her soul and body to God, and who had lived the pure and pious life of a nun. This woman was resting in the dormitory of the Sisters, when on a sudden, she heard the well-known sounds of the bell, as they were accustomed to be rung, when the nuns were to be

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* "Percepto viatico sacrosanctæ communionis." BEDA.

† See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i, pp. 408, 409 428, vol. iii pp. 633, 634. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*. vol. iii, pp. 633, 634.

aroused, and convoked to prayers, at a time, that one of them was departing from this world to the next. Begu, upon hearing the knell, opened her eyes, and saw, as it appeared to her, the roof of the dormitory removed---a light, as if of heaven, filling up the entire place, and whilst she gazed in terror, at the dazzling rays, she beheld in the midst of them, the soul of the blessed Hilda, conducted and accompanied upwards to Heaven by angels. Begu aroused herself from sleep; and then perceiving the other sisters slumbering around her, she knew, that what she had beheld, must either have been seen by her in a dream, or shewn to her as a vision. She instantly arose, and filled with a great fear she ran to the maiden, who then presided over the monastery, in the place of the abbess. To this nun, named Frigyda, she told, with sighs and tears, that their mother---the common mother of them all, the Abbess Hilda, had certainly departed from this world; for that she herself had beheld her, in the midst of a torrent of light, and conducted by angels, ascending to the mansions of Heaven, and the company of the blessed, to dwell with them for ever.

As soon as Frigyda heard this, she immediately summoned all the sisters to the church, and there, in accordance with her directions, they passed the remainder of the night, in prayers and psalms for the repose of the soul of their mother. They were thus engaged until the dawn of day, when some of the monks, from the monastery of Whitby, arrived with the intelligence of the death of Hilda. The nuns replied, that they were already apprised of the fact, and then, upon comparing the circumstances as they had occurred, it was discovered, that at the instant when the monks declared that the abbess had departed,

from life, her death was, by a vision, revealed to the nuns. It was a happy coincidence, ordained by heaven, that when those should know that Hilda had passed from mortal life, that these should learn, she had entered into life everlasting.

The monasteries in which both events occurred are separated from each other, by a distance of about thirteen miles.

It is stated, that in the same night, in which the Abbess Hilda died, her death was made known, in a vision, to another of the nuns, who was most deeply and affectionately attached to her. This nun also beheld her soul, accompanied by angels, ascend to heaven; and this fact, she stated at the moment, to the female servants of God, who were with her, and aroused by her to pray for the soul of Hilda, even before the death was known to the rest of the sisterhood in the monastery. The nun, to whom we refer, was in a distant part of the monastery—in a place separate from the other parts of the building—she was there with other nuns, whose duty it was to receive those females, who were newly converted, who had to undergo a certain probation, and to be fully instructed in the rules of the monastery, before they could be received as members of the community.*

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* Beda. Lib. iv, c. 23, §. 328, 329, 330, From this statement may be gathered many particulars as to the management of nunneries, in "the dark ages." They convey information on subjects, of which little is known in this country; and amongst them all, how charming is the character of the wise St. Hilda—of her, that the nun loved "with an immense love"—quæ illam immenso amore diligebat, that all, on account of her piety and goodness, addressed as their mother—"matrem vocare consueverant."

In the monastery of this Abbess, there was a monk, who was especially favoured by the Divine Grace, in the composition of pious verses, and of religious hymns. Whatever was translated to him out of the Sacred Scriptures, he in a little time after, changed into sweet and affecting poetry in his own—the English language; such as was calculated to inspire men with a contempt for this world, and a love for heaven.

Many imitated his example in this respect—they endeavoured to write religious poems in the English language; but none could equal, nor even be compared with him. He had learned his art, not from men; but the gift of poesy was conferred upon him, by Heaven itself. He was the composer of no idle or frivolous verses—he made none, but those that were applicable to the purposes of religion, and that it would be beseeming in religion's lips to pronounce. He had passed his life, in the secular habit, until he had reached a very advanced age, and never had known that he possessed the capability even of rhyming. So deficient was he, in this respect, that whenever he was present at a convivial meeting, and it was proposed, for the purpose of promoting hilarity, that each should sing, in turn a stanza, the moment he saw, that the harp was about to be brought him, he left his fellow guests, in the midst of their enjoyment, and betook himself to his dwelling.

This occurred upon one occasion, when having left the house in which the festival was held, he betook himself to the stable, in which the beasts of burden were enclosed; because the care of them had, for that night, been entrusted to him. He retired to his rest at the usual hour, and he saw, in a dream, a person standing beside him, who calling

him by his name, said "Cædmon, sing me some verses." He replied, "I do not know how to compose or sing them; "and it is, because of my incapacity to do so, that I have "left the feast." The person, with whom Cædmon spoke, observed—"But you have to sing for me." "What "ought I to sing?" enquired Cædmon; and the other replied, "Sing the beginning of the creation."

Cædmon upon this began to sing in praise of God, the Creator, verses such as he had never heard before, and the sense of which was this:—

"Now, must we laud the Author of the heavenly "Kingdom; the power and the wisdom of the Creator; "the deeds of the Father of Glory. In what manner, "He, who is the Eternal God, and the Author of all "miracles, first created over the sons of men, the heavens "as a roof, and then how the Almighty Creator of the "human race, formed the earth."

Such is the sense, but not the order of the words that he composed in his sleep—for verses cannot be translated into another language without injury, to their grace, their beauty, and their strength of expression.

Cædmon upon awakening repeated all the verses that had been conceived in his mind, when sleeping; and to these, he added many others, in the same poetical strain, and all in praise of God. He then proceeded to the Steward, and told him, as he was the person, under whose immediate care, he lived, of the species of gift that had been conferred upon him. He was next conducted by the Steward to the Abbess and then in the presence of several learned men, he told his dream, and recited his verses; and from the test to which he was subjected, it appeared that a great grace had been conferred

upon him. A certain portion of the Sacred History, or of Scriptural Doctrine was recited or expounded to him, and he was desired to change it into verse. He undertook the task, and returned the next morning with what had been given to him composed in the sweetest poetry.

The abbess Hilda reverenced the grace of God in the humble form of the poor Folgher* before her. She advised him to abandon the secular dress, and to embrace the life of a monk. The advice was followed. He was received into the monastery, associated with the company of the monks; and by her directions, he was instructed in the entire series and course of the Sacred History. Everything that he could learn by hearing, he reflected upon, and as it might be said of a ruminating animal, he converted the dry words that were told to him, into the most sweet chyle of poetry.† In the dulcet strains that issued from his lips, he made those who had been his learned teachers, his delighted listeners. His tuneful muse gave them back in a melodious echo, the simple sentences, they had pronounced for him.

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* Such, it may be imagined, is the highest rank to which the poet Cædmon, can lay claim, from the nature of the duties performed by him, at the monastery. "The aristocracy was composed of Barons and Vavassours, the villainage consisted of householders, "hearth-fastmen," and of those, who destitute of the qualification resulting from a known and permanent domicile, were considered only as the "Folghers" or "followers" of their more wealthy equals. If the gentleman was compelled to find a lord, who would accept his fealty, so the peasant was under the necessity of becoming a labourer, and serving a master, who would allow him to become a part of his household. PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Constitution*, vol. i, pp. 19, 20.

† "Et quasi mundum animal ruminando, in carmen dulcissimum convertebat." BEDA.

Cædmon sang of the creation of the world, and of the origin of the human race—the entire history of Genesis—of the passage of the people of Israel from Egypt; of their entering into the promised land—of many other circumstances, recited in the Sacred Scriptures; of the Incarnation, the Passion and the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Lord; of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and of the teaching of the Apostles—he also sang of the terrors of the general judgment; of the horrors of hell's punishments; and of the delights of the Kingdom of Heaven. Upon all these topics, as well as upon the blessings and the judgments of God he composed a great many verses. Everything he wrote, was intended and calculated to withdraw men from an attachment to sin, and to excite them to feel satisfaction only, in the diligent performance of good works.*

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* "Cædmon, or one of the imitators here mentioned wrote a poem of considerable length upon *the fall and redemption of man*, of which an excellent edition has recently been published by the Society of Antiquaries of London." STEVENSON. (Beda, vol i, p. 307).

Upon this poem by Cædmon, some remarks are made by Mr. Turner, which will be found very interesting. Mr. Turner entertains no doubt that it was written by the Cædmon, referred to by Bede, and he then adds :—"In its first topic, 'the fall of the angels,' it exhibits much of *a Miltonic spirit*, and if it were clear that our illustrious bard had been familiar with Saxon, we should be induced to think that *he owed something to the paraphrase of Cædmon.* No one at least can read Cædmon *without feeling the idea intruding on his mind.*" TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 315. See also note 3, in the following page, where this suspicion is confirmed, by other circumstances, to which it may be added, that Milton in his history *does lay claim to some knowledge of Saxon*, for he complains, that the statements to be found in Bede's history are "hard to be reconciled with *the Saxon Annals.*" See Book iv. vol. 1. p. 47. ("The Complete History of England in 3 vols. folio, London 1719.)

Cædmon was a very religious man—humbly submissive to all the rules of regular discipline; but inflamed with a great zeal, against those who wilfully violated them. A happy death fitly concluded the life he had passed.

An illness of fourteen days apprised him, that his death was fast approaching. His sickness, although severe, pressed so lightly upon him, that he was able to walk about, and to speak to others in his usual manner. There was close to the monastery, a house, in which those who were ill, and whose death appeared imminent were usually brought; and in that house he desired, on the evening of the night, which was to be his last, in this world, that a bed should be prepared for him. The person, to whom he gave this direction did, as he was desired, although there was nothing in the appearance of Cædmon to justify any one in supposing, that he was likely soon to die.

Cædmon entered, and having placed himself in bed, he began to speak in his usual joyous manner, with those who had been there before him; but when the hour of midnight had passed, he asked them, if they had the Eucharist there. "What want you with the Eucharist?" they said, "for you cannot now be about to die, who seem so "hearty, and have spoken in such good spirits with us!"

"No matter," he observed, "bring me the Eucharist." It was given into his hand,* and he then asked them all if

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It is strange that the learned Republican, and virulent Hater of Monks should be suspected of plagiarising from a monk--and that monk, an humble and unlearned herdsman!

* Upon this passage the following note appears in Mr Stevenson's edition of Beda:

"Bingham, Orig. Ecclesiast. xv, v, §. 6. (Edit. Hallae, 1759) has collected numerous examples from the Fathers, show-

they were in charity with him: if any particle of rancour or animosity remained in their minds towards him? They

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ing that *before* the doctrine of the real presence had gained a footing in the church, it was customary for the Communicant to receive the consecrated Eucharist in his hand, as mentioned in the text; which was afterwards strictly forbidden. See also Mabillon, Praef. ad acta S.S. Ard. S. Bened. iii, §. 76." (Vol. i, p. 310, note 22).

We copy this note with great pain, as it is an instance, (and the only flagrant instance in his edition of Beda) of great unfairness on the part of Mr. Stevenson. It is confounding, as Anti. Catholics wilfully or unintentionally do confound, matters of discipline, with points of doctrine. The *manner* of receiving the sacrament is one thing, *the belief in it*, as a visible sign of a Divine mystery is another. In the preceding part of this work, there are many passages quoted from Bede to shew that he believed in the real presence—the "Sacrificium victimæ salutaris" (Lib. iv. c. 28, §. 348), and yet he states this fact respecting Cædmon as not inconsistent with that belief; as St. Gregory of Tours mentions (Lib. x, c. 8) that Eulalius was directed to take a particle of the Eucharist, and put it in his mouth, and in another part of his works, St. Gregory testifies to a miracle proving the real presence in the Eucharist. Miraculorum, Lib. i, c. 86. The all important point to be considered, is, does the manner in which Cædmon received the sacrament demonstrate, that he believed, he was receiving "the body and blood of Christ?" Are we to put our faith in Bingham and Mr. Stevenson, or St. Augustine and the Church? St. Augustine thus refers to the practice—Omnes viri, quando *communicare* desiderant, *lavant manus*, et omnes mulieres nitida exhibeant linteamina, ubi CORPUS CHRISTI *accipiant*." Serm. clii. de Temp.

What was the belief in the English Church, independent of the authority of its ancient monkish writers, including Bede? Let us see if we can trace it in its laws. Withred, King of Kent, ascended the throne about the year 690, and by the 18th section of his laws, it is declared, when an accusation is preferred against a priest, he shall be placed in a different position from laymen:—

"Let a priest clear himself by his own sooth, in his holy "garment before the altar, thus saying, Veritatem dico, in "Christo, non mentior." In like manner, let a deacon clear himself." (THORPE'S *ancient laws and institutes of England*, p. 18).

What was the policy of such a proceeding? It is explained in the Council of Tribur, c. 21.

answered, that so far from a feeling of unkindness towards him, all were pleased, all were contented with him, all loved him: and they in their turn enquired if he were at peace with them all? "Yes, my children," he instantly answered, "I am at peace with all the servants of God." Having said these words, he was strengthened by the Heavenly Viaticum and prepared to enter into another life. Again he asked, how near it was to the time, when the Brothers should be aroused to say the nocturn prayers. They answered "almost immediately." "It is well," said he, "let us wait that hour;" and then blessing himself with the sign of the Holy Cross, he leant his head back upon his pillow; he slumbered a moment, and so—in silence had done with life!

Thus did it happen, that he who had served his God with a simple and pure mind, and with a calm devotion,

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"Manus enim per quam CORPUS ET SANGUIS CHRISTI conficitur, juramento pollueretur."

To the reader who may still entertain a doubt as to the ancient faith of England, in common with the Catholic Church, we refer to PARSON'S Prudentiall Ballance of Religion, ch. 14, §. 5, pp. 142, 146, and LINGARD'S *History and Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 324, 325, 226, vol. ii, p. 38. (Edit. 1845).

As to Bingham, who is referred to as an authority by Mr. Stevenson for the opinions of the holy fathers, it may be sufficient to say that Bingham's great authority is *Stillingfleet!* "It is the blind leading the blind." The attempt cannot mislead the learned, who will examine the authorities, (independent of Stillingfleet) to which Bingham refers, and which, being honestly translated, will be found to contradict his assertions. Meanwhile, we recommend to Mr. Stevenson to look to LABBEUS vol. i, p. 902, and, and to DUCANGE in verb, "*Communicare*;" "*Dominicalis*;" "*Eucharista*;" "*Fistula*;" et "*Viaticum*;" to AMORT. *Demonstratio Critica Religionis Catholicae*, Pars Secunda, de Eucharista, §. 4, where will be found quotations from the Holy Fathers, and doctors of the church, from the first to the seventh proving their unanimous belief in the Real Presence, pp. 123, 141.

should by a gentle, peaceful death, pass to the vision of His Creator; and that the tongue, which had pronounced so many sweet, saving words in praise of the Almighty, should also utter its last syllables in His adoration—that in blessing himself with his hand, his lips should also commend his spirit to that God, who is all grace, all goodness, and all mercy.

From what we have stated, it would seem, as if Cædmon had a prescience of his approaching death.*

Centwini King of the West Saxons attacked the Britons in the year 682.† Vehement in his passions, and victorious by his arms, he drove, by fire and sword, the unfortunate Britons who were unable to resist him even to the very sea.‡

To the account of this war may be added that which King Egfrid waged against the Irish.

Whilst Egfrid lived as a man devoted to religion, with his virgin spouse Etheldritha, and in concord with St. Wilfrid, his kingdom was strengthened, and his dominion

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* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iv. c. 24, §. 331, 332, 333, 334. Such was the life and such the death of the earliest of the English poets. What English poet's (not a Catholic) can be compared with it?

† "This year Centwin pursued the Britons to the Sea." *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 681.

‡ Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. p. 175, 176. "When Cadwaladyr died at Rome, Alan, the King of Bretagne, sent his son Ivor, and his nephew Inyn, with a powerful fleet, to regain the crown which Cadwaladyr had abandoned or lost. Ivor was at first so successful, that he defeated the Saxons, and took Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somersetshire. But Kentwin met him, with the West Saxon power, and chasing him to the sea, again disappointed the hopes of the Cymry." Turner's *History of the Anglo Saxons.* Vol. i. p. 384.

encreased by repeated victories over his enemies. First, he was assailed by the ferocious and brutal Picts, who attempted to free themselves from subjection to the Saxons. These Picts gathered together in immense numbers; but Egfrid assailed them, with a small body of cavalry, made such an immense slaughter of them, that two streams near to where the battle was fought were filled up with the dead bodies of the foe, so that the Northumbrian soldiers could pass dry-shod over them, in pursuit of their discomfited enemies. These victories secured the subjection of the Picts, during the reign of Egfrid. He subsequently obtained a victory over the Mercians, and their king Wulfer.*

In the year 684, Egfrid sent an army to Ireland, under the command of his general Beort.† This army and its leader miserably wasted a nation that had ever been unoffending, and ever most friendly to the people of England.‡

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* Abridged from Eddius. c. 19, 20.

† Beda Lib. iv. c. 26, c. 343. The leader of this expedition is by another authority designated "Alderman Bright!" *Briht his Ealdorman. Saxon Chron.* A.D. 684. Mr. Stevenson suggests that this invasion of Ireland may have been occasioned by the refuge which the Irish had afforded to Alfrid, the brother to Egfrid, and his successor in the kingdom. See Beda, vol. i, p. 315, E.H.S. Alfrid at the time of the invasion was certainly in Ireland, and engaged in literary pursuits. "Ob studium literarum exulabat." Beda *Vit. S. Cudb.* vol. ii, p. 97, E.H.S. With respect to the death of the leader of this invasion, See Beda Lib. v, c. 34, §. 452, A.D. 698.

‡ In the ancient historians of England, we always find the Irish referred to, in the most kind and affectionate terms. Malmsbury speaks of them as "genus hominum innocens, genuina simplicitate, nil unquam mala moliens." Other writers employ the expressions of Bede, and do not hesitate to say with him, that Egfrid's violent death was a just punishment upon him, "quia injuste vastaverat Hiberniam." See S. Dunelm. Hist. p. 91. Brompt. p. 793, &c. This language differs much

The ferocious soldiers of Beort did not spare even the churches and the monasteries of the Irish. The latter endeavoured to repel the hostile ranks of the invaders, with a native army; and they implored of Heaven to wreak upon the heads of those, who injured them without provocation, that vengeance, which they had not strength enough to obtain, for themselves.

We believe, that those who curse their fellow creatures cannot ever possess the Kingdom of God; but at the same time, we may also, well believe, that those who are cursed for their impiety, will speedily find, in the punishment of an avenging God, how deeply, and how grievously they have offended Him. And so it occurred in this instance to King Egbert and his army.

Despite of the remonstrances of his friends, and the admonitions of the holy Bishop Cuthbert, Egbert in the following year led an army against the Picts. By a simulated flight, they enticed him to follow them into the fastnesses of their almost inaccessible mountains, and there he and the greatest part of his army were utterly destroyed.*

This last and disastrous conflict between the Picts and Egfrid took place at Nechtanesmere; or the lake of Nechtan,† and there in accordance with the prophecy of St.

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from the modern phraseology too often employed with respect to the "Sister Country," and which is as much anti-Catholic, as it is anti-Irish.

The manner in which Stow alludes to this invasion is worthy of perusal:

"Turning his power against Ireland, he sent Berthe thither, who miserably destroyed the silly people." Annales, p. 74.

* Beda, Lib. iv, c. 26, §. 340.

† "The Annals of Ulster thus mention his death, 'Battle of

Cuthbert,* Egfrid perished, on the 20th of May, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His body was afterwards buried at Hii in the isle of Columba.†

The king, as it has been already stated, had been warned by his friends not to engage in this war; but as he, in the year preceding, would give no heed to the counsel of the most reverend father Cuthbert, to forego his intention of molesting the unoffending Irish, so now the punishment of his sin fell upon him; for he had scorned those, who desired solely to save himself from destruction.

This defeat of Egfrid was disastrous to the dominion, and injurious to the power of the Saxons. The Picts recovered the lands in England, which the Scotch and Saxons had gained from them. Numbers of the Welsh too regained their liberty, and retained it for some time.‡ Many of the English were put to death by the sword, or *made slaves*,¶ or fled from the lands, which the Picts invaded. Amongst the last was the pious Bishop Trumwin, who fled, with his monks, from the monastery of Abercorn

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Drumnochtan, on the 20th May, where Egfrid Mc Offa was killed with a vast number of his men. He burnt Tula-Aman Duinolla. Ant. Celt. Nor. p. 59." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 386, note 51.

* See BEDA, *Vit. S. Cudberct*, c. 24, §. 40. c 27, §. 45, 46, 47.

† S. DUNELM. *Hist.* c. 9, p. 5.

‡ " Et hactenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta sex. BEDA. From this passage we learn that Beda wrote his ecclesiastical history, in the year 731." STEVENSON.

¶ Such was invariably the fate of soldiers captured in battle, and of the inhabitants of places taken by a foreign enemy. The Picts only treated the Saxons, in the same manner the Saxons had conducted themselves towards the Picts, the Scots, and the British.

" Æbbercurnig;"* (as it lay close to the territory of the Picts)† and having distributed most of them amongst various monastic establishments, he with a few retired to Whitby, where he passed his days in peace and holiness, to the edification and advantage of many: and upon his decease, his body was deposited in the Church of St. Peter, with that respect and honour to which his virtues and his episcopal rank entitled him.

The same year, in which Egfrid died, also expired Lothair King of Kent, whilst his attendants were dressing the wounds he had received in a battle against the South Saxons; excited to attack him by Edric, his nephew and the son of his predecessor Egbert.

Elric reigned but for eighteen months; and on his death, the kingdom was destroyed by the rival claims of pretenders to the throne, or wasted by the hostilities of foreigners: until at last Withred, son of King Egbert, secured for himself the crown, which was rightfully his own, and by his talents, and still more by his religion,

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* " Farther in on the same frith stands Abercorn, in Bede's time a famous monastery, which now, by favour of James VI, gives title of Earl to James Hamilton." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iv. p. 42.

" No traces of the monastery of Abercorn are remaining." Ibid. p. 55.

† The Picts took possession of the Saxon monastery of Abercorn, as the Northumbrians, when they drove the bishop from their lands, seized upon their churches. See Life of St. Wilfrid, by Eddius, where the munificence of the king is praised, because amongst other things bestowed upon the Saxon clergy, were " ea, loca sancta in diversis regionibus, quæ clerus Britonum, aciem gladii hostilis manu gentris nostræ fugiens, *deseruit*." c. 17, p. 60. (Gale ed.)

freed his people from invasion, and bestowed upon them, the blessings of peace.*

In the same year, (685) in which Egfrid King of Northumbria departed this life (and was succeeded by his brother Alfrid) the venerable Saint Cuthbert was consecrated as Bishop of Lindisfarne.† Cuthbert had for nine years lived as a hermit, in the island of Farne, a small spot of land in the sea, and distant about nine miles from the monastery. From his most tender years he had been animated with the desire of leading the life of a Religious, and once he had passed his boyhood, he adopted the habit, and assumed the name of a monk. He first took the vows in the monastery of Mailros, on the banks of the Tweed, over which then presided the mild and simple-hearted Eata, afterwards Bishop of Hexham; and who was succeeded, as abbot, by Boisil, a priest not more remarkable for his great virtues, than for his gift of prophecy. To the precepts of Boisil, Cuthbert was the most humble of his humble disciples; from him he learned a knowledge of the holy scriptures, and by his example he was taught the constant practice of good works.‡ He was not content in the monastery to be merely equal with his brother monks; but his zeal urged him to excel them in the most strict rules of discipline, in reading, in working,¶ in

* Beda. Lib. iv, c. 26, §. 340, 341, 342. See with respect to the laws of Lothair, and Edric. p. 380.

† Beda. Lib. iv, c. 27, §. 343.

‡ Beda. *Hist.* Lib. iv. c. 27, §. 343.

¶ "vel etiam arctioris disciplina studiis supergredi curabat legendi videlicet, operandi, vigilandi, atque orandi solertior." Beda, *Vit. S. Cuthbert*, c. 6, §. 11.

watching, in praying, whilst he carefully abstained during his life, from every species of liquid, which, by any possibility, could tend to inebriate the senses.*

Upon the death of Boisil, Cuthbert succeeded him in the direction of the monastery; and induced, by his own example, others to adhere to the most strict rules of discipline. It was not merely within the monastery, that he was the guide of his fellow men in the paths of virtue; his zeal extended to the ignorant poor, whom he was desirous to wean from their foolish customs and wicked

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" He was lyke to his felowys in redynge, syngynge, prayenge and workynge. *Kalendre of the newe Legend of England.* (St Cuthbert).

" The rule of St. Benedict (cap. 48) as well as almost every other code of monastic discipline, enjoined *manual labour* upon its followers, and a number of illustrations, collected by Martene De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. iv, 23, proves how generally such commands were obeyed." Stevenson. (Beda, vol. ii, pp. 60. 61, note 32. E.H.S.)

In Beda's works alone we find this fact abundantly illustrated; for instance Easterwini, one of the most distinguished nobles of the Court of King Egfrid was, as a monk, like in humility to the rest of his brethren, so much so, says Beda, " ut ventilare cum eis et triturare, oves vitulasque mulgere, in pistrino, in horto, in coquina, *in cunctis monasterii operibus, jocundus et* OBEDIENS gauderet exerceri." *Vit. S. Benedict,* vol. ii, p. 147, §. 8. Even as abbot we find him aiding the monks in the hardest works of the monastery—" solebat eis confestim in opere conjungi; vel aratri gressum stiva regendo, vel ferrum malleo domando, vel ventilabrum manu concutiendo, vel aliud quid tale gerendo." Vol. ii, p. 148.

Of another monk, we are told by an anoymous author appended by Mr. Stevenson, to Bede's works, "tempore non pauco pistoris officium tenens, inter cribandum clibanumque accendum mundandumque, et panes in eo coquendos, presbyteratus ceremonias sedulus discere simul et exercere non omisit." vol. ii. p. 320. See also Lingard's Anglo Saxon Church, vol. pp. 223, 228. Gregor. Turinens. *Oper.* vol. ii, pp. 430, 454. (Ed. Soc. Hist. de France). ECCARD Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, vol. i, dp. 836, 1149.

* Ab omni quod inebriare potest sedulus abstinebat. BEDA. Vit. S. *Cudberct*; c. 6. §. 11.

superstitions, to convert to religion, and to teach them the joys that follow from a close adherence to its principles and practices. Far and near, he knew there were many who profaned the faith by evil works; who, in a time of general pestilence, forsook the holy sacraments, to seek for cures, in the delusive medicaments of idolatry; and who actually believed, that the disease, sent as a visitation from God, could be stayed or repelled by spells, by charms, or other inventions of the demon. To correct this error, he was often seen to leave the monastery—travelling sometimes on horseback; more frequently on foot—and to pass into all the hamlets in the circumjacent country, and there to be found preaching against this error. In acting thus, it is to be observed, that Cuthbert only followed an example, which had been previously given him, by the Abbot Boisil.

In these pious peregrinations, Cuthbert especially sought out those obscure villages, which lay hidden—and nearly inaccessible—in the dark ravines or on the steep sides of the rugged mountains—places that inspired horror even to look at them—and by the poverty, and barbarity of their inhabitants seemed to repel the approach of every teacher. To such labour as this he devoted himself—to inspire just thoughts of God, and exalted notions of virtue, amongst an ignorant and rude multitude, his eloquence was employed, his gift of miracles exercised, his time occupied, and his labour so incessant, that he often remained far away from his monastery, in the mountains for days, for weeks, and sometimes even for an entire month.*

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* Beda *Hist. Eccles*, Lib. 4. c. 27, §. 344. *Vit. S. Cudberct* c. 9, §. 15. See also ch. 16, §. 25. where we are told, "Cir-

From the monastery of Mailros, this venerable servant of God was transferred to the isle of Lindisfarne, in order that others, by his example, might be induced to adhere to the most strict rules of discipline.* Cuthbert subsequently resolved upon passing the life of an anchorite. The little island chosen by him for a habitation was without water, and there grew upon it neither corn nor trees.† Here Cuthbert lived a solitary life for many years, in a habitation, so surrounded with mounds upon every side, that he could see nought but that heaven, which he longed to attain. At length a great synod was held at a place called Twyford, near the river Alne, over which Archbishop Theodore presided and at which Egfrid, King of Northumbria was present, when Cuthbert was unanimously elected as Bishop of Lindisfarne, messengers, and letters were addressed to him, in vain, begging of him to accept the mitre. At last King Egfrid himself, with Bishop Trumwine, and a vast number of persons of great distinction, lay as well as clerical, went on their knees to him, and so wrung from him, by entreaty, his unwilling assent to take upon himself the episcopal dignity.‡

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cumquaque morantem vulgi multitudinem more suo, crebra visitatione ad cælestia quærenda et promovenda, succendebat."

* Beda, Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv, c. 27, §. 345. *Vit. S. Cudberct.* c. 16, §. 25.

† Beda, Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. c. 28, §. 346. *Vit. S. Cudberct.* c. 17, §. 29.

‡ Beda, Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv, c. 28, §. 347. *Vit. S. Cudberct.* c. 24, §. 42. William of Malmsbury specifies but two good acts in the life of Egfrid, and one of these is, that he induced Cuthbert to become a bishop—"Quod beatum Cuthbertum lachrymis religiosa assentatione profusis in episcopatum promoverit." *Gest. Rer. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 51.

Cuthbert, once elevated to the office of a bishop, adorned its apostolic character, with unceasing works of virtue. The flock that had been committed to him, he protected with his constant prayers, and invoked to the practice of pious acts, by his salutary admonitions. He told his people to do good, and he showed them, how they could perform it. He rescued the helpless from the hands of the powerful; the needy and the poor, he saved from their oppressors. The faint-hearted and the timid were consoled, the presumptuous and those who rejoiced in evil were rebuked by him. He led, although a bishop, the rigorous life of a monk; and whilst he was anxious to adhere to what had been his habitual parsimony as regarded himself, he took care to give food to the hungry, and clothing to the naked.* He passed through life richly adorned, with the shining virtues of a bishop; and

* " Eripiebat inopem de manu fortioris ejus, egenum et pauperem a rapientibus eum. Solitam sibi parsimoniam sedulus exercere. * * Esurientibus alimenta, indumenta præbebat algentibus." BEDA, *Vit. S. Cudberct.* c. 26, §. 44.

St. Cuthbert is not to be regarded as singular in this respect. His regular successor in the see—Eadbert, was distinguished not less for his profound knowledge in the sacred writings, and his observance of the Divine Commandments, than for his great works of charity, especially as regarded the poor; for he gave to the needy every year, *according to the law*, a tenth part of all his corn and fruit, and even of his very garments:—" maxime eleemosynarum operatione insignis, ita ut *juxta legem*, omnibus annis decimam non solum quadrupedum, verum etiam frugum omnium atque pomorum, necnon et vestimentorum partem, *pauperibus daret.*" BEDA Hist. Lib. iv, c. 29, §. 352. Thus it is with all the Catholic bishops of that time: of St. Aidan, " whatsoeuyr was geuyn to hym by the kynge, or rych men, he gaue it to poure men;" of a St. Adelm, " he gaue great almes," of a St. Bernaco, " and that he kept fro hymself he gaue to poure men," &c., &c., &c. *Kalendre of the newe Legende of Englande*, fo. *ii, iii, a. iv, xi.* See as to the paramount duty of Bishops, with respect to the poor BERGIER *Dictionaire de Theologie.* Vol. iii, p. 182. Leges Wisigothorum, Lib. ii, Tit. 1, §. 29.

numerous miracles testified, how great were the graces, with which his soul had been gifted by Heaven. Of these miracles, we may briefly mention a few.*

* Beda, *Vit. S. Cudberct*, c. 26, §. 44. The life of this extraordinary man, St. Cuthbert, is all one miracle. Beda, who is to be regarded as a contemporary, has written Cuthbert's life, in verse and in prose, and from its commencement to its close, it is a narrative of wonders. Modern writers may sneer at these, as incredible; but before they venture to repeat the opinions of infidels, schismatics, or heretics, they should, in fairness, look to Beda's own statements of the caution he employed, and the care he bestowed, to prevent anything from appearing in his biography of St. Cuthbert, but what could be proved, or had been attested, by the evidence of unimpeachable testimony. Let those inclined to deny what is said of St. Cuthbert examine the facts for themselves, and they may, perhaps, come to a conclusion, that

> "There are more things in heaven and earth,
> Than are dreamt of in *their* philosophy."

Let those disposed to doubt the truth of the miracles ascribed to St. Cuthbert, in his biography by Beda, bear in mind these facts:

"It is dedicated to Eadfrith, bishop of Holy Island, and the monks there resident; a fact, which of itself would have been a sufficient security for the accuracy of the narrative. The historian, apparently determined to remove all doubts as to the truth of the facts which he records, has detailed the successive examinations to which his materials were subjected. Having formed his narrative from the information of those who had the best means of knowing the truth of what they have stated, the unpublished work was submitted as well to the inspection of one who had attended Cuthbert during his last illness, as of others equally well informed, respecting the deceased saint, and corrections were made according to their suggestions. A fair copy of the Legend was then sent to Lindisfarne, and during two days underwent a rigid scrutiny by the oldest and most judicious brethren of that monastery. When it had obtained their final sanction, and had been augmented by the insertion of certain additions, for which they were the vouchers, the work was declared to be worthy of circulation, and was accordingly handed over to the transcribers." Stevenson, (Beda, Oper. Hist. vol. ii. p. vii, E.H.S.) See also *Vit. S. Cudberct, præfatio.* §. 1, p. 46, 47.

At the time, that Cuthbert was serving as a monk in the monastery of Ripon, it became his duty to act as "the master of the guests,"* or the monk, who exercised, on behalf of his brethren, the rights of hospitality to all strangers. In this office, it is believed, that he was so far favored by Heaven, as to be visited by an angel. Upon leaving his cell, in the interior of the monastery, at the commencement of the new day, he found in the place appointed for strangers, a young man sitting, who was welcomed by him, with his habitual tenderness and humanity. He presented water for the hands, he himself washed the feet of the stranger, rubbed them dry with a towel, and as they appeared to him, to be chilled with the cold, he humbly rested them on his bosom, and sought by friction to restore them to their natural heat,† and he besought his unknown guest, that he would wait until the third hour of the day, for some refreshment, and not travel fasting from the monastery, lest he should sink under the severity of the winter's cold, combined with want of food. Cuthbert supposed the person he was addressing, to be some man, who

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Only a few of the miraculous events, connected with St. Cuthbert, are inserted in the text, and these principally, because they are interwoven with historical facts, or bear upon points, which have been disputed by those, who call themselves historians.

* "*Præpositus hospitum*—an office of trust and dignity. In the graphic account of his duties given in the consuetudinary of the canons regular of St. Victor at Paris (printed by Martene, de Antiq. Eccles. Disc. iii, App. p. 260) he is described as virum moribus et disciplina eruditum, qui sciat singulis advenenientibus, prout religio et honestas exigit, morem gerere, et deferre obsequium." STEVENSON.

† "Nam lavandis manibus aquam dedit, pedes ipse abluit, linteo extersit, fovendos humiliter manibus suo in sinu composuit." BEDA. What a picture does that present of the much abused monks!

was travelling by night, and who exhausted by the snow storm, then raging, had turned aside from his road to the monastery, at that very early hour, for the purpose of resting there a short time. The stranger refused, declaring that he must depart immediately, for the mansion to which he was hastening, was a great way off. Cuthbert pressed his hospitable request upon the unknown man, and at last, compelled him to remain, by adjuring him to do so, in the name of God. The moment that the tierces had been finished (the prayers said by the monks at three o'clock in the morning) Cuthbert brought out a table, arranged it, for his guest, placed food upon it, and said—"I beseech you, brother, to eat, whilst I go and get "some hot bread for you, for I hope to find some baked by "this time."*

When Cuthbert returned, the stranger that he thought he had left eating, was no longer visible—he looked to see what way he had departed, and although the earth was covered with the fresh fallen snow, on which the lightest footstep might be visible, it bore no trace of any one having departed from the convent. The pious monk was astonished at this strange circumstance—he was endeavouring to discover some clue to it, when he proceeded to replace the table in the recess, from which it had been withdrawn by him. Upon advancing towards it, his senses were ravished by a most delicious fragrance. He looked around him, and saw on the table three small

* The reason for doing this is stated thus in Bede's poetical life of St. Cuthbert.

"Digreditur, cupiens panem deferre calentem,
"Hesternæ tantum superessent fragmina cænæ."

loaves of new bread—apparently still warm—of wondrous beauty, and miraculous purity. He was terrified at this spectacle. "I see," he said to himself, "that it is an "angel of God, that I have received as a guest—one "that has come not to be fed, but to feed others—who "has brought bread such as this earth cannot produce, "bread that excels the lilies in whiteness, the roses in "perfume and the honey in sweetness."*

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* Beda. *Vit. St Cudberct* c. 7, §. 12. The narrative of this miracle is introduced into this work, as illustrative of the hospitality of the monks. The treatment of the angel by St. Cuthbert, was that experienced by all strangers, the humblest, the meanest, the poorest and the most vile. In the controversy between St. Bernard, and Peter the Venerable of Clugni, this is illustrated in a very interesting manner. The latter, in defending his order in the twelfth century from the imputation of having relaxed, in the observance of the rules of their founder, says:—

"Our gates are not shut by day; but, always standing open *they admit all comers. without respect of persons.* No one is obliged to knock or call, because he finds, not only the outer gates, but the entrance to the hospitium open; and seating himself there, that *every necessary preparation has been made for his reception.*

"*Undoubtedly the number of visitors is almost always so great,* that if we must bow and prostrate ourselves before them all, and if we must wash the hands and feet of all, it will be necessary, as I have said, that all the monks should be with them from the rising of the sun to its setting, and spend the whole day in genuflections, and in washing hands and feet, and very often they would not be able to go through the business in the day.

"We do, however, what we can; and on every day in the year we do wash the hands and the feet of three strangers, and offer them bread and wine, the abbot taking his turn, and none except those who are disabled by sickness being excepted.

"If, therefore, the abbot is allowed, for the good of souls to temper and dispose all things, it is lawful for him so to temper these things, that have been mentioned, as that *the guests shall want nothing that is necessary; but shall be received and provided for with liberal respect, brotherly love, and diligence;* while, at the same time, the Church of God shall not be de-

Cuthbert upon being elected a bishop retired for a short time to his island hermitage, with the intention of devoting some days to spiritual contemplation. From this place, he was summoned by the Bishop Eata, to the monastery of Mailros. The summons was obeyed, and as Cuthbert was returning from his conference with Eata, a certain nobleman, attached to the court of King Egfrid, met him, and earnestly besought of him, that he would turn aside from his journey, to bless with his presence, a mansion, and a neighbourhood, that would be happy to receive him Upon Cuthbert's reaching this nobleman's habitation, he was received with the greatest reverence, and with every testimony of joy. "I give God thanks!" said the nobleman, "most reverend father, that you have "been good enough to enter under our roof, and I do "most sincerely believe, that your coming will be profit-"able to us, both in mind and body. It is needful now "to apprise you, that I have a servant,* who has been for

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frauded of its proper services, and no part, even the least of regular observance shall be intermitted." MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages*, p.p. 379, 380, 381.

* In the life of St. Cuthbert, by an anonymous author, the name of the nobleman is stated to be Sibba, and the person for whom he interested himself, a slave, (Servus) and not as Beda calls him, a servant (famulus). See Stevenson's Edition of Beda, vol. ii, pp. 278, 279. An interesting fact is stated in the life of St. Cuthbert, demonstrative of the tenderness with which the truly religious thought of, and treated their servants. We find the abbess of a monastery—the royal Ælfleda—upon hearing that one of her shepherds had been killed by falling from a tree, hurrying to St. Cuthbert, and begging of him in these terms, in the mass he was about to say, to pray for the deceased:

"Precor, domine mi episcope, memineris ad missas *Hadualdi mei* qui heri cadendo de arbore defunctus est." *Vit. S. Cudberct*, c. 34, §. 54.

" a long time afflicted with a most painful infirmity, and " who, this very day, has been so overcome with agony, " that he is more like to a corpse, than a person ailing; " for the lower extremities are already prematurely dead, " and there is nought but a slight breathing to indicate, " that he is still living."

The Bishop Cuthbert, upon hearing this statement, blessed some water, gave it to the nobleman's attendant—a man, named Baldhelm. (Baldhelm is still living. He is a priest in the church of Lindisfarne, and he, who adorns his priestly office by his virtues, delights in narrating the miraculous powers of St. Cuthbert, told me with his own lips this prodigy.)* Cuthbert gave the holy water † to Baldhelm, and said—" Go; let the poor patient taste it." Baldhelm brought the water, as he had been desired, to the miserable creature, who was suffering such torture; and when he had for the third time poured some water into the lips of the servant, the latter sank, contrary to his custom, into a quiet sleep. This happened in the evening—the man passed an undisturbed night, and upon his master visiting him next morning, he was found to be perfectly well.‡

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* These are the words of Beda with respect to Baldhelm: "*qui nunc usque superest*, et in Ecclesia Lindisfarnensi presbyterii gradum officio tenens moribus implet, virtutes viri Dei cunctis scire volentibus referre melle dulcius habet, *qui et mihi hoc ipsum, quod refero, miraculum narravit.*" BEDA.

† "Aquam benedictam." BEDA.

‡ BEDA. *Vit. S. Cudberct*, c. 25, §. 43. This miracle was performed through the medium of "holy water," against the use of which non-Catholics have written volumes of abuse, as being nothing better than "Popish superstition!" The Catholic believes, that with faith and virtue, miracles may be, and are

At the time, that King Egbert was engaged with his army in the disastrous expedition against the Picts; that he was wasting the country, and inflicting upon the inhabitants, the worst horrors of war, Cuthbert knowing that the time for the fatal result was fast approaching, which he had predicted in the preceeding year,* proceeded to the city of Carlisle,† for the purpose of speaking to

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accomplished—but what right has the infidel to ask for them, or the vicious man to expect them? Let both ponder on these words of the sainted Bede, with respect to the girdle of St. Cuthbert:—

"Si enim eadem zona semper adesset, semper ad hanc concurrere voluissent ægroti; et dum aliquis ex his forte non meruisset a sua infirmitate curari, derogaret impotentiæ non salvantis ei m ipse potius esset salutis indignus. Unde provida, ut dictum est, dispensatione supernæ pietatis, *postquam fides credentium confirmata est, mox invidiæ perfidorum materia detrahendi est prorsus ablata.*" Vit. S Cudberct, c. 23, §. 39.

* See Vit. S. Cudberct, c. 24.

† Carlisle, with the lands for fifteen miles round, were given to St. Cuthbert, by king Egfrid. The wealth thus bestowed upon the saint was employed by him, first, in the erection of a monastery, and then, in the establishment of a nunnery, and the foundation of schools—"Ubi *etiam* sanctimonialum congregatione stabilita. * * et in profectum divinæ servitutis scholas instituit." S. DUNELM. c. 9, p. 4.

"In the cite be two paroch churches, of which the one is in the body of the cathedral church, in the which be canons, regulars else be in no cathedral church in England. The other is of St. Cuthbert. There is in the town a chapel of St. Alban, and also two houses of freres black and grey. * * *The whole site of the town is sore changed,* for whereas the streets were the great edifices now be vacant and garden plotts." LELAND.

"*The cathedral begun by Walter, a Norman priest,* under William Rufus, governor of the city, who founded a monastery here, which Henry I, endowed for Austin canons, and afterwards made a bishopric (the only one of the order in England) *is imperfect, the west part being pulled down by Cromwell,*

the queen, who with her sister was in a convent waiting the issue of the strife. Cuthbert was conducted by the citizens of Carlisle, upon the day following his arrival, to see the fortifications, and the baths, which were wondrous monuments of the greatness and magnificence of the Romans; when on a sudden, he stopped in the midst of his examination of these works of art—his spirit seemed to be disturbed—he was seen leaning on his staff—looking sadly upon the earth, and then raising his eyes to heaven, he was observed to groan heavily, whilst these words, in a distinct, but not a loud voice, were heard to issue from his lips—"now indeed the fate of the battle is "decided." A priest, who was standing beside him, apprehending what he had said, hurried away by a thoughtless rashness, enquired—"How know you, that it is so?" Cuthbert was unwilling to make public all that had at that moment been revealed to him—"Do you not see," he asked, "how wonderfully changed and how lowering "has the aspect of the heavens become? What mortal is "there, who can presume to investigate the judgments

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1649, to build batteries, and a citadel in the market-place, so that it has lost near one hundred feet of its whole length, being only two hundred and nineteen feet, and *the nave used as a parish church only*. Part was built in the Saxon style, with round arches and massy pillars fifteen feet high, and seventeen feet and a half in circumference; the rest is ascribed to Edward III. The steeple and tabernacle work *by Bishop Strickland*. The choir *by Bishop Welton*, finished by his successors Appleby and Strickland. It has handsome stalls, supposed by Robert Eglesfield, founder of Queen's college, Oxford, and the history of St. Cuthbert and St. Austin painted in compartments with couplets at the west end at the the back of the stalls *much defaced*. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol, iii, pp. 427, 447, 448, 449. See also DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pp. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 757, 1485, 1510.

"of God." Such were the words that he spoke in the hearing of the multitude; but he instantly hastened to the queen, and addressing her, in secret, said—"Hurry "speedily as you can from this place to day—for once the "Sunday begins* you cannot travel in a chariot—betake "yourself to the Royal City, for it may have happened, "that the king has been killed in battle. I am myself "compelled to repair to a neighbouring monastery to-"morrow, for the dedication of a church, and as soon as "the ceremony is completed, I shall follow you."†

* "Our ancestors, like the Hebrews, made the evening precede the morning, and reckoned the Sunday from sun-set on Saturday, to sun-set on the following day." LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 316.

† Cuthbert, it is to be supposed, did not intend to ride in a carriage, when he would prevent others from doing so. It was reserved for modern reforming bishops to patronise Societies, which under the name of effecting "a better observance of the Sabbath," would leave unmolested the luxuries of the rich, and inflict new persecutions upon the miserable mechanics, and unfortunate poor inhabitants of large cities. When Bishop Cuthbert forbade others to ride in coaches on the Sunday, he laid his prohibition on queens and princesses, and he himself walked—it was *his recreation*, in the midst of *his devotions* and *his vigils* (longitudinem sibi psalmodiæ ac vigiliarum *incedento* allevians. *Vit. S. Cud.* ch. 16, §. 27). Modern bishops delight in something else. They ride in coaches themselves—they neither preach nor declaim against the great and the rich for imitating their example—but they have expressed a pious horror against the poor being gratified with any such indulgence "on the Lord's day." The Catholic bishops were the bishops of the poor: the non-Catholic bishops are the bishops of the rich. Each consistently cares most for those, to whom he feels *the greatest obligation.*

This is the distinction between Catholic and non-Catholic priests and bishops, and St. Cuthbert only illustrated the practices and principles of his class, as a modern titular bishop of London does the practices and principles of his associate sectarians. For instance, the great St. Fursey avoided the houses of the rich, and betook himself to the cottages of the poor, (Vit.

Upon the succeeding day, the Sunday, Cuthbert preached to the Brethren in the monastery. He concluded a discourse applicable to the Dedication, on which they had been engaged, and then said—"I beseech you, my "dearest, in the words of the apostle, that you be watch-"ful—stand firm in the faith—lest any temptation should "come upon you unprepared—be mindful always of the "command of the Lord—watch and pray, that you fall "not into temptation." Those, who heard him thus commence his discourse were under the impression, that the frightful pestilence, which had carried off great numbers of persons, from the neighbourhood, was, perchance, about to revisit them. He, however, thus continued his address to them:—"Formerly, when I passed my life, as "a Solitary in my small island, some of the Brethren from "the monastery visited me, and besought me, as it was

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Lib. ii, c. 2. §. 5) and he, like St. Cuthbert, was so particular as to a non-violation of the Sabbath, by travelling on Sunday, that once the Nones on Saturday commenced, he abandoned the journey on which he was engaged, and devoted himself solely to religious exercises. "Tanta vero religionis Dominicum diem celebrare solitum, ut a Nona Sabbathi nihil mortalium operum tractaret, sed divinis solum vaceret, ac ne iter quidem cœptum prosequeretur." There can be no doubt that this holy man, who by his prayers relieved men from the chains of slavery, (Vit. Lib. ii, c. 4, §. 15), who so loved the poor, and so reverenced the Lord's day was a *Roman Catholic*, as the following address by him to Rome, on first beholding that city will testify.

"O Roma triumphis Apostolorum superexaltata, Martyrum rosis decorata, Confessorum liliis candidata, Virginum palmis dulcorata, meritis eorum roborata, quæ tot et tanta contines sancta sanctorum corpora esto salutata, ut nunquam succumbat auctoritas tua, sanctorum Patrum dignitate et sapientia hactenus roborata; qua corpus Christi videlicet beata mater Ecclesia viget solidata." See *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. ii, pp. 50, 51. Other proofs of the efforts made by Catholics to enforce a due observance of the Sabbath, will be found in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. iv, pp. 116, 117, 295, vol. v. p. 691.

" the Holy Day of our Lord's Nativity, that I would come
" out of my cell and pass a time worthy of such great
" veneration in their society. I acceded to their wishes;
" and in due time, I sat down at the same table with them.
" In the midst of our refection, I said to them—I beseech
" you, brethren, that you be watchful and vigilant, lest
" through carelessness, and overmuch security you fall
" into temptation. They answered, 'We pray you,
" brother, let us rejoice this day, for it is the Nativity of
" our Lord Jesus Christ.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'let us do so.
" The feast proceeded; and when we began to indulge in
" good humour and in stories,* I again repeated my warn-
" ing to them, that we should be always watchful in prayers
" and vigils, so as to be prepared against all temptations.
" Good,' they replied, 'is what you say; and excellent
" your warning; but still as there are in the year a great
" number of days, for fasts, for prayers and vigils, let us
" this day rejoice in the Lord; for when an angel announ-
" ced to the shepherds the birth of our Lord, he preached
" it as an event of great joy, and so to be celebrated by all
" nations.' 'It is well,' again I replied, 'so let us re-
" joice.' The feast was prolonged. All were passing a
" happy day, when for the third time, I repeated the
" same warning—and then—they all at last understood,
" that it was not, without sufficient reason, that I had so
" distinctly, and emphatically spoken to them. They be-
" came terrified and said: let us do as you say, for a great
" necessity is imposed upon us, that we should be always
" spiritually armed, and constantly on the watch against
" the snares and temptations of the demon.

" Now, when I said these words to them, I was as ig-

* " Exsultationi ac fabulis indulgeremes."

" norant as themselves, that any new temptation was about " to be presented to us: the warning seemed to be im- " pressed, like an instinct, upon my mind, that the heart " should be, at all times, guarded against the sudden gusts " of temptation and danger.

" In the morning, when they left me, and returned to " their own home, that is the monastery of Lindisfarne, " lo! they found that one of the brethren had died of " the pestilence. The plague continued with them; it " raged stronger day by day, and month by month, almost " to the end of the year; and nearly the entire of that " glorious community of priests and monks died during " its awful visitation. And *now*, brethren, I say *also* to " you, watch and pray, so that if any tribulation come " upon you, it may not find you unprepared."

Those, who heard the venerable Bishop Cuthbert thus address them, fancied, as it has been already remarked, that he was alluding to a return of the pestilence amongst them; until after the lapse of a day, a person who had escaped from the battle, came with the disastrous intelligence, to show what was the nature of the calamity, for which St. Cuthbert had prepared their minds by his prophetic and mournful address to them. It is a proved fact, that on the very day, and at the very hour, that St. Cuthbert stood by the Roman bath, and that the Revelation was made to him, the Northumbrian king, having seen his royal guard slaughtered around him, was struck to the earth by the sword of a foeman.*

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* Beda *Vit. S. Cudberct*, c. 26, §. 45, 46, 47. " *Probatum est*," observes Bede, " *ipsa die eademque* hora, qua viro Dei

The same year (658) in which King Egbert was slain, Ceadwall began to struggle for a kingdom.* Ceadwall was a member of the royal race of the Gewissi (the West Saxons). He was a most valiant soldier, who having been exiled from his country,† placed himself at the head of an army, attacked and slew Ethelwalch (king of the South Saxons) and laid waste the country, with fire and sword. He was subsequently defeated, and driven from Sussex by two of its military commanders Berthun and Andhun. These ruled the country, until Berthun was put to death by Ceadwall, upon becoming King of the Gewissi, and the unfortunate province again subdued,

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juxta puteum stant revelatum est, cæsis circumtutoribus, regem hostili gladio fuisse prostratum."

Here we are compelled to desist from translating the life of St. Cuthbert. Enough has been given, it is hoped, to excite further curiosity respecting him, and the miracles ascribed to him, by one whose piety cannot be questioned, and whose talents, cleverness, and astuteness, cannot be denied, even by the most bitter opponents to the Roman Catholic religion. See LAPPENBERG, vol. i, p. xxxiv, (*translated by* THORPE). TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. iii, p. 393. The latter honestly admits, that Beda is "a phenomenon easier to praise than to parallel." We leave anti-Catholics to deal with this dilemma. Either what Beda has stated of St. Cuthbert is true, or Beda himself must have been an impostor or a dolt. In struggling to get out of that dilemma, we believe, that all they can prove, is, that they are as destitute of arguments, as of faith: and that the most that can be said of their "philosophy" is, that it is—"foolishness."

* "And her Ceadwalla ongan æfter rice winnan." *Sax. Chron.* 685. For the genealogy of Ceadwall, King of Wessex, see Rog. de Wend, vol. i, p. 181.

† William of Malmsbury declares that his exile was effected by means of an oligarchical conspiracy—"Bilem principum suæ patriæ irritasset, factione conspiratorum in exilium actus est." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 34. Such an event occurred in the seventeenth, as well as the seventh century.

and its people cruelly destroyed. Ina the successor of Ceadwall retained it, in the same state of subjection. To this circumstance is to be attributed the fact, that during the whole of the time, that both these princes reigned, the people of the South Saxons had no bishop of their own, from the time that St. Wilfrid returned to his country. They were under the episcopal care of the West Saxon Bishop in the city of Winchester.*

Upon defeating the South Saxons, Ceadwall with his victorious army unexpectedly appeared in his native kingdom, compelled his enemies to fly, and gained full possession of his rights.† He then took the Isle of Wight, which was at that time devoted to idolatry, and, in doing so, came to the cruel resolution of exterminating its ancient inhabitants and supplying their place, with persons from his own country.‡ He at the same time bound himself by a vow, (although he was not at the time regenerated in Christ), that if he gained possession of the island, he would devote a fourth portion of the land and spoil to the purposes of religion.¶ Even before his baptism, he

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* Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iv, c. 15, §. 297.

† W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 34.

‡ The horrid project entertained by a Pagan of exterminating an innocent people, was, at a subsequent period, carried into execution, as far as it was practicable, by persons who boasted themselves to be of the Reformed religion. See Spenser's *Ireland*, p. 165. Hollinshed, vol. vi, pp. 427, 430, 433. *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 584, 659. Clarendon's *Life*, vol. ii, p. 116. O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland*; passim.

¶ Bed. Lib. iv, *c.* 16, §. 298. The amount of land thus conferred on the bishop, (Wilfrid) was "trecentarum familiarum," "of three hundred families," that is, accordiug to the Saxon version "three hundred hides." And of the term "hide," it is observed by Mr. Stevenson, that it is "indefinite, but it signifies at least as

showed so far a tendency to piety. We may approve of the inclination, although we cannot but reprobate the example, for the Lord himself hath said, "he that offereth "sacrifice of the goods of the poor, is as one that sacrifi- "ceth the son in the presence of his father."* This vow he performed, by giving the fourth part of the land to Bishop Wilfrid, who was then an exile from his country. The portion intended for the benefit of the Church was intrusted by Bishop Wilfrid to one of his clerks, Bernwin, the son of his sister,† whose assistant was a priest, Hid-

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much land as one plough could cultivate in a year, which at the lowest calculation of the early Glossarists is one hundred acres." STEVENSON'S Introduction to the Edition of Bede, (E.H.S.) p. ix, note 6. See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 177 (Gough) DUCANGE *Glossarium* in verb "*hida*," "*familia*" (2) "*Carructa*," TWYFORD *Scriptores Decem* pp. 92, 758, 790.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 34.

† "Commendavit cuidam de clericis suis, cui nomen Bernuini et erat filius sororis ejus." BEDA.

This simple sentence is worth dwelling upon; because it tends to show *the spirit* in which Herr Lappenberg has written his history. In describing the Catholic clergy of England, Lappenberg says, "*The celibacy of the clergy was not so soon established among the Anglo Saxons*," and he supports that statement, by the quotation of a single authority. It is this. "*Even a son of St. Wifrith is mentioned.*" Edd. c. lvii. "Sanctus pontifex noster de exilio cum filio suo proprio veniens." LAPPENBERG vol i. p. 201—and note 2 (THORPE'S *translation*). Lappenberg in making this statement must have been perfectly aware, that Eddius is fond of using figurative language, and not improbably had applied it, in this instance, to the nephew of Wilfrid. Lappenberg might as well charge St. Wilfrid with being a father, as Eddius, who wrote his life, with being his son, because in another chapter, Eddius speaks of St. Wilfrid as his parent—"Sancti *parentis nostri*," c. 41. Lappenberg also to make out a case, from a figurative expression, purposely slurred over this distinct statement of Eddius, as to the perpetual virginity of St. Wilfrid

dila, in administering to those, who wished for salvation; to hear the words of life, and receive the waters of baptism.*

—" Corpus quoque *integrum ab utero matris,* sicut corum fidelibus testatus est, *sine pollutione custodivit.*" His body was regarded by him, as a temple ever to be kept holy; and in proof of this Eddius adds another curious fact—" quod " (Corpus) " in aqua benedicta, et sanctificata nocturnis horis indesinenter æstate et hieme consuetudinarie lavavit &c.," c. 21. William of Malmsbury says of the same Wilfrid—" a matre integram servans pudicitiam." *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii. p. 260. Lappenberg selects Wilfrid, as a proof that the Saxon clergy married, with the fact before him, that Wilfrid refused to marry the niece of Dalfinus Bishop of Lyons—" a prelate to whom he was so much attached, that he was willing to expose himself to martyrdom along with him (" Desiderans cum eo, tametsi ipso multum prohibente, pariter occumbere." BEDA, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 19, §. 415). But why did Wilfrid refuse marriage? Because, determined to become a priest, he would pass a life of celibacy—" excusante nuptias Wilfrido *pro cœlibatus studio.*" W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii. p. 260. See also EDDIUS. c. 4, 6.

The entire charge against the Anglo Saxon clergy rests upon a single figurative phrase—and how is such a phrase explained by Spelman—no admirer of monks, nor of those like Wilfrid, devoted to Rome. (See *Concilia,* vol. i, p. 216).

" Sed non intelligendum est de filio naturali seu conjgali, *at de spirituali ad fontem sacrum suscepte.*" SPELMAN'S *Concilia,* vol. i, p. 168.

In Mr. Thorpe's " Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," (p. 65).. We find the phrase, " a bishop's son," distinctly used. '*Gif hit biscep-sunu sie, sie be healfum tham:*' If it be *a bishop's son* let it be the half of this." This is the last sentence in the seventy-sixth chapter of the laws of King Ina; but that chapter is entitled—"In case a man slay another's *Godson,* or his *Godfather.*" So much for the honesty and truthfulness of LAPPENBERG'S *England under the Anglo Saxon Kings!*

We may here add, that we are not aware, that the accomplishment of a miracle has ever been ascribed, by an author to a married clergyman—even Luther himself is not an exception to this general observation.

* Beda, Lib. iv, c. 16, §. 298.

In the invasion, and cruel treatment of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, two royal youths—the brothers of its King Arwald—were, as by a special grace from God, permitted to be amongst fruits of the Gospel, by becoming the first converts to Christianity, amongst the inhabitants of that country. At the time that Ceadwall, with his army, was about to overrun the island, they contrived to escape, and fled to Stoneham, where they remained concealed for some time. Their hiding place was betrayed to the King Ceadwall, who ordered them to be instantly put to death. A priest, named Cyniberct, the abbot of the monastery at Redbridge,* upon hearing that such a cruel order had been issued, hastened to the place where the king was then secretly staying, until he recovered from the wounds, received by him in battle with the people of the isle of Wight. Cyniberct begged permission of the king, if he could not be moved by any feelings of pity towards these hapless youths, at least to give them sufficient respite to enable them to understand the truths of the Christian doctrine. The latter request was acceded to. Cyniberct instructed the young princes—they received the word of truth—they were baptised—and when the moment came, that the executioner should perform his dreadful office, they were seen to submit with joy, to the pain of bodily death in-

* The only information, if such it can be called, respecting this monastery is contained in the few following lines—"*Redbridge*—Here, *says* Tanner, as Mr. Camden *thinks* was that ancient monastery, under the abbot Cimberth, about the year 680, called by Beda Reodford, *i. e.* Arundinis Vallum." DUGDALE' *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1619. As to Redbridge and Stoneham, See Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i, pp. 166, 167, 193, 295.

flicted upon them; because they felt, no doubt, that their souls were about to pass unto life everlasting.*

In the second year of his reign, Ceadwall yielded to the request of his brother Mull, by entrusting him with the command of an army, for the purpose of invading the kingdom of Kent. Mull felt eager to equal, by his own achievements, the exploits of Ceadwall. He wished to gain the spoils of war, and what was still more dear to him, the fame of a conqueror. He placed himself at the head of the youngest and most ardent of his brother's soldiers, burst into the lands of Kent, and finding no force capable of resisting him, he plundered and laid waste the land; making that which had been once the abode of plenty a mere desert; and in his fury, afflicting, with all the horrors of war, the innocent and unoffending ministers of Christ. This wickedness brought down upon him the maledictions of the good and the vengeance of heaven. He esteemed his foes so weak, and so effeminate,† that he did not deem it necessary to take any precaution against their resentment. At one time, when at a distance from his army, and accompanied only by twelve soldiers, he rushed into a house, for the purpose of plundering it. There he was on a sudden invested by an immense multitude, who set the house on fire, and burnt in it the youthful General and his twelve military companions, Thus perished Mull in the flower of his youth, and with his death the army he had congregated together,

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* Beda, Lib. iv, c. 16, §. 299.

† "provinciam olim diuturna pace feriatam, sed tunc intestino bello dissidentem." W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 14.

dispersed. In his destruction, we see how vain is man's confidence in his strength, when opposed to Him, who is Almighty.

Ceadwall, upon hearing of the death of his brother, again returned to Kent. He sought to satiate his rage by the dire slaughter, and unsparing plunder of the inhabitants. The cruel victor did not return to his own country, until he could find no man to kill, and no land to despoil,* and yet he was not content, for he bequeathed to his successor the due exaction of a full atonement for the death of Mull.†

Ceadwall repented of these and other evil deeds committed by him.‡ He had reigned for two years as a sovereign, successful in war, when he determined to abandon his crown, and to seek the kingdom of God. He proceeded to Rome,¶ with the desire of obtaining this singular glory on earth, that it might be permitted to him, at the seat of the blessed Prince of the apostles, to be washed in the waters of baptism, without which men cannot hope to obtain an entrance into heaven. At the same time, he hoped, that as soon as he had been baptised, his spirit might be freed

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* H. HUNT. Hist. Lib. iv, p. 336. This account differs from that by Wm. of Malmsbury, but it is preferred as more consistent with the words of the Saxon Chronicle—"Her Mul wearth on Cent forbærned and othre xii men mid him."

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 14. "Rei quoque ultionem in successorem Inam transfunderet." See ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 181.

‡ BROMPTON *Chron.* p. 742.

¶ "This year" (688) "Ceadwall went to Rome and received baptism at the hands of Sergius, the Pope." *Sax. Chron.*

from the prison of the body, and allowed, when thus cleansed, to pass to another world. That which he had desired was accomplished. He arrived at Rome, during the pontificate of Sergius, was baptised on Easter Saturday in the year 689; and whilst still wearing the white baptismal robes,* was taken ill, and expired on the 20th of April.

The Pope gave to Ceadwall, at the time of his baptism, the name of "Peter," in order that he might be associated, in name, with the most blessed prince of the apostles, for the love of whom, he had come from the extreme bounds of the earth, to visit his sacred relics. The pope also directed that the king's body should be buried in the church, and an epitaph inscribed upon his monument, which should perpetuate the memory of his devotion; and excite all who either read, or heard of it, to a love of religion.†

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* "Under Cristes clathum." *Saxon Chronicle.* "*Under Crisman.*" Ælf. Bed. * * The *Chrysom*, in Latin, *Chrismale*, is a white hood of cloth, or linen, placed upon the head of a person baptised." INGRAM. (SAX. Chron. p. 57. note 1), See DUCANGE, *Glossarium* in verb. "*Chrismale.*" (4).

† BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 7, §. 372. The epitaph is given in full by Bede. Mr. STEVENSON in his edition of Bede (Vol. i. p. 345, note 9) adds this information :—

"Fabretti in his Antiquæ Inscriptiones, No. 463, p. 735, gives a copy of this epitaph, from the original stone which was found in the church of St. Peter at Rome."

"In our tyme," says the Rev. R. Persons, "his body was found neere to St. Peter's Sepulcher." *The Prudentiall Ballance of Religion* p. 281.

This monarch was most generous in his gifts to the church. We have already stated his bestowal of the fourth of the Isle of Wight upon St. Wilfrid. In the Saxon Chronicle 686, we find a present made by him to the minster of Peterborough; and further proofs of his generosity and charity will be found in THORN. *Evident Eccl. Christ. Cantur.* pp. 2207, 2208, (Twysden).

CHAPTER VIII.

The Reign of Ina, King of the West Saxons.

Accession of Ina to the throne of Wessex. Death of Archbishop Theodore...his reconciliation with St. Wilfrid. The Penitential of Theodore. Christianity favorable to the freedom of the poor. The holy priest, Egbert...projects the conversion of the Frizelanders. Martyrdom of the holy missionaries, the Hewards, by Pagans. Bishop Suidbert. Apostolic labours of St. Wilbrord. The first English Archbishop of Canterbury, Berthwald. Withred, King of Kent... his laws for the independence of the Church, and the relaxation of slavery. Benedict Biscop, Abbot of England...his frequent journies to Rome. The monasteries of Weremouth and Jarrow...their earliest abbots...virtues, learning, and labours of monks. Ethelred, King of the Mercians, resigns the crown, and becomes a monk, at Bardney. S. S. Kinesdrida and Kinewitha, sisters of King Ethelred. Death of Alfrid King of the Northumbrians. Hedda, Bishop of the West Saxons, the advocate of the poor. St. Aldhelm...the monastery of Malmsbury. Royal pilgrimages to Rome... Queen Frigidida, of the West Saxons...Cenred, King of the

Mercians, and Offa, King of the East Saxons. The vision, and death of an impenitent sinner. Kings Cenred and Offa die as monks in Rome. St. Egwin...his visions...slandered by anti-Catholic writers. Death of St. Wilfrid. Eadwulf, tyrant of Northumbria. Battle of Ina with the Welsh and Mercians. The Anchorite...St. Guthlac...Croyland Monastery. Miserable deaths of the impious Kings, Ceolred, and Cenred. Victories of Ina and Queen Edelburga over the South Saxons, and Ealdbryht. Ina resolves upon making a pilgrimage to Rome..." Peter's Pence"...dies an obscure penitent in Rome. The laws of Ina.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 688—728

Upon the departure of Ceadwall for Rome, the crown and government of the West Saxons devolved upon Ina, who was more indebted for his elevation, to his virtue and valour, than to his claims by birth. Brave, prudent and pious, he won, by his qualities as a monarch, and a man, love at home, and reverence abroad. For eight and thirty years he exercised power; and sanctified by popular love, he grew old upon a throne, which had never been shaken by the fear of conspiracies.*

The year succeeding that, in which the King Ceadwalla died at Rome, the venerable Archbishop Theodore ex-

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. * W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 35. There is a difference, amongst the ancient historians, as to the exact number of years, that Ina occupied the throne. See Beda. Lib. v c. 7, §. 373. Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. p. 184, 215, H. Hunt Lib. iv. p. 337. We may observe, that in this chapter, we follo closely as possible the dates given by the Saxon Chronicle.

pired,* in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He lived the number of years, he had himself predicted, and which, he said, had long been foretold to him, in a dream.*

It was, at the time, that he felt himself most afflicted with illness, he invited to London, his bishops Wilfrid and Earconwald; and upon their coming, he openly, and distinctly confessed the whole course of his past life. He said, addressing himself to Wilfrid, "that event in my "life, for which I feel the greatest scruple of conscience, "is the part I took with respect to you, most holy bishop; "in consenting to the wishes of princes, to have deprived "you, who were sinless, of your possessions; your people "of a protector; and to have exposed both you, and them "to many evils. I know, according to the revelation that "has been made to me, that the approaching year will be "the last of my life, and therefore do I adjure you, in "the name of God, and of St. Peter, to permit me to "place you, whilst I am still living, in the Archiepiscopal "Chair, so that in you, I may see appointed my heir; "because I truly acknowledge, that you are, of all your "countrymen, the most learned in the Decrees of Rome."

"May God pardon," replied the holy Bishop Wilfrid, "and St. Peter intercede for you! May you obtain a "remission of any sin that may have followed from our "past controversy, whilst I, bound by the confession you "have now made, must, as your friend, for ever pray for "you. Send letters to your friends, in order that "they may know of our reconciliation, and recognise, at

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* A.D. 689. *Sax. Chron.*

† Beda. Lib. v. c. 8, §. 374.

"last, that I, although innocent, was deprived of my "rights. Let them, as they are bound to do, in obedi- "ence to your adjuration to them, in the name of the "Lord, and in accordance with the command of the Apos- "tolic See, restore to me a part at least of my substance. "At a future time, let us consult, in common with the "great council, as to who is, with your assent, worthy to "be placed in command of the Archdiocese, upon your "decease."

The Archbishop Theodore, in accordance with the terms of this sincere peace, despatched letters to Alfrid, King of Northumbria, in which he adjured that sovereign, to be reconciled to Wilfrid, as he feared God; as he desired to act in obedience to the commands of the Apostolic See; and as he wished for the redemption of the soul of King Egfrid, who had first deprived Wilfrid, although innocent, of his property, and banished him from his country. The Archbishop was not content with struggling to procure a perfect reconciliation between Alfrid and Wilfrid; he also sought to raise up for him friends amongst those who might have been opposed to him; he therefore addressed letters to the holy virgin and abbess Elfleda, beseeching of her, in accordance with the commands of the Holy See, to be at peace with Wilfrid; and to Ethelred, King of the Mercians, he also made the same request in writing.*

* The letter is published in full in Eddius, chap. 42; a few lines from it are worth extracting in contrast to the character given of Wilfrid, by Mr. Turner.

"Wilfrid, though an able man, was of an ambitious character, inclining to turbulence, and fond of domination." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 391. St. Theodore thus writes of the same Wilfrid:

The Archbishop Theodore wrote a book, containing the Penitential Canons, in which the various crimes were accurately described, and the fitting temporal punishment that ought to be imposed upon them, wisely adjudged.*

" Ille sanctissimus in patientia sua, sicut dicit Scriptura, possideat animam suam; et injuriarum sibi injuste inrogaturum (immemor) humilis et mitis caput suum Dominum salvatorem sequens, et medicinam expetens." EDDIUS, Vit. S. Wilfrid, c. 42, p. 74. (Gale Ed).

* " Hic Theodorus scripsit pœnitentialem librum mirabili et cauta discretione distinguens modum singularum culparum." R. DE DICET. *Abb.* Chron. p. 440. BROMPTON, p. 741.

" Few things have rendered the name of Theodore more famous than his Penitential, or Code of Canons, prescribing the term of public penance for penitents, according to the quality and enormity of their sins. By this Penitential it appears, that when a monk died, mass was said for him on the day of his burial, on the third day after, and as often again as the abbot thought proper, also that the holy sacrifice was offered for the laity, accompanied with fasting." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ix, p. 486. See note (*,) 1st. col. same page. This Penitential of St. Theodore tended greatly to ameliorate the condition of the poor or the slave population. See LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, vol. i, pp. 238, 301, 302, 303, 333, 339. The Penitential of Egbert, Archbishop of York, was compiled upon the model of that of Archbishop Theodore. It imposed a fast of seven years upon the Saxon lady who killed her slave in a passion, and is objected to as a punishment insufficient to restrain inhumanity, by Sir Fraucis Palgrave, (Rise and Progress of English Commonwealth, vol. i, p. 20) although considering the manners of the time, and the ancient custom amongst the Saxons, of compensating for homicide with money, seven years penance was deemed sufficient by the Penitential of Theodore, to deter a barbarous people from the indulgence of their furious passions.

The Penitential of Theodore is published in Thorpe's " Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," pp. 277, 319. Two extracts will prove how advantageous to the poor were the progress and establishment of Christianity.

" Opera vero servilia diebus Dominicis nullo modo agantur; id est, nec viri ruralia opera exerceant, nec in vinea colenda,

For twenty-two years he acted as Archbishop in England; and at his death his body was interred in the church of St. Peter, where the remains of all the other bishops of Canterbury were deposited. Of him, as well as of them, it can be as justly and truly said, that their bodies are buried in peace, and their names will live from generation to generation. Yet, of Theodore, beyond all others, it must be admitted, that the Church of England derived more advantage from his episcopal care, than it had obtained from any of his predecessors.* He as well as they were Roman monks.† His person, his life, his age and his death were depicted in the verses inscribed upon his

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nec in campis arando, metendo, vel foenum secando, vel saepem ponendo; * * nec in orto laborent, nec ad placita conveniant, nec venationes exerceant. Item feminae opera texilia non faciant, nec abluant vestimenta, nec consuant; nec lanam carpere, nec linum batere, nec vestimenta lavare; nec verveces tondere, vel aliquid hujusmodi habeant licitum; ut omnimodis honor requies Dominicis resurrectionis diei servetur. Et *ad missarum sollennia* ad aecclesias undique conveniant, et laudant Deum pro omnibus bonis, quæ nobis in illa die fecit." c. xxxviii, §. 8, p. 298.

"Si autem aliquis excommunicatus fuerit mortuus, qui jam sit *confessus*, et non occurrit *communicare*, sed occupavit eum subita mors, sive in via, sive in domo; si est aliquis ex parentibu ejus, qui aliquid *pro eo* offerat, ad sanctum altare, aut *ad redemtionem captivorum, vel pauperibus tribuat.*" c. xli, §. 5, p. 300. See CAVALLARIUS *Institutiones Juris Canonici* Vol. i, p. 281, c. 25, § 6. See also King Gontran's Ordinance in the year 585, for the observance of the Sabbath. *Franc. Script.* vol. iv, pp. 116, 117.

* BEDA, Lib. v, c. 8, §. 374. "Hoc certe ad summam ejus laudem spectat, quod nunequam meliores successus religionis habuit Anglorum ecclesia." HARPSFIELD *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* (Sept. Sœc. c. 8, p. 63). See also GERVAS. *Act. Pont. Cantuar* p. 1637.

* S. BIRCHINGTON. *Vit. Arch. Cantuar.* (Ang. Sac. vol. i, p. 2.)

tomb for the perusal of all who resorted to the Church of St. Peter in Canterbury.*

About this time (the year 689) the venerable Servant of Christ, the ever to be honored priest Egbert, who had long lived an exile in Ireland, in order that he might the better prepare himself for an eternal home in heaven, resolved upon the accomplishment of a work, that he hoped would be profitable to many. It was that of discharging the Apostolic mission of preaching the Gospel to those, who were as yet ignorant of its truth; and especially to those nations, from whom the Angles and Saxons, settled in Britain, were descended. The will of Heaven did not permit him to complete the task, he designed to undertake. One of his companions, Wichtbert, who like him-

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* Beda, Lib. v. c. 8, §. 374. It is stated by the same author, that the epitaph consisted of thirty-four heroic verses. The first four lines were these :

" Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore præsul
Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga vocat,
Princeps pontificum, felix summusque sacerdos,
Limpida dicipulis dogmata disseruit."

" The following," says Weever, " went current for Theodore, thus Englished by the translator of venerable Bede :

" A worthy prelate lieth here, fast closed in his grave,
" To whom the name of Theodore the Greeks most justly gave
" With title right the sovereignty having of each degree,
" Christ's flock he fed with true doctrine, as all men do well see.'

Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 48.

self, had lived an exile and an anchorite in Ireland, for the attainment of a greater perfection in religious life; and who, like Egbert, was as remarkable for his learning, as for his contempt of the world, resolved upon proceeding to Friesland. For two years he was incessantly engaged in preaching to King Rathbed and the Frisii; but his efforts were vain; and his toil was fruitless amongst a wild and barbarous people. He returned to his former life of silence and retirement, and since he could not profit strangers by his words, he acted in such a manner, as to edify his fellow-countrymen by the example of his virtues.*

Egbert had been admonished by Heaven, that his services were required for the advantage of the Church, in a manner different from that, in which he desired to exercise them; he perceived that the labors of Wichtbert had not been attended with a profitable result, but still he did not abandon his desire to have men of learning, piety, and zeal employed on an apostolic mission to the Frisii. Amongst those, that were deemed by him the best fitted for such a task was Wilbrord, a priest preeminent for his merits, and sacerdotal virtues.

Twelve priests left England for the land of the Frisii. These (including Wilbrord) proceeded first to pay their homage to Pepin the leader of the Franks. They were graciously received by him; and as he had lately taken possession of the nearer Friesland,† and expelled its former sovereign, Rathbed, he was enabled to aid, by his supreme authority, the labours of the missionaries, to guard them

* Beda, Lib. v, c. 9, §. 376, 377, 378, 379.

† The extent of this district is uncertain. See Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche Historie*. Vol. i, p. 359, 360,

from molestation, and to encourage by his favors those who adopted the true faith. The result was, that in a very short space of time, many were, through the Divine grace, converted from idolatry to the Christian faith.*

The example and the success of these missionaries encouraged others to imitate them. Two priests—both English—and both having passed, for the greater perfection of a religious life, a long time in Ireland—travelled from thence to the province of the Old Saxons,† in the hope, that by their preaching its people might be converted to the Christian religion. Similar in name—Hewald—these two priests were alike in piety; but for distinction sake, they were called, one the "white," the other, the "black" Hewald, from the different colour of their hair. Both were intensely animated with the strongest feelings of devotion; but the latter was of the two, the more profoundly learned in the Sacred Writings.

Upon the Hewalds entering the province of the Old Saxons, they obtained shelter in the house of a land-steward, and requested him to inform his lord, that they came upon an embassy, which they hoped would be acceptable to him, because it was intended for the benefit of his country. The Old Saxons, it is to be observed, were subjects to no king; but there were many Ealdormen amongst them, who in times of war, accepted as the leader, over all the persons amongst them, him whom a chance-lot might designate. Whilst hostilities were carried

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* See Rer. Gal. et Franc. Script. vol. iii, pp. 318, 315.

† "A nation bordering upon the Frisians, and frequently mentioned in conjunction with them. See Alcuin's Opp, 1, 6, etc." STEVENSON. Wilbord was a Saxon by descent. WAGENAAR'S *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol. i, p. 356.

on, obedience was due to him; but when peace was restored, the war-leader sank into an equality with his fellow nobles.*

It was in the steward's house of one of these Saxon nobles, that the Hewalds were received, whilst their message was forwarded to his lord. There it was soon perceived, by the barbarians, that the Hewalds were of a religion different from that established in the country; for not only were they heard singing hymns and chanting psalms, and praying aloud, but it was also observed, (as they had brought with them sacred vessels, and a consecrated table, to serve as an altar) that they daily offered up in sacrifice to God the Victim of Eternal Salvation.† These proofs of piety made the priests odious to the Old Saxons. They feared, that if these zealous men should gain access to their lord, their exertions might turn him aside from his idolatry, convert him to the novel faith of Christ, and at length change the ancient worship of the province, into that which was then strange in its forms, and its doctrines unknown to the people. Influenced alike by fear of change, and hatred of those, by whom it was proposed, the multitude suddenly laid hold of the two priests, and put them to death. The white Hewald they at once despatched with the sword; but upon the black Hewald, their barbarity displayed itself in the cruel torture they inflicted upon him. They deprived him of life in a slow and lingering agony, and then tore the body limb from

* See TACITUS *Annal.* Lib. ii. §. 26, 44. *Germania.* §. 7. TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons.* Vol. i. p. 380.

† "Et quotidie sacrificium Deo victimæ salutaris offerrebant, habentes secum vascula sacra et tabulam altaris vice dedicatam." BEDA.

limb;* and having done this, they cast the remains of both martyrs into the waters of the Rhine.

The village in which these martyrs were put to death, was burned to the ground, and the barbarous people by whom they had been killed, were destroyed by order of their lord, as soon as he heard, that the pious strangers who had desired to see him, had been thus treated.

The Hewalds suffered martyrdom on the 3rd of October. Their sanctity and devotion were testified by miracles; for upon their bodies being cast into the river, by their Pagan murderers, they ascended for forty miles

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* "Nigellum autem longo suppliciorum cruciatu et horrenda membrorum omnium discerptione." BEDA. The crime of the Hewalds was saying Mass—its punishment, death, and by torture. Take an example from the reign of Queen Elizabeth—one of many—and it will be found, that for the same act—saying Mass—English Catholic priests were treated in England worse than the English priests by the Old Saxons:—

"The 16th of June," (1573) "Thomas Woodhouse, a *priest of Lincolnshire*, who had lien *long prisoner in the Fleete*, was arraigned in *the Guildhall of London*, and there condemned of high treason, who had judgement to be *hanged and quartered*, and was executed at Tyborn the nineteenth of June." STOWE'S *Annales* p. 677.

Upon such executions as these, Speed is facetious. Referring to Campion and Persons he says;—"And though the one of these *spyders* spunne his webbe so in corners, as he could not be found, yet was the other swept downe by the hand of justice and *drew his last threed in the Triangle* of Tyborne." SPEED'S *Chron.* p. 871. For an account of the tortures inflicted on priests during this period, before their committal to prison, See DODD'S *History of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 117, note 1. (Tierney's Edition).

Upon the reluctance originally of the Northern nations to receive Christianity, and their subsequent detestation of its professors, See DEPPING Histoire des expeditions Maritimes des Normand. Vol. i. p. p, 98, 104, 105. SNORRO. *Hist. Reg. Septent.* Vol. i. p. 316. WACHSMUTH *Historsiches Taschenbuch.* Vol. v. p. 295, 296, 298.

against the current of the stream, and were at length borne to that place, in which their priestly companions were located. During the night, an immense ray of light was seen to descend from heaven, and to rest upon the place, whereto their bodies had been wafted—and this even was observed by some of those, who had dipped their hands, in the blood of the English Saints. One of them also appeared in a vision by night to one of his fellow priests—a man of illustrious deeds—in the wordly sense a nobleman—and who had at one time been a soldier, but had become a monk. To this man, Filmon, it was thus revealed, that their bodies might be found in that spot, which was irradiated at night, by the light of heaven. The vision was verified by the event. Their bodies were sought for, found as it had been indicated, and treated with that respect and honor, which are ever becomingly shown to the remains of martyrs. The day of their martyrdom, as well as that of the invention of their bodies are celebrated as great feasts in those parts of the world. As soon as the facts, we have stated, were ascertained by Pepin, ruler of the Franks, he had the bodies of these saints and martyrs carried to Cologne, and deposited with great solemnity in the church. It is even said, that in the place where they were killed, a spring gushed from the earth, which has ever since flowed in a copious and abundant stream of water.*

As soon as Wilbrord arrived in Frisia, and had obtained permission from its ruler to preach the Gospel, he hastened to Rome, over which then presided the Pope Sergius; for Wilbrord desired to begin his long wished for labor, with

* Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 10, §. 380, 381, 382, 383,

the sanction and blessing of the Apostolic See. He, at the same time, hoped to receive from the Pontiff the relics of blessed apostles and of martyrs, in order, that as soon as the idols were destroyed by the people, amongst whom he was about to preach, he might erect churches, which he could dedicate to the Saints, whose relics he should deposit in their shrines.* Besides this, there were a great many other things, which it was necessary for him to learn and acquire in Rome, for the speedier and more happy accomplishment of the great work, on which he was engaged. All that he wanted, he obtained—all that he wished for, was conceded to him; and he returned from Rome, to the performance of his missionary duties.

During the absence of Wilbrord at Rome, the monks who remained in Frisia preaching the gospel, chose from amongst themselves a priest, named Suidbert, a 'man equally remarkable for his mildness and humility,' and sent him back to Britain to be consecrated as a Bishop. Their petition was addressed to Wilfrid, then living as an exile amongst the Mercians. Wilfrid performed the duty that was required from him, for at that time Canterbury was without an Archbishop—Theodore was dead, and his successor, Berthwald, had to cross the sea to be consecrated, and had not then returned to his country.

Suidbert, as soon as he was consecrated, rejoined his companions in Frisia, and shortly afterwards went amongst

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* "Simul et reliquias beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi ab eo se sperans accipere, ut dum in gente, cui prædicaret, destructis idolis, ecclesias instituerat, haberet in promtu reliquias sanctorum, quas ibi introduceret; quibusque ibidem depositis, consequenter in eorum honorem, quorum essent illæ, singula quæque loca dedicaret." BEDA.

the Boructuarians,* and converted a great number of them to Christianity. The Boructuarians were shortly afterwards defeated by the Old Saxons, and the Christians amongst them utterly separated from each other; whilst their Bishop, and a few of his friends, repaired to Pepin, by whom they were given, in accordance with the suggestion of his wife, an island in the waters of the Rhine. There a monastery was built, where Suidbert closed a life of humility and poverty, such as was long maintained by his religious successors.

Some years had been passed in the conversion of Frisia, when Pepin, sanctioned by the universal expression of public opinion, sent Bishop Wilbrord to Rome, to the Pope Sergius, who was still living, in order that his Holiness might consecrate Wilbrord as the Archbishop of the Frisian nation. This wish was complied with in the year 696.

Wilbrord was consecrated in the church of St. Cecilia. The name of "Clement" was given to him by the Pope, who enabled him to return homeward to his Archiepiscopal See, within fourteen days from the time he entered the walls of Rome.

Upon Wilbrord was bestowed by Pepin, as the seat of his episcopal See, a place in his celebrated fortress of Utrecht. There a church was built by this reverend prelate; from thence did he proceed on his laborious mission, travelling far and near; preaching the Gospel of Christ; converting numbers from their errors; building many churches, and erecting monasteries in divers places. He

* "The inhabitants of a district on the River Neckar, or of the country between the Rhine and the Weser." STEVENSON.

consecrated as Bishops some who came with him, or who immediately succeeded his first companions as preachers.*

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* BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 11. §. 384, 385, 386, 387, 388. Of one of the disciples, of Wilbrord, we are told that, "in the year 698, St. Lambert was crowned with martyrdom at Utrecht. See Les Grand. Chron. de Franc. Lib. v. c. 25. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* p. p. 317, 345, 362. He had presumed to rebuke Pepin for preferring the society of a vicious female to that of his wife, and was put to death by the favourite's brother. The year following, his murderer, Dodo, was consumed by worms, and became so loathsome, that his body had to be cast into the Moselle. All those concerned in Lambert's murder were, through the Divine vengeance, visited by death, within the course of a single year—and the person who gave to St. Lambert his death-blow having quarrelled with his own brother was in the conflict killed by him, and at the same time died himself a fratricide! ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. p. 189, 190. For a further account of Wilbrord, See ALCUIN, Vol. ii. p. 183. The lives of the Hewalds are narrated in, CAPGRAVE. fol *clxxviii. b.* Of these Saints, as well as St. Lambert, and other missionaries in Friesland, an interesting account is given by WINSEMIUM *Historische geschiedenisse van Vriseslant.* p. 57, 58, 59, 60. It is stated by another authority—that amongst the churches erected by Wilbrord were those at—"*Vlaardingen*, te *Velzereburg*, misschien Velzen, te *Petten*, en te *Hiligeerlo* of Heilo." WAGENAAR'S *Vaderlandsche Historie.* Vol. i. p. 362. The last named author observes, in the same page, with a candour, which is not common amongst Anti-Catholic writers—"There are many miracles told of this Wil-brord, which as they have little appearance of truth, are omitted, as not being worthy of being recorded." It is an admission on the part of the Dutchman, that he was not fitted to write History. "Ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; *supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit.*" SALLUST. *Catil.* §. 3.

Wilbrord "was buried, as he had desired, at his monastery at Epternac, and his relics are there enshrined at this day. The portative altar which he made use of for travelling through Friseland, Zealand and Holland, is kept in the Benedictin Abbey of our Lady *ad martyres*, at Triers. * * * At Epternac are kept two manuscripts in Saxon letters, brought into France by

The successor to Theodore, in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, was Berthwald abbot of the monastery at Reculver, on the north side of the mouth of the river Inlade.* The See, which had hitherto been filled by Roman Bishops was henceforth occupied by Englishmen.† Berthwald was a man whose mind was deeply imbued with scriptural knowledge, and who was perfectly accomplished in ecclesiastical and monastic discipline, but still, with all his rare merits, was not deserving even of a comparison with his illustrious predecessor. He was elected as an Archbishop, on the first of July 692, in the joint reign of the Kentish Kings Withred and Suebbard,‡ and was

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St. Willibrord; one containing the four gospels copied from the very original of St. Jerom: the other of St. Jerom's martyrology, which the Bollandists have engraved in their work. In the margin of this Calendar is written in St. Willibrord's hand, "Clement Willibrord came from beyond the sea into France in 690: though unworthy was ordained by the apostolic man, Pope Sergius, in 695; is now living in 728." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. xi. p. 829. See also p. 285 for a list of authorities, with respect to this great Saint, of whom Northumberland can boast, as one of her children.

* Beda, Lib. v, c. 8, §. 375. Of the monastery of Reculver we find the following notices. It is said that "all that remains of the monastery founded 669, is probably the little stone cottage, by some holden to be the remains of an old chapel or oratory." (Tanner, p. 207). "The whole precinct of the monastery appeareth by the old walle, and *the vicarage was made of ruines of the monastery.*" (Leland, Itin. vol. vii, f. 137). Reculver, where Ethelbert built a palace, "at present it is only a small country village, and owes all its consequence to that monastery, whose church spires are of use to mariners to avoid the shoals and sands in the Thames' mouth." CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* vol. i, pp. 313, 341, 342.

† *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 690.

‡ "Then were there two Kings in Kent, Withred, and *Webherd.*" *Sax. Chron.* The latter is called by Roger de Wendover

consecrated the year following by Godwin, metropolitan bishop of France. Amongst the many bishops consecrated by him was Tobias, as Bishop of Rochester, on the death of Gebmund. Tobias * was distinguished for his learning in various branches of knowledge, and especially for his complete masterhood of the Latin, Greek, and Saxon languages.†

Ina, King of the West Saxons, in the year 693,‡ levied a formidable army, with the intention of exacting a terrible vengeance upon the people of Kent, for the murder of his brother Mull, who had been burned to death by them. The purpose of Ina was defeated by the wisdom and prudence of Withred, King of Kent. Withred became an humble suppliant for peace, and purchased it, at an immense price.‖ Thirty thousand pounds were given to Ina on account of the murder of his brother.¶ Thus was

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Sifred. "It is," says Mr. Stevenson, (Beda, vol. i, p. 348, note 23) "uncertain who he was, and how he obtained possession of the throne; some writers stating that he obtained it by force, others, that he succeeded to it by birth-right." Roger de Wendover describes Suebbard as the brother of Withred, and like him, remarkable for his piety, and his talents—united with him in saving their country from the horrors of a foriegn invasion, and in richly endowing a monastery in Canterbury, dedicated to St. Martin. See Roger de Wendover, vol. i, pp. 185, 186.

* See *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, p. 330.

†Beda, Lib. v, c. 8, §. 375. The consecration of Berthewald is fixed by the Saxon Chronicle in the year 693. The same year in which died Dryhtelm, whose extraordinary vision is told by Beda in his Ecclesiastical History. Lib. v, c. 12.

‡ A.D. 694. *Saxon Chronicle.*

‖ Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 187.

¶ "Her Cantware gethingodan with Ine, and him gesealdon, xxx thusenda punda to freondscipe. forthon the hi ær Mul his brother forbærdon." *Sax. Chronicle.* "According to Florence,

the quarrel terminated, and thus peace restored.*

Withred, who effected this peace occupied the throne of Kent for thirty-eight years.

"And as soon as he was king, he ordained a great council to meet in the place that is called Bapchild: in which he presided as King of Kent, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Berthwald, and Bishop Tobias of Rochester: and with them were collected abbots and abbesses, and many wise men, all to consult about the advantage of God's churches that are in Kent. Now began the King to speak, and said, "I will that all the "ministers and the churches, that were given and be-"queathed to the worship of God in the days of believing "kings, my predecessors, and in the days of my relations "—of King Cuthbert and of those that followed him— "shall so remain to the worship of God, and stand fast "for evermore. For I, Withred, earthly king, urged on "by the Heavenly King, and with the spirit of righteous-"ness revealed, have of our progenitors learned this, that

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the sum paid was 3,750 pounds; and to Malmsbury 30,000 mancæ of gold. The manca and the ancient marca are by some thought to be synonymous, and to be money, either gold and silver, which was paid in weight. The value of the manca of gold is not exactly known; it is believed to be equal to the pound. The manca of silver in the time of Henry I. was estimated at six shillings, five pence to the shilling; and in the reign of Edward III, at only thirty pence of the money of that period. * * This payment seems excessive; but it was probably the legal compensation for the death of Mull." HARDY. (W. Malmsb. vol. i, p. 48, note. 3). Dr. Lingard shews that there was a great difference in the value of the marc and the mancus. See *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 317, 318, 319. (Ed. 1806).

Ethelwerd states that the compensation paid for the burning of Mull was "solidos millia triginta singulos constanti numero sexdecim nummis.' *Historia*, Lib. ii, p. 837.

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 187.

" *no layman should have any right to possess himself of any* " *church, or of any of the things that belong to the church.* " And therefore, strongly and truly, we sit and decree, " and in the name of Almighty God, and of all Saints, " we forbid all our succeeding kings, and aldermen, and " all laymen, ever, any lordship over churches, and over " all their appurtenances, which I or my elders in old " days have given for a perpetual inheritance to the glory " of Christ and our Lady St. Mary, and the holy apostles. " And look! when it happeneth, that bishop, or abbot, or " abbess, depart from this life, be it told the archbishop, " and with his council and injunction be chosen such as " be worthy. And the life of him, that shall be chosen to " so holy a thing, let the archbishop examine, and his " cleanness; and in no wise be chosen any one, or to so " holy a thing consecrated, without the archbishop's coun- " sel. Kings shall appoint earls, and earldermen, sheriffs, " and judges; but the archbishop shall consult and pro- " vide for God's flock; bishops, and abbots, and abbesses, " and priests, and deacons, he shall choose and appoint; " and also sanctify and confirm with good precepts, and " example lest that any of God's flock go astray and " perish."*

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* *The Saxon Chronicle* pp. 58, 59, 60, *Translated by the Rev. J. Ingram,* B.D., See note 7, p. 60, for other authorities on this point.

In this important distinction of Withred, we find laid down the principle of independence, for which the Catholic church has always contended. It is a principle, as far as England is concerned, defeated at the "Reformation." Since then, religion and its ministers have been the slave and the instruments of Kings and courtiers; and since then we can no longer say, with Sulpicius Severus :—" novum esse et inauditum nefas, ut

In the year 697, the Mercians put to death Ostrida, the

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causam Ecclesiæ judex seculi judicaret." *Sac. Hist.* Lib. ii, p. 449. (Ludgd. Batav. 1647,)

This regulation of Withred, and his advisers for the independence of the church was fully recognised at the council of Clovesho, and afterwards confirmed by the charter of King Ethelbald. It was truly said respecting this regulation, "nullum aliud tam nobile, tamque prudenter constitutum decretum invenire potuisse secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam, et ideo hoc ab omnibus firmari, sanxerunt." SPELMAN'S *Concilia*, vol i, p. 231. See *notæ*.

The distinction, between the supreme authority in things spiritual and temporal, is laid down broadly by the good King Withred, his Bishops, noblemen and people, as previously had been noted the difference between the spiritual supremacy of the Pontiff, and the temporal supremacy of the Emperor, by the Popes Gelasius, and Symachus, in their correspondence with Anastatius:—

"Duo sunt, imperator auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacra pontificum, et regalis potestas * * Nosti enim, fili clementissime, quod licet præsideas humano generi dignitate, rerum tamen præsulibus divinarum devotus colla submittis, atque ab eis causas tuæ salutis expetis; inque sumendis coelestibus sacramentis, eisque, ut competit, disponendis, subdi te debere cognoscis religionis ordine potius quam præesse. Nosti itaque inter hæc ex illorum te pendere judicio, non illos ad tuam velle redigi voluntatem. Si enim quantum ad ordinem pertinet publicæ disciplinæ, cognoscentes, imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis antistites ... ... quo, rogo, decet affectu eis obedire, qui pro erogandis venerabilibus sunt attributi mysteriis. (Epist. S. Gelasii.)

———"An, quia imperator es, contra Petri niteris potestatem? * * Postremo, tu humana administras, ille tibi divina dispensat. * * Fortassis dicturus es scriptum esse, 'omni potestati nos subditos esse debere.' Nos quidem potestates humanas suo loco suscipimus donec contra Deum suos erigant voluntates. Cæterum, 'si omnis potestas a Deo est' magis ergo quæ rebus est præstituta divinis. Defer Deo in nobis, et nos deferemus Deo in te. Cæterum si tu Deo non deferas, non potes ejus uti privilegio, cujus jura contemnis" (Apol. Symmachi) LABBEUS. Concilia, vol. iv, pp. 1181, 1116, 1296, 1300.

wife of King Ethelred, and the sister of King Egfrid.*

In this year was held the Council at Berkhamstead in which it was determined, that the person who desired to give freedom to his slave, could do so, in the church, and before the altar of God; and from that moment the slave became invested with all the liberty, the privileges and the responsibility of a freeman; whilst he who compelled his slave to perform any servile work, either on the eve of Sunday, during the Sunday itself, or on the evening of that day should pay a fine of eighty shillings; that the slave who violated the sanctity of the day, should pay a fine of six shillings, or suffer stripes, and that the master who compelled his slave to eat meat on a fasting day, should lose his services for ever, and the slave be thereby enfranchised.†

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* *Saxon Chronicle.* "The cause of her fate is not known." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol i, p. 397.

† *Concilium Berghamstedae.*

9 "Si quis servum suum ad altare manumiserit, liber esto, et habilis sit ad gaudendum hereditate et Wirgildo, *et fas sit ei ubi volet sine limite versari.*"

10 "Si in vespera præcedente diem solis, postquam sol occubuit, aut in vespera præcedente diem Lunæ post occasum solis servus ex mandato Domini sui, opus aliquiid servile egerit, Dominus factum lxxx solidis luito."

11 "Si servus hiscæ diebus itineravit, domino pendat vi (solidos) aut flagello.

15 "Si quis servo suo carnem in jejunio dederit comedendam, servus liber exeat." SPELMAN' *Concilia*, vol. i, pp. 195, 196.

Mr. Thorpe's version of the laws of Withred differs in many points from that of Spelman. See Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," pp. 16, 17, 18, 19. The following is Mr. Thorpe's translation of the introduction or preamble to the laws of Withred:—

"These are the Dooms of Whithred, King of the Kentish men.

Beort, one of the generals of Northumbria, attempted (A. D. 699)* to avenge upon the Picts, the death of his former sovereign Egfrid. He invaded their land; but like to Egfrid, the malediction of Ireland was upon him, and he too, an instrument of the royal oppressor of that country, fell, as Egfrid, in the field of battle, and became the spoil of those he had hoped to conquer.†

In the year 703, Benedict Biscop, Abbot of England, gloriously terminated by a happy death the useful and laudable life, he had passed.‡ He first constructed, in honor of St. Peter, the Prince of the apostles, a monastery near to the mouth of the river Were, for which land had been granted to him by King Egfrith. This monastery was governed by him for sixteen years—years that were marked with unceasing labors—with the toils of travel, or the pains of sickness.¶ His days were made vener-

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"In the reign of the most clement King of the Kentish men, Wihtraed, * * in the place which is called Berghamstyde, where was assembled a deliberative convention of the great men—there was Birhtwald, Archbishop of Britain, and the forenamed King; also the Bishop of Rochester, the same was called Gybmund, was present; and *every degree of the Church of that province spoke in unison with the people.* There the great men decreed, *with the suffrages of all,* these Dooms, and added them to the lawful customs of the Kentish men, as it hereafter saith and declareth." (p. 16).

* *Saxon Chronicle.* See p. 443 of this volume.

† Roc. de Wend. vol. i, p. 196. "sicut dominus suus maledicta Hiberniensium sentiens corruit."

‡ Roc. de Wend. vol. i, p. 196. The time of his death it is believed is incorrectly stated by Wendover. See note (5) by Mr. Coxe, in page 196.

¶ Beda. Vit Beatorum Abbatum Benedicti, &c., vol. ii, p. 139)Stephenson Ed. E. H. S.) The space occupied by the

able, by his virtues. From his boyhood, it might be said, that there was in his heart the wisdom of a sage; for even in his youth, he displayed a contempt for pleasure, and with it, the mortified passions of mature age.

Descended from a noble race of ancestors, he ranked amongst the chiefs of the English people; but he sought to elevate himself to a higher position, by becoming the associate of the angels in heaven. He was a minister to King Oswy; he received from his sovereign the land attachable to his condition; but in his twenty-fifth year, he felt contempt for an inheritance that was perishable, when he compared it, with that eternal dominion, which it was in his power to acquire. He despised an earthly soldiership with its transitory dotation, when he might battle for a sovereign whose throne was immutable, and who could make him a citizen, in the everlasting kingdom of heaven. He abandoned home, relations and country, for the sake of Christ and His gospel; he scorned to enter into the bonds of matrimony, in order that he might, in all the glory of virginity follow the White Lamb to the mansions of eternal bliss*,—he refused to have children of his own, that he might be the spiritual father of children, educated by him, to know, to love, and to serve the Saviour, Christ.

He left his country and proceeded to Rome;† for he

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life of St. Benedict Biscop, will, it is to be hoped, be justified by the expressions of Dr. Lingard, who speaks of him as "the celebrated Abbot of Wearmouth," from whose "labours the most valuable benefits were derived by his countrymen," *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 165, 167. (Ed. 1806.) See LELAND, de Scriptor. Britan. pp. 100, 110, 111.

* "Respuit nuptiis servire carnalibus, ut sequi valeret Agnum virginitatis gloria candidum in regnis cælestibus." BEDA.

† His companion in this journey was St. Wilfrid. See note 19, by Stephenson, p. 140.

was always animated with an ardent desire to see with his own eyes the places, in which the bodies of the blessed apostles reposed, and there to offer up his adoration. He soon after returned to his native land, and the ecclesiastical institutes which he had seen abroad and that he admired, and venerated there, he was unceasing in preaching their adoption at home. It was about this time (A.D. 653) that Alfrid, son of King Oswy, had determined upon visiting Rome, and had chosen Benedict Biscop as the companion of his journey. The father of Prince Alfrid recalled his son, but Benedict Biscop proceeded on his journey. He visited Rome for the second time, during the Pontificate of Vitalian; and having remained there some months he proceeded to the isle of Lerins, where he received the tonsure, took the vows as a monk; and for two years, devoted himself to the study and the practice of monastic discipline. At the end of that time, yielding to his love for the Prince of the Apostles, he determined again to visit the city, sanctified with the body of St. Peter.

From the isle of Lerins he voyaged in a merchant vessel to Rome. This was his third visit. From Rome he returned to Britain with Archbishop Theodore, and was appointed Superior of the monastery of St. Peter at Canterbury—an office in which he was succeeded by Adrian.

For two years did Benedict Biscop govern the monastery, and then for the fourth time travelled to Rome. It was the third time that he had made the entire journey from England to that city! and it was accomplished with the usual happy success that attended him, on all the previous occasions. From Rome, he returned with no small store of books on sacred subjects, which had either been

bought by him, or that were bestowed upon him by his friends. In his voyage homewards, he received, at Vienne, those which he had directed his friends to purchase for him.*

Upon his return to Britain his intention was to repair to the King of the West Saxons, of whose friendship and generosity he had already availed himself. The untimely death of that monarch changed his purpose, and he resolved upon repairing to the country and the people, amongst whom he had been born. He addressed himself to Egfrid, King of Northumbria. He declared to Egfrid, as his sovereign, all that he had done from the time, that as a youth he had abandoned his native land; he did not conceal the religious ardour with which he was inflamed; he explained the ecclesiastical and monastical institutions of which he acquired the knowledge at Rome, and at other places; he shewed the number of sacred volumes, and the many relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs, that he had brought with him; and the result was, that he found such grace and favour with the King, that there was instantly bestowed upon him, out of his own property,† the

* "Librosque omnis divinæ eruditionis non paucos vel placito pretio emtos, vel, amicorum dono largitos, retulit. Rediens autem ubi Viennam pervenit, emticios ibi, quos amicos commendaverat, recepit." BEDA. Every one, acquainted with the lives and literary habits of the ancient monks, must be aware, that nothing was more common than this species of commission. See MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages.* p. p. 51, 56.

† "De suo largitus;" that is, the King as we believe, gave back to Benedict Biscop, land which the saint had forfeited, to the Sovereign, upon his abandoning the performance of the temporal duties attached to it. Such is the interpretation humbly suggested on this passage; because it seems supported by the following passage in the sermon attributed to Bede, on the anniversary of St. Benedict:—

"Nec longo post tempore etiam per reges seculi cognito vir-

land of seventy families, for the erection of a monastery. This was the monastery of Weremouth commenced in the year 674.

Scarcely more than a year had passed, from the time that the foundations of this monastery had been laid, when Benedict Biscop made a voyage to France; he there sought for, procured, and brought back with him masons competent to build stone churches, in the style of the Romans; a style that he had always admired, and wished to see adopted in England. Another year had scarcely passed away, when such was his eager desire to do honor to St. Peter, to whom the building was dedicated, that it was completed from its foundation to its roof, and the solemn sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated within its walls.* As the work was now approaching to completion, he sent messengers to France, for the purpose of bringing back with them, mechanics acquainted with the making of glass—an art then unknown in England—for the purpose

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tutum ejus, studio, locum ejus monasterii construendi, *non ab aliqua minorum personarum ablatum*, sed de suis propriis donatum curabant" BEDA. Vol. ii. p. 336, §. 2. (E.H.S.,) See upon the feudal tenures of lands, and military benefices, PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.* Vol. i. p. p. 576, 578, 584.

By De Courson, the principle of military service as conditional on the occupation of land is thus broadly laid down :— "Chez tous les peuples fractionnes en communautés de familles, en Asie et en Afrique comme en Europe, l' obligation du service militaire etait attachée à la possession du sol." *Histoire des Peuples Bretons.* Vol. ii. p. 115. Nothing can be more clearly demonstrated than the existence and enforcement of the feudal system amongst the Ancient Britons. We do not refer to particular passages, because almost every page of M. De Courson's invaluable book is pregnant with proof on this subject.

* " Missarum inibi sollennia celebrari videres." BEDA.

of having latticed windows, wherever they were required in different parts of the church. It was done, as he had desired. These persons not only executed the work, for which they were required, but they taught the people of England how to make glass—an article available not merely for the purposes of the church, but for various other uses.*

All things that were required for the service of the altar and the church—sacred vessels and vestments, not to be obtained at home, Benedict Biscop, as a diligent and pious purchaser, had bought for him in all countries beyond the sea. This ever active provider for his church proceeded a fifth time to Rome. He did so because he there procured for his church, that which was not to be obtained in France; and his labors were rewarded with the rich prizes of spiritual gifts, that he brought back to his native land. He conveyed home, for instance, an immense number of books of all kinds,† and in the relics of martyrs and saints for churches yet to be built in England,

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* The fact of the introduction of glass into England, by a monk, is not denied by Hollinshed. See vol. i, p. 627. Candour in Hollinshed is a quality so rarely exhibited, that it merits observation, when he is so far forgetful of his purpose, as to lapse into it.

William of Malmsbury mentions that St. Benedict Biscop improved the architecture of England—that his toils and labors were consoled, with the patriotic hope, that he might be able to improve the condition of his country—"Quippe studio advehendi cognatis aliquod insolitum amor patriæ, et voluptas elegantiæ asperos fallebant labores: neque enim ante Benedictum, lapidei tabulatus domus in Britannia nisi perraro videbantur, neque perspicuitate vitri penetrata lucem ædibus solaris jaciebat radius." *Gest Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 54.

† "Innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam apportavit." BEDA.

he was the bearer of an abundant grace. He also brought in his society, the abbot John—a man competent to teach the mode of singing and chanting during the sacred offices, as well as to regulate a monastery according to the manner of Rome,* Benedict also brought with him a gift for his church, which was of no mean value—it was a Brief of Privileges from the Pope Agatho. This he had obtained with the permission, assent, and desire of King Egfrid—and by it the monastery was declared to be for ever free from all extraneous aggression. Lastly, Benedict brought with him pictures on Sacred Subjects, for the adornment of his church. One was a picture of the Blessed and ever Virgin Mother of God, and with this, a representation in painting of the twelve Apostles. These by means of a wooden scaffolding were attached to the central roof of the church. The south walls were decorated with pictures, representing different passages in the Sacred Scriptures; and on the northern wall there were pictures shewing the visions of St. John in the Apocalypse; all these were so placed in the church, that all who entered within its walls—even those who could not read, might, whatever side they turned their eyes, have ever before them, even though in mere representation, the ever loveable aspect of their Saviour and his Saints—that, as they contemplated these, they might recollect, with the greater devotion, the ineffable grace of their Lord's incarnation; or, as they gaezd upon that, which told them of the terrors of the last Judgment, they

* John was not a teacher of church music, in Weremouth merely. The monks and priests in other places were anxious to be instructed by him. See Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iv, c. 18. §. 306.

might be incited to a more careful, more strict, and more diligent examination of their conscience.*

The King Egfrid, no less delighted with the zeal, the industry and the devotion of Benedict Biscop, than with the profitable use, he made of the revenues bestowed upon his monastery, determined to encrease them, by the addition of the lands of forty families. These lands were applied to the erection of another monastery. At the end of a year seventeen monks were placed in it, under the guidance of the abbot and priest Ceolfrid. This (the monastery of Jarrow) was dedicated to the Apostle St. Paul.† Ceolfrid its abbot had been the assistant of Benedict, in laying down the rules necessary for the government of

* "Quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes, etiam literarum ignari, quaquaversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; vel Dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi discrimen examinis quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent." BEDA. This is the doctrine taught by the church, and at all times practised by Catholics. Their veneration for the images and pictures of the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints is not paid to the materials of which they are made, or the pigments with which they are composed—it is, for the subjects that they represent. And yet, for this veneration, they are, even to this day, charged with idolatry, by the wilfully malignant, and the obstinately ignorant! Their assailants will not believe, or they are not aware, that Catholics regard these representations, not as mere ornaments, but worthy of respect, as tending to the edification of those who look upon them—"picturas sanctarum historiarum, quæ non ad ornamentum solummodo ecclesiæ, verum ad instructionem intuentium." BEDA. Vol. ii. p. 338. (E.H.S.,)

† "The dedication of the church of Jarrow is recorded in a contemporary inscription yet preserved in it. It stands thus, 'Dedicatio basilicæ sci Pauli viii kl Mai anno XV Egfridi reg. Ceolfridi abb. ejusdem q. q. Eccles Deo auctore conditoris anno iiii.' See Surtees' Hist. Durham, ii, 67." STEVENSON. See also *Act. Sanct.* (January). Vol. i. p. 745.

his first monastery, and had also been the companion of his pious journey to Rome. When Ceolfrid was appointed as abbot of Jarrow, Eosterwini, on account of the frequent absences of Benedict, was nominated as abbot of Weremouth.*

A short time after he had so arranged the regulation of the monasteries—that Eosterwini acted as abbot of St. Peter's, and Ceolfrid, as that of St. Paul's, Benedict Biscop travelled for the fifth time from Britain to Rome,† and returned, as he had ever done from thence, enriched with priceless gifts of all things suited to divine worship. He brought with him a great number of religious works, and along with these, a valuable present of pictures on sacred subjects. Amongst these were paintings on the life and sufferings of our Lord, with which he encircled the representation of the Blessed Virgin, already placed in the monastery of St. Peter. He also brought with him, for the monastery of St. Paul, paintings which exhibited parallel passages in the Old and New Testament; for instance, a picture pourtraying in one compartment Isaac bearing the wood, on which he was to be sacrificed; and in another, our Lord carrying the cross on which he was to be crucified: another in which were contrasted the serpent erected by Moses, in the Wilderness; and the Son of Man exalted upon the cross. He also brought, at the same time to England with

* Beda, *Vita S. Benedicti*, &c., vol ii, pp. 139, to 146. We omit Beda's notice of the life and virtues of Eosterwini, as they are already referred to. See note to p. 447.

† It was, in reality, his sixth visit to Rome, but the fifth time, that he had undertaken the long and perilous journey, from England to the seat of the Pontiff.

him, two fragrant robes of exquisite richness and incomparable workmanship, for which, he purchased from King Alfrid and his counsellors, (as Egfrid was dead at the time he returned) the land of three families on the south of the River Were.*

The joy, that was felt, upon the return of Benedict Biscop to his monks, was dashed by the grievous tidings that awaited him. A pestilence, which then prevailed, had carried off a great number of the monks, as well as the Abbot Eosterwini. In his place, the surviving monks and the Abbot Ceolfrid, had elected as abbot, a member of the same monastery. This was the deacon Sigfrid—a man sufficiently well informed in Scriptural Knowledge † —adorned with the purest morals—endowed in a miraculous manner with the virtue of abstinence; and whose command of all the noblest and best qualities, both of mind and body were not, in the slightest degree, dimin-

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* Upon the purchase of lands by the clergy, for the monasteries,—their anxiety to secure for religion and the poor those possessions, and the spoliations of such lands, by kings and nobles, see PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, pp. 166, 167, 168.

† "Virum scientia quidem scripturarum sufficienter instructum." BEDA.

This phrase is translated literally in the text; but it must not be interpreted, as if it signified, that Sigfrid was not a perfect master of theology; for Beda in describing the qualifications of Aldhelm, and another bishop makes use of the same phrase—"in scientia scripturarum sufficienter instructi;" (Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. c. 18, §. 410) whilst in the same paragraph he assures us, that Aldhelm was not only most learned, but a man of wonderful erudition, in scripture, as in every other important branch of knowledge. (Vir undecumque doctissimus; nam et sermone nitidus et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum, erat eruditione mirandus).

ished by the deadly pains and unceasing affliction of a wasting and irremediable consumption.

A short time, after his arrival in England Benedict Biscop was attacked with the prevailing pestilence; and both he, and Sigfrid were at the same time confined to their beds. In both, the Divine Mercy was pleased to add, to the zeal they had exhibited for religion, the opportunity of exhibiting the holy patience of martyrs, in the endurance of their bodily sufferings. The sickness, which was alone to be subdued by death, was destined at once to bring them to a peace, which should know no disturbance, and joys that should never terminate. Sigfrid, worn out by internal agonies, was fast approaching to his last day on earth; but Benedict endured for three years an illness, that day by day, encreased in intensity, and at length became so complete a paralysis, that all the lower members of the body were prematurely dead, whilst the upper part, and those vital functions, without which man cannot exist, retained their powers, as the instruments, wherewith the holy patience of the saint might be exercised.

In his affliction, Benedict employed his time in giving thanks to God, or in exhorting his Brethren, ever to pray and adore Him who is the Creator of mankind. He was also constant in recommending the monks to adhere faithfully, to the rules of their order, as he had established them.

"Do not think," said Benedict Biscop to his monks, "that these rules are of my own invention, or that I have "hastily and ignorantly determined upon them, as fitted "for your adoption and your government. In the course "of my long and frequent peregrinations, I have acquir-

" ed a knowledge of the rules of no less than seventeen " different monasteries, which I knew to be the best re- " gulated; all these I have diligently compared with each " other; and from these, I have compiled that which, I " believe, it will be for your advantage to observe."

The large and splendid library, which he had brought with him from Rome, for the instruction of the monastery, he was particularly solicitous that it should be preserved entire—neither blurred nor blotted by carelessness, nor scattered incautiously abroad.*

There was another point, on which he frequently exhibited great anxiety: it was as to the future election of their Abbots, lest the monks should look more to nobility of rank in the candidate, than to the probity of his life, and his qualification to be an instructor and example to others.

" Of a verity," observed Benedict Biscop to his monks, " I say to you, that if I had to choose between two evils, " it would be to me a reflexion far more tolerable, that " this entire place, on which I have built this monastery, " should, if such were the will of God, be for ever re- " duced to a solitary wilderness, than that my own bro- " ther—the child of my father—if I knew him to be not " devoted to a life of religion—should succeed me, as your " Abbot. Be then, brethren, now and for ever careful, " never to desire that a stranger, or that any person on " account of his rank,† should hold the situation of your

* See on this point MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages* p. p. 72, 217, 218, 266, 270, 285.

† It was not, without just reason, that St. Benedict Biscop, or, as he is better known in England, as " St. Benedict " warned the monks against making a man of noble rank, an abbot. He

" father. Do you, in accordance with the rule of St. " Benedict, and in conformity with the statutes, confirm- " ing to you, your privileges, seek in the common council " of your congregation, which is the person amongst you, " who, by his great virtues, wisdom and learning, is the " most fitted, and most worthy of such an office; and such " person, that you, in this investigation of charity, dis- " cover to be the best, elect him; and beseech of the " bishop to confirm your choice, with the accustomed " benediction. In the world, it is proper, that temporal " riches should devolve upon the temporal heir; but those, " who are the children of God, should look alone to spirit- " ual gifts. Amongst such, he is to be esteemed the " mightest, upon whom Heaven has conferred the greatest " graces—as men, in the world prefer in the distribution " of their wealth, to give the largest portion to their " eldest born."

The following facts, with respect to the sickness of Benedict Biscop, ought not to pass unobserved. At the time, that the pains of the body compelled him to pass many a long and sleepless night, he sought to lessen his afflictions, and to relieve its tedium, by having one of the monks, at his bed-side, as a reader, to recite for him the life, the sufferings, and the patience of Job, or some other portion of the sacred scriptures, calculated to con-

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had experienced the insubordination of some of them, as monks; for during his absence in France, they had so persecuted Ceolfrid when a prior, as to compel him to resign that office.

" Nam et invidias quorundam nobilium, qui regularem ejus disciplinam ferre nequibant, insecutionesque patiebatur accerrimas, reversusque ad monasterium suum solito priscæ conversationis festinavit se subjicere famulatui." *Historia Abbatum Gyrvensium* (BEDA. Vol. ii. p. 321, E.H.S.,)

sole the sick, or to elevate their minds to the thoughts and hopes of heaven. As he was incapable of sitting up to say prayers, and could not raise his voice in the recitation and singing of the psalms, at the usual canonical hours, both by night and day, his strong religious feelings suggested to him a mode of conforming to that, which he was unable to practise. At his request, some of the monks, on all these occasions, attended at his bedside. They there divided themselves into choirs; by them the usual psalms were sung, and with theirs his feeble voice might occasionally be heard. Thus, with their aid, he fulfilled a duty, that unassisted by them, he would be utterly incapable of performing.

Both Abbots—Benedict and Sigfrid—exhausted by infirmity, and worn out with suffering, felt that their last moments were fast approaching. Each perceived that he was totally unfitted for the further government of his monastery; and both, animated with sincere feelings of religion, desired, that it might be permitted to them, to see and speak together, before they departed from this world. Sigfrid was, in accordance with this wish, carried on a litter to the bed on which Benedict was dying. In that bed he was placed; and the hands of the attendants laid the heads of both, on the same pillow. It was a piteous spectacle! for so weak and helpless were both saints, that they could not bestow the mutual kiss of peace, until others had to place their cheeks in contact with each other! There, Benedict consulted with Sigfrid, and with the other monks, as to a successor in the Abbacy, and there, in accordance with the judgment of all, he proposed, that Ceolfrid, the abbot of St. Paul's (a man not so nearly connected with him by blood, as he was closely allied to

him, by virtue,) should hold the office of Supreme Abbot over both monasteries. It was a proposition that met with universal approbation; because it was regarded, as calculated to preserve peace, unity, and concord between the monasteries of Weremouth and Jarrow.

In two months, after the appointment of Ceolfrid, Sigfrid having passed through a storm of tribulation, reposed in the calm of everlasting happiness; and in four months from that time, Benedict Biscop, the conqueror over every sin, and the performer of every virtue, departed from this life. The last night he passed in this world was dark and dismal with the storms of winter. It was the pre-runner of a day, to him, of endless spring, of inextinguishable light, of eternal felicity! The great body of monks were gathered together that night in the church. It was to them a sleepless night of prayers, and psalms—their only consolation for the departure of their common father, was to be found in the chanting of those hymns, which had been ever dear to him. A few of the monks were meanwhile around the couch, where he lay, weak in body, and strong in heart, calmly awaiting his departure unto death, and his entrance into life. The Gospel —the only soother of his pains on that, as on every other night—was read aloud for him by a priest, until the last fatal moment was found close upon him, and then the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord was given to him, as his Viaticum.* Thus did that holy soul, tor-

* "Evangelium tota nocte pro doloris levamine, quod et aliis noctibus fieri consueverat" a presbytero legitur; Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, hora exitus instante, pro Viatico datur." BEDA. It ought to be borne in mind that these things are stated, by a monk, of a monk, and intended for the perusal

mented with bitter stripes, and purified by scorching flame, pass from the earthly furnace of the flesh, and ascend free and untrammelled to the glory of celestial beatitude.*

Ceolfrid the third abbot was distinguished for his indefatigable industry, his untiring energy, his clear intellect, his sound judgment, and his fervent religious zeal. Having first ruled the monastery of Jarrow, he then governed for eight and twenty years both it, and Weremouth, as if they constituted but the same community. All the good works, which his predecessor had commenced, he completed.†

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of monks, and that the press still teems with publications, affirming that the monks have always been opposed to the perusal of the scriptures!

* Beda *Vita S. Benedicti*, &c., vol. ii. p.p. 148 to 153, E.H.S. This Saint expired on the 12th January 690. His relics, according to Malmsbury, were translated to Thorney Abbey, in 970, but the monks of Glastonbury thought themselves possessed, at least, of part of that treasure. Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 51. See *Act Sanc.* (Januar,) vol. i. p.p: 743 to 747.

† Beda. *Vita. S. Benedicti &c.*, Vol. ii. p. p. 154, 155. (E.H.S.,) His labours for the benefit of the monasteries are recapitulated by Bede, and amongst these is especially specified his encreasing, to double its former extent, the library of the monks. As a specimen of the manners of the times, it may be mentioned that a splendid Atlas was the price paid by the abbot to King Alfrid for eight ploughlands, for the use of the monastery: (dato quoque cosmographorum codice mirandi operis, quem Romæ Benedictus emerat, terram octo familiarum juxta fluvium Fresca ab Aldfrido rege in Scripturis, doctissimo, in possessionem monasterii beati Pauli Apostoli comparavit). Bede explains that the land so bought was, with a large sum of money, afterwards given for twenty ploughlands, on account of their greater proximity to the monastery. It may here be stated, that in the invasion of the Danes, both Weremouth and Jarrow Abbeys were destroyed. They were afterwards partly rebuilt and from the year 1083 were

At the end of twenty eight years, Ceolfrid feeling, that years and infirmities no longer qualified him for all the duties of an abbot, determined to direct the brethren to proceed to the election of a successor to that office, so that he again might behold the holy places at Rome, which he had visited in his youth, in company with Benedict Biscop. For himself, he desired to have some days before his death, freed from every secular care; and for his monks, he wished, that under the guidance of a younger abbot, they might preserve with the greater rigour, the rules of their founder.

Despite of the entreaties, the prayers, and the wishes of his monks, to the contrary, that, which he had determined upon, was carried into effect. The third day after he had announced his intention of quitting the monastery, he proceeded on his journey. His haste was influenced by many motives—first, he was fearful, that he would not live to reach Rome ;* next, he was afraid that his friends

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priories attached to the Abbey of Durham. At the Reformation, Henry VIII., bestowed Weremouth on Thomas Whitehead; and Jarrow (where Bede was educated) was given to William Lord Eure.

Leland thus refers to the remains of both monasteries in his time : " Ingentes tamen utrinque ruinae maximorum aedificiorum manifesta indicia etiam nunc extant; quas ego nuper non sine admiratione aspexi, rerum vicissitudines tantarum deplorans." *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 111.

* The event proved the justice of his apprehension in this respect; for he died at Langres, in France, on his way to Rome. He was a hundred and fourteen days travelling that distance. During the entire journey, he twice each day recited the psalter; and with the exception of four days—the day he was at sea, and three days before his death, he offered up in the most solemn manner, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, even though for a portion of that time, he was so ill, as to be carried in a litter :—

and the great men of the country, by whom he was greatly beloved and respected, might endeavour to prevent his leaving the monastery; and lastly, he was apprehensive that money might be bestowed upon him, by the latter, which he would never have the opportunity of restoring; for it was his practice, if any one made him a mere pecuniary gift, either to return it, on the instant, or after a short interval of time, to repay it.

Upon the day of his departure, he said Mass in the chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, in the church of St. Peter. At this Mass, all who were present went to Communion. Then the monks assembled in the Church of St. Peter. The Abbot Ceolfrid ascended the altar—he there lighted the incense—prayed—and then standing on the altar steps with the censer in his hand, he pronounced the words and gave the kiss of peace, to each, and all. The litanies were next recited; and deep sobs mingled with the words of prayer, as all passed from the church, to the oratory of St. Laurence in the monks' dormitory. Here it was that he bade his brethren farewell—that he advised them to mutual love and charity—that he warned them against sanctioning, in any of their members, a violation of the

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"Quotidie bis psalterium ex ordine decantare curavit; etiam cum ad hoc per infirmitatem devenirit, ut equitare non valens feretro cabellario veheretur, quotidie missa cantata salutaris hostiæ Deo munus offerret, excepto uno, quo oceanum navigabat, et tribus ante exitum diebus." When he died at Langres, it is said by Bede, his pupil—(a monk who had been subjected to his sway) that some of the monks who had left England with him, moved by their extreme love for this glorious saint, preferred abiding by his remains in a land, with whose language they were unacquainted, rather than proceed to Rome or return to their own country. Beda, vol. ii, pp. 161, 162. (E.H.S)

rules of the Gospel—that he besought of them, if he had offended any, to pardon him—and that he prayed of them, if he had done wrong, to intercede for him, with Heaven.

Ceolfrid with his monks, at last, proceeded to the water-side. Here he embraced them all—and as he did so, both monks and Abbot shed bitter tears. They fell upon their knees, and as the words of prayer were heard, he embarked.* He took his seat at the prow—and his deacons placed themselves on each side of him—one bearing a golden cross, and the other lighted wax tapers. As the vessel proceeded over the waters, the eyes of Ceolfrid were fixed upon the monks weeping for his departure, and as he heard the sounds of the sacred canticle dashed by sighs, and broken by sobs, he felt himself totally incapable of refraining from tears and lamentations.† Often and often did such words as these burst from his lips:

"Oh! Christ have mercy on that little flock! O! Lord "Almighty guard that little band of thy soldiers? Well "and truly do I know that never were there better men— "more willing in thy service, nor more docile to the com- "mands of their spiritual superiors. Christ God! defend "them."‡

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* Beda. *Vita S. Benedicti*, &c., vol. ii. p.p. 156, 157.

† Malmsbury has painted the scene where this affecting separation between monks and abbot took place:—

"Plaga olim et suave halantibus monasteriorum floribus dulcis, et urbium a Romanis ædificatarum frequentia renidens; nunc vel antiquo Danorum, vel recenti Normannorum populatu lugubris, nihil quod multum animos alliciat prætendit. Ibi est Wira nec egenæ latitudinis, nec segnis gurgitis amoris, qui pelago influus nave serena invectas aura, placido ostii excipit gremiio." *Gest Reg. Ang. Lib.* i. 9, 54.

‡ *Historia Abbatum Gyrvensium* (Beda, vol. ii. p.p. 327, 328 E.H.S.)

As soon as he had passed the river, he knelt down before the Cross, prayed, and then mounting a horse, proceeded on his journey; leaving as abbot, in his two monasteries, nearly six hundred monks.*

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* BEDA. *Vita S. Benedicti,* &c. vol. ii. p. 158. (E.H.S.) These six hundred monks were enrolled under the institute of Benedict Biscop. This was the result of his labours in the short space of forty years! The particulars of the lives and labours of Benedict and Ceolfrid, which are here introduced, are given, on what must be esteemed, as contemporary authority; and they are closed with a scene—the parting of Ceolfrid from his monks—such as had never been witnessed in England between a spiritual superior and his followers—since the days of "the Reformation." When monks and monasteries are so much abused, it may be well to bear in mind, what were deemed the fitting qualifications of an Abbot. The successor to Ceolfrid was Hwæthbert; and Bede tells us the grounds on which he was elected:—

"Eligitur itaque abbas Hwælberchtus, qui a primis pueritiæ temporibus eodem in monasterio non solum regularis observantia disciplinæ institutus, sed et scribendi, cantandi, legendi ac docendi fuerat non parva exercitatus industria. Romam quoque temporibus beatæ memoriæ Sergii papæ accurrens, et non parvo ibidem temporis spatio demoratus, quæque sibi necessaria judicabat, didicit, descripsit, retulit; insuper et duodecim ante hæc annos presbyterii est functus officio." BEDA, *Vit. S. Benedicti,* &c., vol ii, p. 158. (E.H.S.)

Such was the person elected to rule over six hundred monks. But how were these six hundred monks employed? Not in idleness; but in reclaiming the wild moor, and making the land, naturally barren, produce food for the sustentation of their fellow men. "The superior cultivation of several counties in England is originally owing to the labours of the monks, who, at this early period, were the parents of agriculture, as well as of the arts." See LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church,* vol. i, pp. 208, 209, 210, 322. (Ed. 1806).

"Of the Anglo Saxon husbandry, we may remark, that Domesday survey gives us some indications, that the cultivation of the church lands was much superior to that of any other order of

Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and son of Penda, in the year 704, assumed the habit of a monk.* He was the brother of Wulfer, and better deserves to be known by posterity, for his religious disposition, than his warlike propensities. He had however displayed his valour, in an inroad upon Kent, and when his own dominion was assailed by Egfrid King of Northumbria, he compelled the invader to retire with the loss of his brother Prince Egwin.† In obedience to the advice of the Archbishop Theodore he paid the Weregild for Egwin's death,‡ to Egfrid, and thus purchased the continuance of a peace, which he had not been the first to violate. When he had reigned for thirty years,‖ he descended from the throne, became shorn as a monk, entered the monastery of Bardney, where he first served, as a humble brother, and at length was elevated to the rank of its Abbot.¶ There he died the death

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society." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii, pp. 551, 552. With respect to the monasteries of Weremouth and Jarrow, See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i, pp. 501, 504.

* *Saxon Chron.*

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib i, §. 77. See BEDA. Hist. Eccles. Lib iv. c. 21, §. 316. EDDIUS. c. 23.

‡ See p.p. 488, 489, as to the payment made to Ina for the burning of his brother Mull.

‖ The Saxon Chronicle 704 states that he had reigned twenty nine years. This statement is confirmed by Henry of Huntingdon.

¶ See INGULPHUS *Historia*, p. 850 (Scriptores post Bedam) HARPSFIELD observes that the monastery was founded by him "quod ipse condidit." p. 82. See BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 9. §. 181.

It was in the monastery of Bardney, that the remains of the King and Saint Oswald were interred, (afterwards removed to Gloucester) and where the hand—blessed by St. Aidan —remained free from corruption, or decay. The monastery

of a saint.* Previous to his abdication he had nominated as his successor his nephew Cenred, the son of his brother Wulfer, a sovereign, distinguished for his piety as a Christian, and his probity as a ruler.† *

Ethelred had two sisters, named Kinesdrida and Kineswitha; both were most holy saints; both had dedicated themselves, from their youth, to the service of God, and both persevered to their old age, in all the purity and sanctity of virginity. The younger of these, the Princess Kineswitha, was not content with securing her own salvation, she also labored, and with perfect success, for that of Offa King of the South Saxons, to whom she had been betrothed, and who in the very bloom of youth, incited by her example, despised all earthly joys and pomps, that he might, as a monk, by toil and prayer, win a Crown in Heaven.‡

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was burned by the Danes. It lay says Petrus Blesensis "many years quite desolate, till the famous and religious Earl of Lincoln, Gilber tde Gaunt rebuilt it, settling on it, among many other possessions, the tithes of all his manors throughout England," *(Contin Hist. Croyl).* "It is said to have had three hundred monks. William of Malmsbury (*De Gest. Pont*, Lib. iv,) ascribes its restoration to Bishop Remigius." CAMDEN'S *Britannia* p. 483. (Ed. 1600) and vol ii. p.p. 337, 377. (Gough's Ed.) At the Reformation, it was valued, says Tanner at £366, 6s. 1d. per annum—now worth about £8000 a year—bestowed upon Sir Robert Tirwhit. COBBETT. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i, pp. 623, 641.

* "Omnipotentis benignitate visitatus fit monachus * * et sepultus est apud Bardenie fæliciter." H. HUNT. *Histor.* Lib. iv, p. 337.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 77, 78.

‡ ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. p. 199. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg Ang.* Lib. i. §. 74, 98. CAPGRAVE *Nova Legenda Angliæ* fol. ccxiii. "Kineswida took the holy veil in the monastery of Dor-

Alfrid, King of the Northumbrians, died in 705, within a few days of the completion of the twentieth year of his reign. His son Osred who succeeded him, was not more than eight years of age, when he ascended the throne, and his reign did not extend beyond eleven years.*

In the same year (705) Hedda Bishop of the West Saxons was removed from this earth. He was a good and just man, who seemed formed to afford a fitting example of episcopal life, and doctrine, more by his innate love of virtue, than by his acquired learning. It was stated by Pecthelm, afterwards a bishop, and who had acted as deacon to Aldhelm, the successor of Hedda, that the place where Hedda had died, was, on account of his sanctity, honoured with the performance of many miraculous cures.†

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mundcaster (now Caster). The bodies of these saints were translated to Peterborough, where their festival was kept on the 6th of March, together with that of Saint Tibba, a holy virgin, their kinswoman, who, having spent many years in solitude and devotion, passed to glory on the — day of December." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. iii, p. 301. An interesting and valuable controversy respecting these saints will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum,* (March) vol. i, pp. 441—447. See also Ingulphus Historia, (Rer. Ang. Script. Gale.) vol, i, p. 1. Chron. Ang. Petriburgense, pp. 19, 22. (Giles's Ed.) HARPSFIELD, *Hist. Eccles. Ang. Sept. Saec.* c. 23, p. 89. *Britannia Sancta,* vol. i, pp. 156, 159.

* It was believed by St. Boniface that the impurities practised by this young sovereign brought down upon him the punishment of heaven. See SPELMAN'S *Concilia,* vol, i, 235.

† BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v, c. 18, §. 409. All the information that can be collected with respect to this saint will be found in the Acta Sanctorum, (Julii) vol. ii, pp. 482, 483. *Anglia Sacra,* vol. i, p. 192. This information is scanty and unsatisfactory, with respect to a monk, who did so much for ameliorating in Wessex the condition of the English poor. It

Upon the death of Hedda, the bishoprick of the West Saxons was divided into dioceses. One of these was assigned to the Bishop Daniel, the other was confided to Aldhelm, who for four years ruled over it, with equal zeal and energy. Both Daniel and Aldhelm were well informed in ecclesiastical history and scriptural knowledge. The latter, Aldhelm, whilst he was still a priest, and abbot of the Monastery of Malmsbury, wrote at the request of a church synod, an admirable book against the erroneous views entertained by Britons as to the proper time for the celebration of Easter; a work which had the effect of converting many of the Britons subjected to the government of the West Saxons.* He was the author of a splen-

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was by the advice of Hedda, and of another Catholic Bishop, Erconwald, that religion was promoted, and the chains of slavery relaxed, for one day out of the seven. By his exhortation and teaching this important law was enacted—that "*the slave compelled by his master to labour on the Sunday, should thereby become* FREE." (Si servus operetur dominica die per præceptum domini sui, *sit liber*). BROMPTON *Chron.* p. 761. It was in consequence of this law that the ancient Saxons designated the Sunday—*the day of freedom* (freolsung). See on this point, Lingard's *History and Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, p. 309, 310, 311.

The time at which this truly Christian law of Ina, was enacted "*exhortatione et doctrina*" of Hedda, and his fellow bishop, is supposed, to have been in the year 692. See LABBEUS, vol. vi, p. 1327.

* The Catholic Anglo Saxon clergy were not disposed to sanction the adoption of any penal laws to punish dissent. "*Non vi* cogendos schismaticos, *sed rationibus* ducendos." (W. MALMSB. *Vit. Aldhelm, Ang. Sac.* vol. ii, p. 15). There was toleration exhibited by the Church; whilst the unfortunate inhabitants of North Wales were suffering all the evils, political and social, imposed upon a nation, that has unsuccessfully rebelled against a foreign oppressor—"ultima malorum accessit captivis tributaria functio; ut qui antea vel solam umbram palpabant liber-

did treatise in praise of virginity. Other works were composed by him; for he was a man of universal acquirements, magnificent in his style—wonderful in his erudition—a master in theology—a sound scholar, and it might be added, complete in every liberal science.* Fully informed in every species of literature, he did not neglect the poetry of his native land. No English poet was worthy of being compared with him, for none had written so sweetly or so well. He used but rarely, and never but when it was necessary, a foreign word; and yet to the person who read his writings attentively, he appeared, from the acumen of his style, a Greek; from its perfect purity, a Roman; and from its magnificence, an Englishman.†

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tatis, nunc jugum subjectionis palam ingemiscerent." (Ibid. p. 14).

These unfortunate "Ancient Britons" are branded by Malmsbury as "Schismatics," but they are not on that account to be claimed by modern schismatical Britons as coinciding in their religious fantasies; for Malmsbury gives this testimony regarding them:—"Et plura quidem alia catholica, sed *illud potissimum abnuebant*; ne Paschale sacrum legitimo die celebrarunt."

* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 18, §. 410.

† "Literis itaque ad plenum instructus, nativæ quoque linguæ non negligebat carmina; adeo ut, teste libro Elfredi, de quo superius dixi, nulla unquam ætate par ei fuerit quisquam, Poesim anglicam posse facere tantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere * * * nec nisi perraro et necessario verba ponit exotica. * * Quem si perfecte legeris et ex acumine Græcum putabis, et en nitore Romanum jurabis, et ex pompa Anglum intelliges." W. Malmsb. Vita Aldhelm. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii, pp. 4, 7. Such are the opinions expressed by Beda, and William of Malmsbury, of this ancient English author—the first Anglo Saxon who composed Latin verses. Mr. Turner, in his "History of the Anglo Saxons," finds many faults with Aldhelm, both as a prose writer and a poet. He complains, that Aldhelm, in his prose, "clouds his

Aldhelm was the son of Kenter, a near relative of King

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meaning by his gorgeous rhetoric"—that one of his epistles "exhibits a series of bombastic amplifications, that he illustrates his illustrations till he has forgotten both their meaning and applicability." &c., &c. (Vol, iii, pp. 408, 409.) Mr. Turner admits that Aldhelm's verses "are preferable to his pompous prose;" whilst even in some of these a "depraved taste is exhibited." (See vol. iii, pp. 362, 364, 373, &c.) With this dispraise Mr. Turner makes this important admission:

"Aldhelm is also remarkable for having given us a direct testimony of the use of rhyme in England, before the year 700. In his treatise, "De Laudibus Virginitatis," he says:

'It may be expressed not unsuitably in rhimed verse (Carmine rythmico):

Christus passus patibulo
Atque lœti latibulo;
Virginum virgo virgini
Commendabat tutamini.

"This clear and decisive testimony destroys the favorite system of our men of letters, that the use of rhyme in Europe came from the Arabs in Spain." (Vol. iii, p. 375).

Mr. Turner, in analysing the great poem of Aldhelm, remarks, that "after above an hundred lines in praise of virginity he proceeds to describe forty-five characters, who distinguished the state, which he prefers; and this biographical panegyric forms the substance of his poem. *Most of his applauded personages are only known in the Calendars of the Romish Church.*" (Vol. iii, p. 366).

Mr. Turner has translated several passages from this poem, "as literal as possible." (Vol. iii, p. 364). Of these passages, we select two, in order that the reader may decide between the soundness of Mr. Turner's judgment as a critic, and his talent as a translator. We are content to rest the fame of Aldhelm even on Mr. Turner's version:

"And as the vine, whose spreading branches, bent
With stores immense, the dresser's knife despoils,
Exists the glory of the fruitful fields;
And as the stars confess th' all-glorious ray,

Ina. He had first studied under Adrian, Abbot of St. Augustine's Monastery, at Canterbury, and from thence he returned to Wessex, his native country. There he

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When in his paths oblique the sun rolls round,
Transcending all the orbs which grace the poles:
So Chastity, companion of the blessed,
Excelling, meekly, every saintly worth,
Is hailed the queen of all the virtues here.

* * * *

" The chastity which rules the virtuous frame,
A virgin flower which blooms unhurt in age,
Falls not to earth, nor sheds its changing leaves.
Behold the lilies waving in the fields,
The crimson rose, sweet blushing on the bank,
Which crowns the conquering wrestlers, and becomes
The garland for the victor in the course;
So purity, subduing rebel nature,
Wins the fair diadem which Christ awards."

TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. iii, pp. 367, 368. See also LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. ii, pp. 194. 195. (Ed. 1806).

" Vixit sub Ina, potentissimo Vuestsaxonum rege: sepultus est Mailduni; ubi adhuc monachi sui patroni monimenta ostentant; nempe sacram vestem, qua indutus missam celebrare solebat. Præterea Davidis psalterium literis longiusculis scriptum. Tertuim, altare sed minutelum ex Ophiutico marmore argento revinctum, in quo latina inscriptio apparet. Hæc ego nuper Meilduni vidi." LELAND *De Scriptor. Britan.* p. 100.

In Mr. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, vol. i, pp. 209—222. an account of the life and writings of Aldhelm is given, which is remarkable for its impartiality.

The Revd. I. A. Giles, in his valuable series, the " Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ " has collected the works of St. Aldhelm, and, by their publication, best vindicated the fame of the first Bishop of Salisbury.

assumed the religious habit in the community at Malmsbury.* This community had been established by a Scotchman,† named Meidulf, a person worthy of the title of a

* The town of Malmsbury, it is observed by Camden, "is indebted for all its importance to the monastery founded by Aldhelm. The beautiful porch loaded with Saxon ornaments, and scripture histories in relief still bears Aldhelm's name. At the dissolution this abbey, which exceeded all in the country, in revenues and honour, and was valued at £803" 17, was purchased of the King (Henry VIII) by Stumpe, an exceeding rich clothier, who filled with looms every corner of the vast offices, belonging to it. * * The East End (of the abbey) is now inhabited by poor people. * * This church would have undergone the common fate, and been pulled down, had not one Stump, by much solicitation, and more expence, redeemed it for the use of the townsmen. * * The great Athelstane chose Aldhelm for his patron saint, and on this account, he granted considerable privileges to the town, endowed the abbey in an ample manner, and chose it for his burying place." CAMDEN'S *Britannia.* Vol. i. p. p. 129, 130, 141, 142. (Gough's Ed.) See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon.* Vol. i. p. p. 253, 264. Aldhelm's "psalter, vestment, and several other memorials were kept in this monastery till the dissolution. This abbey, the glory of Wiltshire then fell, and *in it was defaced the sepulchral monument of our great King Athelstane.*" BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. v. p. 668.

The following extract with reference to the monastery of Malmsbury demonstrates the injury inflicted by the Reformation upon the literature of England.

At the time of the Reformation, "whole libraries were destroyed, or made waste paper of, or consumed for the vilest uses. The splendid and magnificent Abbey of Malmsbury, which possessed some of the finest manuscripts in the Kingdom, was ransacked, and its treasures either sold or burnt to serve the commonest purposes of life. An Antiquary who travelled through that town, *many years after the dissolution,* relates, that he saw broken windows patched up with the remnants of the most valuable M.S.S. on Vellum, and that the bakers had not *even then* consumed the stores they had accumulated in heating their ovens. (Letters of Eminent Persons from the Bodleian. Vol. i. p. 728). MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages* p. 281. See No. XVII.

† Butler designates Meidulf "a pious Irish monk." In Camden

philosopher, on account of his erudition, and of a monk from his pious practices.* Meidulf, in the middle of the thick forest that then grew there, passed the life of a hermit; but to supply himself with the means of subsistence, he undertook the teaching of a certain number of scholars; and these scholars in the course of time became monks, until at last a large monastery was established. Encouraged by their example, and instructed by such masters, Aldhelm acquired a vast amount of knowledge. For the purpose of perfecting himself he again repaired to Canterbury, to his former teacher Adrian, who was then regarded an ever living spring of learning, and a profound ocean of science.† With Adrian, Aldhelm remained until his health compelled him to return to his home.‡

Once he became monk, he was constant in study, and incessant in prayer; or as he himself has expressed the fact, in one of his epistles: "that when he read, it seemed "to him, as if he heard the voice of God addressing him, "and that when he prayed he felt, as if he were speaking "directly to the Deity." He fed his mind, whilst he so corrected his appetite as to live upon the smallest quantity

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(Gough's Edition) he is called a Scoto-Hibernian; but Malmsbury in his life of Aldhelm is particular in applying the term "Scotos" to those born in Scotland. See Ang. Sax. Vol. ii. p. 4, where in the same paragraph, we find—"Scotos tunc maxime doctos + + quorum aliquos * * nominare possem, maxime Arcivilum Regis Scotiæ filium"—and then having alluded to the "scabredo Scotica," he proceeds to speak of "Cellanus in Hybernensi insula natus."

* "Eruditione Philosophus, professione monachus." W. Malmsb.

† "Fons literarum, rivus artium." W. Malmsb,

‡ W. Malmsb. *Vit. Aldhelm.* Ang. Sax. Vol. ii, p. 3.

of food; and he was never known to pass beyond the walls of his monastery, except upon occasions of indispensable necessity. So little desirous was he of money, that if any were given to him, it immediately passed from his hands. A constant habit with him was to remain, even during the icy cold of winter nights, whilst reciting the psalter, immersed to the shoulders in a deep stream of water, which ran close beside the monastery.*

In accordance with his advice, Ina conceded to the monastery of Glastonbury,† the same privileges which

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* W. Malmsb. *Vit. Aldhelm, Ang. Sac.* vol. ii, p. 13.

† The belief was that the foundations of this ancient place of Christian worship were laid by Joseph of Arimathea. By King Ina a magnificent church was erected, and devoted to our Saviour, St. Peter, and St. Paul. It was originally occupied by monks, principally Irish, who devoted themselves to the instruction of the young. For six hundred years this monastery and its pious inhabitants *might be said to have reigned over the entire district, such was the influence they possessed amongst their neighbours.* (Quasi regnassent eorum enim nutum vicini omnes spectarunt). Camden's *Britannia*, p. 193. (Ed. 1600.) In the Revd. Mr. Gough's edition of Camden, (vol. i, p. 81) these words are translated—"*lived like kings, in the utmost affluence.*" It is then added, "they were dislodged by Henry VIII; and the abbey, which was grown to the size of a small city, was *demolished, and levelled with the ground.* How extensive and magnificent it was *the ruins shew.*"

The ancient history of Glastonbury will be found in Malmsbury (De Antiq. Glaston.) See p.p. 16, 17, 18, in this vol. A portion of its modern history, and destruction at the Reformation is annexed. It will be seen that Glastonbury was indebted to the much-abused monks for its magnificence, and to the highly-lauded "Church Reformers" for its annihilation:

"In 1303, *Abbot* Fromont began the great hall and chapter-house. *His successor*, Tanton, built the front of the choir, which Mornington, *the next abbot*, vaulted, and enlarged the presbytery; and Chinoc, *his successor*, rebuilt the cloister, dormitory, and fratry, and completed Fromont's works. Richard

Aldhelm had obtained for Malmsbury; for the counsel of Aldhelm was ever listened to by Ina—ever readily entertained, and ever joyfully accomplished.

Despite of his reluctance Aldhelm was compelled to receive the mitre. He had but fulfilled its duties for four years, when death seemed to envy the world the exercise of his virtues; and his soul ascended as a grateful incense to heaven, in the year 709.*

St. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, was apprised by a vision from Heaven, of the decease of Aldhelm, and he hastened to Dullinge, in Somersetshire, where that event had occurred.† From thence to Malmsbury is a distance

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Beere, *last abbot but one,* enlarged and beautified the whole more than any of his predecessors. *Abbot* Whiting bred up near 300 pupils, sons of noblemen and gentlemen sent to him for education, besides *others of inferior rank, whom he fitted for our universities.* He is said to have entertained 500 persons of fashion at one time; and on Wednesdays and Fridays *all the poor of the country were relieved by his particular charity.* * * Queen Mary had an intention of restoring this abbey. It was valued at 331*l* per annum, and *granted to Edward, Duke of Somerset, who enjoyed it only long enough to pull it to pieces.* CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* vol. i, p. 100:

"In this church were buried King Arthur, and his Queen, Guinever, King Coel, Kentwyn, King of the West Saxons, Edmund I, Edgar, and Edmund Ironsides, four dukes, four bishops, and thirteen abbots, besides other eminent personages; *all whose monuments,* except a few of unknown Religions removed to Wells, *are totally destroyed or concealed under rubbish.* Ibid. p. 101.

The lands of this abbey, if now applicable to the purposes of religion and the poor, would produce upwards of £70,000 a year. These were granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Peter Carew. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon,* vol. i, pp. 1, 69.

* W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang. vol. i, p. 49. (E.H.S).

† "Tunc beato Egvino Wigorniensi Episcopo visio cœllstis affulgens obitum sodalis innotuit." W. MALMSB. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii, p. 23. See *Act. Sanct.* (January) vol. i, p. 709. (A)

of fifty miles, and that entire way the funeral was conducted with due solemnity; and at every seven miles of the road, by which it passed, stone crosses were erected; memorials of the event, which were long celebrated, by the miraculous cures of persons affected with various ailments, who repaired to them.*

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* "Celebris illa pompa funeris fuit; dum pro miraculorum frequentia figerentur semper lapideæ cruces ad septem milliaria. Ad quas plures inveteratis morbis debiles cum fide accedentes, violentia precum celerem rapuere salutem: *Virtutum signis manentibus usque hodiernum diem.*" W. MALMSBURY, Ang. Sac. vol. ii. p. 23.

In the life of St. Aldhelm, many miracles are recorded of him, by William of Malmsbury. One of these, performed in his life time, we hope we shall be pardoned for mentioning. When a storm was raging, Aldhelm produced a perfect calm, by making the sign of the cross! "Et primo quidem porrecto contra sævientia flabra crucis signo, nonnihil tempestatis diminuit et mansuefecit. * * * Tempestas tota quiescit; turbo conquiniscit." The persons, whose lives he had thus preserved from shipwreck, made him a present of a book, which he had been desirous of purchasing from them—that book was—*the Bible*—"librum totius Testamenti veteris et novi seriem continentem"—a book, that was in perfect preservation in his monastery, at the time that Malmsbury wrote. "Id volumen adhuc Melduni visitur, antiquitatis venerandum præferens specimen. *Vita Aldhelm Ang. Sac.* vol. ii, pp. 3, 20, 21.

Persons of strong anti-Catholic prejudices, and especially those, who have been educated in a hatred of the monks, ought to read an account of the miracles performed at the shrine of this monk—this founder of one of the greatest monasteries in England. They will find it stated, by one cognizant of the facts, that through the intercession of St. Aldhelm, and by the mercy of God, the blind, the dumb, the lame, the paralytic, and even the insane were restored to health. (See W. MALMSB. *Vit. Aldhelm*, Ang. Sac. vol. ii, pp. 30, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48). The same persons will find by referring to page 14, that this erudite monk considered all learning vain, but that which tended to a better knowledge of Christianity. "Quidnam," says St. Aldhelm, "rogitans, quæso, orthodoxæ fidei sacramento commodi offert circa temeratum spurcæ Proserpinæ incestum

The successor of Aldhelm in the diocese of Sherburn, now translated to Salisbury, was Fordere, a most erudite scholar in scriptural knowledge; but who in a few years afterwards proceeded on a pilgrimage to Rome, in company with Frigedida the Queen of the West Saxons.*

In the year 709, Cenred King of the Mercians, and Offa, King of the East Saxons went to Rome.†

The first of these sovereigns, Cenred, had passed a life marked with great purity of morals; and in the fifth year of his reign, he determined upon proceeding to Rome and

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quod abhorret fari, enucleatè legendo scrutandoque surdescere," &c.

See Vita Aldhelmi, Faricio auctore. S. ALDHELM. *Opera* pp. 354—382. (Ed. GILES). An interesting account is given by the Revd. editor of St. Aldhelm, from which we take the annexed extract:

"Those who travel over the Mendip hills, in Somersetshire, from Frome to Shepton marshes, will have remarked a peculiarly elegant county church in the village of Doulton, with a parsonage house, and a large tythe barn in its immediate neighbourhood. In the year of our Lord, 709, the ground on which that church stands was unconsecrated. On that point, leaning upon a post, which stood there, Bishop Aldhelm was suddenly taken ill and died, fatigued possibly with the labours of the day, for he was engaged with the duties of visiting his diocese. The piety of the inhabitants led to the erection of the church, and *from that time to the present the divine ceremonies have been performed; but the divine Aldhelm has been forgotten.*" Life of Aldhelm p. xxii. In this, there is a mistake. The fact is that *since the Reformation, the divine Aldhelm has been forgotten;* because in the church dedicated to his memory *the Divine Ceremonies have ceased to be performed.*

* BEDA, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v, c. 18, §. 410. *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i, p. 314. HARPSFIELD, *Oct. Sæc.* c. 11, p. 134. Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 225. H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv, p. 340.

† *Sax. Chron.*

passing there the remainder of his days, as a Religious. To the adoption of this resolution he was forcably moved by the death of one of his knights.* This knight was as diligent in the service of his sovereign as he was negligent in his religious duties.† By the one course of proceeding he rendered himself as acceptable, as by the other, he was displeasing to his sovereign. Cenred's constant advice to him was to go to confession ;‡ to alter his mode of life; to forsake his sins, lest a sudden and unprovided death should despoil him of every opportunity of repentance and amendment. The knight, although thus admonished by the monarch, contemned the words of Christian wisdom, and evaded his own salvation, by the vague promise, of doing penance at some future time.

At last, the knight was attacked by a severe illness—was confined to his bed, and experienced the severe pains of a torturing disease. Whilst he was in this state, he was visited by the king, who was sincerely attached to him; and who again advised him to repent of his past evil life. The knight replied, that he did not wish then to make a confession of his sins,¶ lest he should be taunted on his recovery by his friends, that the fear of

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* W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 78. "Maxime miserando exitu *militis* compunctus." The justification for thus translating *miles* will be found in Turner's *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. iii, pp. 124, 125, and in Duncange, verb, "*miles*" (1).

† "Pro industria exteriori regi placens, tantum pro interna suimet negligentia displicens." Beda.

‡ "Admonebat ergo illum sedulo, ut confiteretur et emendaret ac relinqueret scelera sua." Beda.

¶ "At ille respondit, non se tunc velle confiteri peccata sua." Beda.

death had forced him to that, which he had refused to do, when he was in perfect health. To the miserable man, this sentiment seemed to be bravely spoken; but the event proved, that in giving utterance to it, he had yielded to the seduction of the devil.

The knight's sickness became worse and worse; and again the king went to him for the purpose of visiting him, and advising him; but the moment the knight cast his eyes upon Cenred, he exclaimed in a tone of despair—"What do you now here? Why have you come to "see me? For now you cannot bring me help, nor procure "for me salvation."

"Do not," said the king, "speak thus—your words "are those of a madman."

"Alas!" replied the knight—"I am not mad—I "know—for I have seen—that I am doomed to eternal "perdition."

"How come you," asked the king, "to speak such "words as these?"

"It is but a short time since," thus spoke the knight, "that there entered into this place two most lovely youths. "They both sat down, one near to my head, and the "other close to my feet. One of these presented to me "a book---very beautiful in appearance; but woe is me! "exceedingly small. This book was given to me to read, "and upon examining it, I found written down in it, all the "good acts, I had ever performed; and they were very few, "and very insignificant. They then took back the book "from me; but never addressed a single word to me. "Then there came on a sudden an army of evil spirits--- "creatures of a most horrible aspect; who beset the "house from the outside, who blocked it up within, and

" who squatted themselves in almost every cranny and
" corner. The spirit amongst these, who from his gloomy
" visage, seemed to have command over all the rest, hauled
" forth a volume, terrible to look at, and of a weight and
" size, that it seemed impossible for one to carry: this he
" ordered one of his satellites to bring to me, in order
" that I might peruse it. I did read it; and there I found
" inscribed in letters of the deepest die all my sins—not
" only those, of which I had been guilty in word, and
" deed; but even to my smallest sinful thoughts. And
" when I had read these words, the demon said to the
" lovely youths, who clothed in white garments still sat
" beside me—' Why remain you longer here, since you
" ' must know for certain, that this man belongs to us?'
" They answered—' You speak the truth—take and add
" ' him to your number of those, who are to endure dam-
" ' nation.' As soon as they had uttered these words,
" they instantly vanished; and then two of the most
" wicked looking of these evil spirits stood up, and struck
" me, one on the head, and the other on the feet, with
" instruments, with which they were armed, and that
" appeared to me to be plough shares. The agony of
" those blows thrills me with torture—it creeps on, on,
" into my very vitals—and as soon as the stinging pains
" meet together I shall die, and be dragged into the do-
" mains of hell, by demons, who are now ready to seize
" upon me."

Thus spoke the despairing wretch, who died immediately afterwards. He postponed doing penance here--which, at the utmost, could have lasted but a brief space of time, and would have been beneficial to him--

and now he is compelled vainly and fruitlessly to suffer a penance which must be eternal.*

Cenred, deeply affected by this miserable death of the knight,† travelled to Rome and at the time that Constantine was Pope, he accepted the tonsure; became a monk —passed his days, in prayer, in fasting, and in alms giving; and at last yielded up his last breath, on the threshold of the Apostolic See.

In making his journey to Rome, Cenred was accompanied by Offa, the young King of the East Saxons. Offa was in the very bloom of youth and beauty—the object of love and adoration with the people over whom he reigned, when his devotion to the Deity, and his desire to put in practice the precepts of the gospel, induced him to abandon his destined bride, his rich lands, his costly crown, his relations and his country. He gave up all in this life, in order that he might receive "an hundred fold in the next." He too, like Cenred, upon visiting the Sacred Places at Rome, was shorn—lived as a monk—in habit, and in manners; and finally attained that vision of Heaven, which had long been wished for, by him.‡

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* Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 13, §. 397, 398, 399. The religious reflections made upon this vision by Beda are omitted. He states his authority for inserting it, in his history, and adds that his motive for publishing it, in his work, is, that it may tend to the salvation of those who peruse it, or who hear it read. "Hanc historiam, sicut a venerabili antistite Pecthelmo didici, simpliciter ob salutem legentium, sive audientium, narrandam esse putavi." That King Cenred did not regard it as an idle dream is manifest by the influence it had on all his subsequent conduct.

† W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 78.

‡ Beda, Hist. Eccles. Lib. v, c. 19, §. 412. See also W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 78. 98. *Act. Sanct* (January)

The guide and companion of the Kings, Conred and Offa, in travelling to Rome, was Egwin, the saintly bishop of Worcester.*

The Bishop Egwin was the decendant of a race of kings.† From his earliest youth, he had resigned all thoughts of worldly pride, pomp, and pleasure. For the sake of God, he selected as his lot, poverty in this life, whilst his entire time was consecrated to the acquirement of a knowledge of religion, and to a rigid practice of what he had learned. He gradually rose to the rank of priesthood, and when he had attained it, he devoted every hour to the contemplation of the divine mysteries of his faith.

Upon the See of Worchester becoming vacant, the voice of the clergy and the wishes of the people were concentred upon him, as their future prelate. Most reluctantly did he yield to the demands of the first, the desires of the second, and even the commands, of his then sovereign, King Ethelred.‡

The moment the mitre was placed upon his head, he distinguished himself as much by his good acts, as he had formerly made himself remarkable by his eloquence. The greater was his exaltation, the deeper was his humility.

Vol. i, p. 707, 710. Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 199, 200, 201, 203. R. Dicet. p. 442. Brompton pp. 745, 773. See p. 514.

* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 98.

† "Regali ex prosapia ortus." *Act. Sanct.* (January). Vol. i, p. 707. All the particulars stated of this saint are derived from the *Acta Sanctorum*. It is necessary to mention them, for St. Egwin has been more slandered by anti-Catholic writers, than any other, of the many great and virtuous men, who appeared in England, before the invasion of the Danes.

‡ He was consecrated in the year 693. See *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, p. 470.

He rendered himself an object of love to his God, his King, and his fellow-men, by his prudence, his justice, his learning, his wisdom, and his scrupulous probity. He was the guardian of the orphan, the support of the widow, and the consoler of the miserable.* He was severe in his censure of those who rejected the means of salvation, and he soothed the pains of those, who submitted themselves to the gentle yoke of Christ. To the wicked his discourse was a stinging goad, but to the humble, his words were as balmy oil poured upon their wounds.

Egwin dwelt amongst a people who had been but recently converted to Christianity, who still clung to many pagan practices, and who gave loose to their passions, contrary to the Christian law of marriage. Such persons he was most eager to turn from their evil customs. He exposed their errors, denounced their crimes, and warned them, that by obstinately persisting in their sins, they were incurring the pains of eternal perdition.

By pursuing such a course as this, Egwin excited against himself the hatred of all, whose prejudices were stronger than their reason, and the indulgence of whose passions was more dear to them, than their hopes of salvation. The mob persecuted the man, who had no toleration for their sins. False charges were invented respecting him;† he was expelled from his bishopric; he

* "Pater orphanorum, sustentator viduarum, et desolatorum erat consolator." *Act. Sanct.* (January) vol. i, p. 707. The author of the life of St. Egwin is believed to have been Berthwald, the first English Archbishop of Canterbury. See *Ang. Sac*, vol. i. p. 470.

† In this persecution of St. Egwin, and the cause of it, we see a strong similarity to the course pursued, with regard to the Irish Catholic priesthood, from the years 1832 to 1841. Their denunciations, of the crimes of bribery and persecution attempted

was accused before the king, who yielded to the general clamour, and a complaint was preferred and forwarded against him to the Pope.*

The good bishop, trustful in faith, strengthened with divine consolation, and relying on the protection of heaven, seeing himself thus summoned to a contest, because he had struggled for the salvation of a people wandering in the paths of sin, determined at once to meet the accusation, before the Apostolic See. He knew that he was innocent of all that his fellow men had accused him; but he felt that he was a sinner in the sight of God; and as he conceived himself burdened not only with his own errors, but those of the flock confided to his care, he determined to bind his feet with fetters, on his journey to Rome. It was with his limbs thus chained he entered Rome---it was thus bound, he was seen to prostrate himself in the Church of St. Peter at Rome---a spectacle to men and angels!†

By the Pontiff, the appeal was decided in favour of St. Egwin, who was dismissed to his home, with the apos-

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against their parishioners, were met with false accusations, against themselves in the Houses of Lords and Commons. Of the Irish priest, it might be said, that he had been "increpans in omni patientia et doctrina," and his reward in this country was "in vitam ejus falsis figmentis armatur vulgus."

* Mr. Warton denies, on the authority of a M.S. life of St. Egwin, that he was expelled from his diocese, and adds, that Egwin in his first conference with the Pope was able to prove his innocence. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, p. 470, note *c*.

† It is stated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. i, p. 708, that these chains were unloosed in a miraculous manner; but the account is not here inserted, as the entire statement is treated, as a matter difficult to be believed, by William of Malmsbury. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iv, p. 284.

tolic benediction, and Briefs confirmatory of the Decree of Rome.

The king replaced Egwin in his diocese, and confided to him his children, in order that he might instruct their minds and form their morals.*

There was at that time in the district of Worcester, a spot of land, wild, uncultivated, overgrown with brambles, and bushes. The place is now called Evesham.†

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* *Act. Sanct.* (Vit. S. Egwin, c. i,) vol. i, pp. 707, 708.

† The result of the labors of the monks was shewn on this barren spot of earth. It is thus testified by the anti-Catholic Camden:

"This town (Evesham) is remarkable for the monastery founded by Egwin * * and also for the valley below, called from it, the Vale of Evesham, which, for its fruitfulness, deserves to be called the granary of these parts, such is the richness of the soil in producing plenty of the finest grain. * * Lower down in the early times of the Saxon Church was another place occupied by the Religious, then called *Fleodanbyrig*, now, Flatbury." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii, pp. 471, 472.

Of the monastery itself the following information is afforded by Leland and Camden:

"*Ther was no town at Evesham before the foundation of the abbey.* The place wher the town now standith was of the old Saxons called *Hethholme.* Clement Lichfield, *the last abbot save one*, did very much cost in building the abbey, and other places belonging to it. *He made a right sumptuouse and high square towre of stone* in the cemitery, which had a great bell and a goodlye clock, and was as a gatehouse to one part of the abbey. Ther be within the abbey precincts two parish churches. The Vale of Evesham is as it were for such an angle the *horreum* of Worcester, it is so plentiful of corne." LELAND, vol. iv, p. 168, as quoted in Camden.

"The tower mentioned by Leland, is *a very beautiful regular structure*, about 22 feet square, and 117 feet high, and *is perhaps the last building erected by Popery in England.*" CAMDEN'S *Britannia* vol. ii, p. 489., (Gough's Ed).

At the dissolution of the monasteries its yearly value was £1,268, 9s, 9d.—if now reserved for the use of the poor and religion, it would be worth upwards of £25,000. It was granted by Henry VIII to a Philip Hobby, Esq!

This was sought for and obtained, from Ethelred, King of the Mercians, by Bishop Egwin. In this woody district there were four herdsmen placed to watch the animals necessary for the subsistence of the Bishop and his clergy. One of these herdsmen, was named Eoves, who one day chancing to penetrate into the very thickest part of the forest, came to a certain place, in which he beheld a virgin, whose beauty surpassed that of mortals, and whose presence illuminated the spot, on which she seemed to stand, by the sun-like brightness that encompassed her. This virgin, who appeared to have two attendant maidens in her society, held in her hand a book, and seemed engaged in singing canticles of heavenly joy. The herdsman was terrified by the dazzling vision; he felt unable long to look upon the awful brightness, that at once shone before his eyes. Silent and trembling he hastened to his home, and then communicated to the holy bishop, the particulars of the spectacle, which he had beheld.

The religious Bishop reflected maturely upon this circumstance, and having done so, he then prepared himself, by fasts and prayers; and upon a certain day, accompanied by three of his pious monks, he proceeded barefooted to the place, that Eoves had indicated.* When he came to the confines of the particular spot, pointed out by the herdsman, he there left his companions, and advanced alone into the wood. He there threw himself upon the earth, and with sighs and tears implored the mercy of his

* It is stated by Wm. of Malmsbury, that on this place there had been a small, old church, that had probably been built by the Britons—"Incultum antea et spinetis horridum, sed Ecclesiolam ab antiquo habentem, ex opere forsitan Britannorum. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iv, p. 284.

Redeemer. Upon rising from prayer, three virgins, such as they had been described—in their splendor, their magnificence, and their glory—appeared before him. The virgin who stood in the centre, outshone her companions in majesty as in beauty; fairer than the lily, more blooming than the rose; every sense of the beholder was uplifted to heaven, as if wafted upon the balming fragrance of incense, when he looked upon her. This Divine Virgin bore in one hand a book, and in the other, a golden cross, radiant with dazzling diamond gems of light. Egwin, as he looked, believed, in his heart, that he beheld before him, the Holy Mother of God; and she, as if approving his pious thought, stretched forth her hand, as he knelt before her, and making the sign of benediction with the cross, thus seemed to bid him farewell, as she vanished from his view.

The pious prelate was filled with joy. Gratefully did he tender his thanks to God, as the suggestion rose to his mind, that the place, in which he stood, should be consecrated to His worship, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. He made a vow, if God should prosper his undertaking, that on that spot a church should be erected. At once the good work was begun—a space was cleared for a fitting Christian temple; and the pious founder lived to behold its completion. Egwin did more—he placed upon record the facts, which had led to the building of the Monastery of Evesham, in these words:—

"I, Egwin, the humble Bishop of Worcester, wish "to manifest to all the faithful in Christ, how it has "come to pass, that I, inspired by the Holy Ghost, first "selected this place at Homme, and built upon it a "monastery, in honour of the Almighty God, and the

" blessed Mary, ever a Virgin. It happened, that on a " certain occasion, and not I believe, without the divine " dispensation, that my spirit should be burdened with " the weight of mighty and awful visions. Wherefore it " was, that my heart was, as if fired with an ardent inspi- " ration, that I ought to erect a building devoted to the " honour and Glory of God, of the blessed Virgin, and " of all the saints in heaven; and for the advancement of " my own salvation, before I passed from this transitory " life. Therefore in the days of Ethelred, King of the " Mercians, I humbly prayed of him, to grant me an " ancient monastery named Fledamburch. That which I " asked, he willingly granted. In the reign of his suc- " cessor, Cenred, there was granted to me by that mon- " arch—moved by his pious devotion to God, and his " warm affection, for myself—eighty four mansas* in the " land circumjacent to that monastery, and which is also " designated Homme. A short time after this, there " departed from this life the religious Bishop Aldhelm, " whose death was made known to me in a vision—and " which I immediately disclosed to the brethern and clergy, " who were convoked together, by me, for that purpose. " That good bishop was subsequently interred by me, " with befitting honour, in the Monastery of Malmsbury. " After this, I proceeded to Rome, with Cenred, King of

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* " The *hide*, the cassatus, and the *mansa* were similar designations of land. * * The hide seems to have contained one hundred and twenty acres. In one historical narration of ancient grants, a hide is so defined; '*unam hydam per sexies viginti acras*;' two hides are afterwards mentioned as twelve times twenty arable acres." TURNER'S History of the Anglo Saxons, vol. ii, pp. 579, 580.

" the Mercians, and Offa King of the East Angles, and " there completed all the vows that I had made, with re- " spect to the foundation of this monastery."*

Egwin had filled the See of Worcester for six years, when he resigned the mitre, and assumed the office of Abbot of Evesham.† All temporal affairs were abandoned

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* In the *Act. Sanctorum* (January) vol. i, p. 712, will be found a more formal declaration of the vision of St. Egwin, and a recital of all the lands given by kings, princes, priests and nobles to the monastery of Evesham, with the privileges conferred upon it, by the Pope, the Kings, Offa and Cenred, and the then Archbishop of Canterbury. This charter is impeached by Mr. Stevenson (Beda, vol. i, p. 380, note, 11) but as he has not condesended to give a reason for denouncing it, as a " pretended charter," we must be content with the Catholic authority of Bollandus, who has inserted it in his great work, and who points out the only tangible objection that can be made to it—namely, that in the year 714, the Kings, Offa and Cenred, sign with their earthly titles. " Hæ Regum subscriptiones," observes Bollandus, " vel pro prioribus tabulis singularum donationum emptionumve huc translatæ, vel a librario sciolo additæ; cum eo anno neuter istorum fuerit se Regem appellaturus, quippe qui pridem monachi essent." See vol. i, p. 713, note *c*. Upon the appending of signatures to ancient documents, see the able, learned, and honest observations of the Revd. Mr. Maitland in his *Dark Ages*, pp. 13, 14, 15, 16.

As to the vision of the Blessed Virgin, by St. Egwin, none of his contemporaries seem to have doubted the sincerity of *his belief* that he had been so favoured, for Pope Constantine, in his brief, thus refers to it:

" Porra de visione illa, imo aperta ostensione, qua se beata Virgo Maria se manifestavit, atque ita certum esse tenemus, quem admodum de viri bonitate non dubitamus." Act. Sanct. vol. i, p. 709.

In the Charter of the Kings, Cenred and Offa, we have these words:

"——in loco, in quo B. Maria se venerabili vivo Egwino Episcopo manifestavit." *Ibid.* p. 712.

† Historia Eveshamensis, as quoted in the *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 470, note *c*.

by him, in order that he might devote himself to a life of holy contemplation. He was one of the most sanctified confessors, humble in habit, pleasing in discourse, devout in preaching, just in judgment, venerable in manners, watchful in prayer, constant in study, pious in his aspirations, and illustrious by many miracles. His venerable body was chastised by vigils and abstinence. Amid the sighs and tears, with which he unceasingly addressed himself to his Creator, he was often consoled with the visions of angels, and of saints, who had departed from this world. He was so devoted to the Blessed Virgin, that she was ever present to his thoughts, and her name at all times on his lips. With her appearance, he was so often consoled, that all earthly thoughts were avoided, and all the things connected with religion constantly practised by him. He condoled with the sorrowful, and aided the unhappy—he was indefatigable in every work of piety.* Falling, at last, into constant sickness, he was unceasing in his hymns and praises of God—and yet in the midst of his illness, he was, beyond all other things, anxious that proper care should be bestowed upon the poor and upon strangers.† Many infirm were restored to health by his invocation of the name of the Holy Trinity—by laying his hand upon others, the frightful pains with which they were afflicted, were removed; and by the same means too, the bodies of those possessed with evil spirits, were saved from further persecution. The saint, who had

* "Miseris condolebat, pauperes recreabat, esurientes pascebat, et cetera pietatis opera indesinenter adimplebat." *Vit. S. Egwin*, c. 3. *Act. Sanct.* vol. i, p. 710.

† "Curam pauperum et peregrinorum ante omnia procurabat." *Ibid.*

from his earliest youth, always worn a hair shirt; stretched in his last illness not upon a bed, but upon ashes; he clothed his naked flesh with an inner tunic, more rough, more harsh, and more afflicting than any he had previously used.* For a time, he subdued the debility and infirmity of his body by its maceration and fasting.

When he had reached the close of his life, he summoned to his death bed all his monks, and those he had converted to the true faith,† and thus addressed them:—

"Brethren, I have lived for you—and it does not grieve "me, that I have so passed my life. I have done all that "I could; and though that all was but trifling, still I "did it. That, which you ought to perform, and what to "avoid I told you; and I think that I also taught you "how both objects were to be attained. I beseech you "then to walk in the ways of justice, that have been "pointed out to you, and not be deceived by the fleeting "shadow of a momentary pleasure. All that is temporal "is so transitory, as never to be for two minutes in the "same state. Its condition momentarily changes as time "passes onward. May He, who is the Way, the Truth "and the Life, keep you from iniquity, and conduct "you on the path to your eternal salvation."

With these words the pious, saintly Egwin, departed

+ "Indutus erat trogulo." Bollandus explains the phrase, by stating of St. Maur—"*Asperrimo* a scapulis usque ad renes induebatur trogulo." Ducange adds, "Genus cilicii fuisse atque adeo a cuculla maxime distinctum." *Glossarium* in verb. "*Trogulus.*"

† "Monachis et filiis, quos Deo genuerat"

from this life in the year 720, and was buried in the monastery, he had himself erected.*

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* *Act. Sanct.* vol. i, pp. 707, 708, 709, 710. (*Vit. S. Egwin*). See also pp. 711, 712, 713, CAPGRAVE, p. ccxxiii. HARPSFIELD, *Oct. Sæc.* c. 15, 18, pp. 140, 142. W. MALMSB. Gest. Pont. Ang. Lib. iv. p. 284. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, p. 139 (E.H.S). *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i, pp. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

These are all Catholic writers; and we must now contrast their account with that which is to be found in the pages of a laborious anti-Catholic compiler. The opinion expressed will be found somewhat curious. It is this:

"The devil, intent upon using every means for the establishment of idolatry, resolved upon employing those who are peculiarly his own workmen, viz., the Popes of Rome and the monks. Amongst the latter he raised up Egwin, a Benedictine monk, who had been appointed Bishop of Worcester, and who was a man compounded of the very filth of superstition."

"Diabolus ad idolatriae confirmationem, omnem lapidem movit; utens opera suorum mancipiorum, nimirum pontificum Romanorum, et monachorum, inter alios autem Egwinum monachum Benedictum nuper Wiccis designatum Episcopum, hominem ex superstitionum colluvie compactum excitat."

SPELMAN'S *Concilia*, vol. i, p. 216.

But why, it may be asked, is such language applied to a prelate, whose great care, even in his last illness, was to tend to the wants of "the poor, and those who had none to help them?" Anti-Catholic authors chose to ascribe to Bishop Egwin the introduction into England of the worship of pictures and images. Upon this point it is observed by Dr. Lingard:

"To give a colour of truth to the story, a synod has been described as assembled at London, and approving the worship

The same year (A.D. 709,) in which the Kings Cenred

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of images. *The forgery* has even been honored with a place in both the editions of the British Councils. * * * The imposture was soon detected, and exposed by foreign and native writers. Spelman abandoned it to its fate, but to supply its place left a long and elaborate note." LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. ii, p. 216. (Ed. 1806).

It may be sufficient to remark, that the use of sacred images and pictures preceded the exposition of the doctrines of Christianity amongst the Anglo Saxons. Both were carried before St. Augustine, when he first attended the presence of King Ethelbert. (BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 25. §. 55). See p. 174, in this vol.

Alcuin, it is remarked by Dr. Lingard, in his poem on York, puts the following *popish* language into the mouth of King Oswald:

" Prosternite vestros
Vultus ante crucem, quam vertice montis in isto
Erexi, rutilat Christi quæ clara trophæo,
Quæ quoque nunc nobis præstabit ab hoste triumphum."
Alc. de Pont.

That the worship, or respect, which is mentioned, was not idolatrous, is plain, from the prayer composed by Alcuin: (" tuam crucem adoramus, domine, tuam gloriosam recolimus passionem, miserere nostri") and from a passage in the Saxon homilies— " We bow ourselves to the cross: not indeed to the wood, but to the Almighty Lord, who hung on it for us. Hom. Sax. apud Wilk. p. 165."

LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*. vol. ii, pp. 117, 118.

Wherefore should the character of the venerable, pious, and charitable Egwin be slandered? Because about the time of his death a pestilent heresy arose. It was the destruction of holy images. In the year 725, the Greek Emperor Leo, " issued an edict prohibiting all from shewing reverence to images." What was the result in Italy? It is thus told by Pope Gregory II in his letter to Leo:

" When the impieties perpetrated on the image of their Saviour, by your order, were reported by the Franks, Vandals, Moors, and Goths—merchants and pilgrims of all lands—who being at that time in Constantinople, beheld them, then it was," pursues the holy father, " that *they* having cast down *thy* image,

and Offa proceeded from England to Rome, died at

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trampled them under foot, and cut and hacked *thy* face." *Rome under Paganism and the Popes*, vol. ii, p. 289, 290, 291.

According to modern notions, the Romans who thus treated with contumely the image of their wicked sovereign were "*rebels*;" the sovereign himself, who defaced the images of our Saviour and His saints, was "*a religious reformer!*"

A successor to Leo, in the same century, was the Emperor Constantine, and a brief account of his proceedings by an English historian, will shew, that he was, in every particular, worthy of being regarded, as the patriarch and prototype of the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

"In the year 795 the Emperor Constantine deprived of their sight many persons who had fallen under his suspicion. The Pope Stephen, who had been kept a close prisoner by him for forty years, was cruelly put to death by his order. He made all persons whose faith were suspected by him, or who were subjected to his power, swear upon the wood of the holy cross, that *they would neither venerate the images of saints nor invoke the assistance of the Mother of God*. He condemned those, who were constant in their devotions, who passed their lives as religious, or *who had in their possession the relics of saints, to be deprived of their estates, and to be harrassed in every manner* that his ingenuity could devise; whilst the men amongst them who were the most venerable for their years, he caused their beards to be saturated with pitch and wax and then set on fire. *He compelled both monks and nuns to marry;* and such as, refused to do so, were put to death by tortures, equal in their severity and cruelty to any inflicted under the worst of the pagan persecutions." Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 260. (E.H.S).

Such was an ancient "religious Reformer!" Such an opponent to the veneration of images! In his cruelty and his enactments, we see foreshadowed the star-chamber, the Tower tortures, the Tyburn slaughters, and the penal laws of Elizabeth, and the "Reforming" kings of this country. We find such princes praised by "anti-Catholic" historians; whilst the memory of the blessed Egwin is slandered, not merely in works, where persons might expect to meet only with impartiality and truth, sustained by documents; but it is even defamed by a wretch, so lost to shame and decency, that whilst he was a Carmelite Friar, and an ordained priest, was publicly married!

"Adeo tamen his nugis deceptus est *Baleus*; ut arrepta inde

Oundle, in Nottinghamshire, that remarkable man, Wilfrid, who for five and forty years had discharged the duties of a bishop. From Oundle his remains were carried, with due honor, to his own monastery, at Ripon, and there interred in the Church of St. Peter the Apostle.*

In the second year of the reign of King Alfrid, he had, upon the invitation of that sovereign, been restored to the See of which he had been deprived by King Egfrid.† Two years had only passed away, when he fell under the displeasure of King Alfrid—was again obliged to defend himself before the Court of Rome—again compelled to

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ansa vir intemperantis zeli in Edgwinum acerrime debacchatus sit." WHARTON, *Ang. Sac,* vol. i, p. 479. Note *c.*

Upon the Catholic doctrine respecting the worship of images, See "Lectures on the Principle Doctrines of the Catholic Church," by the Revd. Dr. Wiseman, pp. 91, to 133.

"Our Church," says a Catholic priest, whose life is known as one act of virtue, "teaches that the images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, with those of other Saints, are to be kept and to be retained particularly in the churches, and that due honour should be given them, not as believing that any divinity or virtue is in them for which they should be honoured, or that any thing is to be asked for them, or any trust to be placed in them as the Gentiles once did in their Idols, but because the honour given to them is referred to the prototypes, which they represent; so that through the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover our heads and kneel, we may learn to adore Christ and venerate his saints, whom they represent." Substance of a lecture on the Catholic faith, by the REVD. T. SISK of Chelsea.

* BEDA. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 19, §. 413.

† BEDA. Lib. v. c. 19, §. 420. Some particulars of the preceding part of the life of Wilfrid will be found at p.p. 403, 410, 475 of this volume. Eddius states that Hexham was first restored to him by King Alfrid and afterwards York and Ripon—"Cum redditibus suis." *Vit. S. Wilfrid.* c. 43, p. 74. (Gale)

prove that he had been falsely calumniated, and unjustly condemned in his own country.

Wilfrid was fully and completely absolved at Rome, from all the charges preferred against him, and authorised to return to England with that honor which was due to his innocence, and that reverence to which the number of years he had discharged the episcopal functions, fully entitled him.*

Wilfrid, before he quitted the city of Rome, again visited, with his pious companions, all the shrines of its saints, gathering, as had ever been his custom, from the devout clergy, the relics of saints, purple or silken hangings, or other ornaments for churches. At length he quitted Rome, and, aided by the blessings of its saints, he travelled a long and tedious journing, crossing over the rough mountains, until he reached France. The good bishop had travelled on foot thus far, when he became so ill, that at first, he had to proceed on horseback; but soon was so greatly reduced, that his sorrowing friends had to carry him in a litter; and in this state, he was borne into the town of Meaux, where his death was momentarily expected by all.†

For four days and four nights, he lay, as one whose decease had already taken place—a slight breathing, being the only indication, that he still existed. For that space of time, he remained without receiving the smallest portion of nourishment—devoid alike of sense, hearing, and motion

* Beda. Lib. v. c. 19, §. 420, 421. The cause of the dispute between King Alfrid, and Bishop Wilfrid, with all the subsequent proceedings, will be found in Eddius, chapters 44 to 53, pp. 75 to 82. (Gale)

† Eddius. *Vit. S. Wilfrid.* c. 54, p. 83.

—but on the morning of the fifth day he sat up, like one who had risen from a deep sleep. Upon looking around him, he beheld his monks weeping, as they recited psalms over him. Wilfrid sighed, and then asked for the priest Acca, who was immediately sent for. Acca, upon finding the bishop manifestly so much recovered, as to be able to speak, knelt down, and along with all his friends, returned thanks to God for the blessing thus bestowed upon them.

The monks and bishop conversed for some time together, with deep feelings of fear upon the awful nature of the last judgment; and then Wilfrid having desired all, with the exception of the priest Acca, to withdraw, thus spoke to him:—

"An awful vision has just now appeared to me—but I "desire that you should forbear from mentioning it, until I "know, what may be the will of God, with me. There "stood, by my side, a wondrous being, in dazzlingly "white garments, who said, that he was Michael the "Archangel, and who thus addressed me:—'I am sent, "'to call thee back from death; for the Lord has granted "'thee life, through the prayers and tears of thy disciples "'and brethren, and by the intercession of His blessed "'mother, the ever Virgin Mary. Therefore do I an-"'nounce to thee, that thou shalt now be cured of this "'infirmity; but be prepared—for at the end of four "'years, I will again visit thee. Upon thy return to "'thy country, the greatest part of thy possessions, "'which were taken away shall be restored to thee, and "'thy days shall end in peace."*

* The account of this miraculous vision is recorded in nearly the same words by Eddius. c. 54. p. 83. The authority for its

The bishop was restored to health, to the great joy of all. Due thanks were given to God; the journey which had been interrupted, was resumed, and shortly afterwards Wilfrid arrived in England.

Letters were addressed by the Pope to the Archbishop Berthwald, and King Ethelred, with respect to Wilfrid. By both, these letters were willingly received and cordially acted upon.* As to Ethelred, he was, at the time the letters came, an abbot; but he sent for Cenred, to whom he had given his kingdom, and at his entreaty, his successor became the steadfast friend of Wilfrid.†

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revelation in both authors Eddius and Bede is Acca, and the question arises—was he trustworthy? Eddius, and Bede were both hiscontemporaries: the first speaks of him, as "Acca, qui nunc est beatæ memoriæ gratia Dei episcopus," and Bede who praises him, as a patron of learning—"Summa industria congregans amplissimam ac nobilissimam bibliothecam"—as a distinguished scholar, and divine "in literis sanctis doctissimus et in Catholicæ fidei confessione castissimus" moreover declares of him, that he was "vir et ipse strenuissimus et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus." (Lib. v. c. 20, §. 426). Now, either Acca invented the account of this vision, or Wilfrid deceived him, by a story, which the event proved to be true—or, it was a real manifestation corroborated by succeeding circumstances. The last is, we humbly think, the most easy of belief. Acca was subsequently canonised. See ROG. DE HOVEDEN *annal.* p. 402. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont.* p. 272. EDDIUS. c. 21.

* EDDIUS. c. 55, p. 83.

† The first part of the following extract from Eddius shows that in the manner even of issuing its Decrees on Ecclesiastical matters, there is no change in the See of Rome, between the eighth and the nineteenth century; whilst the latter part exhibits a sad contrast between the piety of Anglo Saxon Kings, and the impiety of "Reformation" Sovereigns:

"Postremo ad Ethelredum regem * * sanctus Pontifex noster veniens, mitissime cum salutavit * * honorifice ab amico more suo susceptus erat. Qui ei salutationis verba ab apostolica sede emissa, et statuta de se judicia *signata cum bullis*

The briefs of the pope were contemned by Alfrid, King of Northumbria, who died shortly afterwards.*

King Alfrid, when confined to his bed by the pains of sickness,† openly repented of the sin, he had committed, both against the Bishop Wilfrid and the Apostolic See. "If," said he, "it were permitted me to live, I would "immediately amend my error. As it is, I now make a "vow to God and St. Peter, if I recover my health, to "carry into full effect the desire of the holy Wilfrid, and "the judgment of the Apostolic See; but if it be the "will of God, that I am to die, by this sickness; then I "command, in the name of God, that my successor, "whosoever he may be, will, for the repose of my soul, "be at peace with Bishop Wilfrid." These words were uttered in the hearing of trustworthy witnesses who have repeated them, as they were said.‡ Amongst these witnesses may be mentioned the Princess Ælfleda, Abbess, and the Abbess Edelburga.

Upon the death of Alfrid, Eadwulf obtained for a short time possession of the throne. To him Wilfrid sent a message marked by kindness; but the harsh reply of the new monarch was to this effect—"I swear, by my salva-

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et sigillis humiliter ostendit. Ille vero statim apertis et recitatis Apostolicæ sedis literis, prosternens se in terram obedienter spopondit, dicens, 'Hujus Apostolicae auctoritatis scriptis, *ne unius quidem literæ apicem unquam in vita mea condemnabo*, neque facientibus consentiam: sed ut impleantur, secundum vires meas adjuvabo."

EDDIUS. *Vit. S. Wilfrid.* c. 55, p. 84. (Gale).

* BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v, c. 19, §. 422, 423, 424.

† "In vinculis alligatum infirmitatis." EDDIUS.

‡ "Hæc verba fidellisimi testes audiverunt, *nobisque indicaverunt.*" EDDIUS.

" tion, that if the bishop does not, within the space of " six days, depart from my kingdom, there is not one of " his monks, that shall not be put to death." Two months had not elapsed from the time this answer was given, when Eadwulf in consequence of a conspiracy was driven from the throne, on which he was replaced by Osred, the son of Alfrid—then a mere boy—and who was constituted as the adopted son of the pious Wilfrid.*

A short time subsequent to the accession of King Osred, a council was held near the River Nidd, where after some discussion, it was at length unanimously determined, that Wilfrid should be restored to his bishoprick. For four years he was permitted to enjoy it in peace; and in the year 709 died at Oundle, from whence his remains where removed to Ripon, and placed on the south side of the altar.†

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* Eddius. *Vit. S. Wilfrid.* c. 57, pp. 84, 85. Eadwulf was an usurper, who had no claim to the throne, either by legitimate descent or popular favour. He is designated by Malmsbury as " Edulfus *quidam* tyrannidem *meditans.*" *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii. p. 268.

† Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 19, §. 424. It is observed, as to this saint, by Dr. Lingard, that " St. Wilfrid by his earnest endeavours to introduce the canonical observances among his countrymen, and his successful appeals to the justice of the Pontiffs has been rewarded with the severest reproaches by the enemies of the Church of Rome. To paint his character in the most odious colours has been a favorite theme with modern writers." These charges are met and ably refuted by the Revd. writer. See *Anglo Saxon Church,* vol. i, pp. 333, to 337, (Ed. 1806) and more fully in the last edition of the same work vol. i, pp. 136, 142, 143, 144, 394, 395, 396, 397.

For our purpose, it is sufficient to shew, the abundance of St. Wilfrid's charity is a proof that his attachment to the See of

In the year 710* Berthfrid, prefect† of Northumbria fought with the Picts, and slew an immense number of the enemy. To him was reserved the glory of being the avenger of the death of Egfrid and of the slaughter of his fellow countrymen.‡ This Berthfrid had, in the Council of Nidd, been the supporter of Wilfrid, where he stated, that whilst Osred and the royal forces lay beseiged at Bebbanburgh, by the usurper Eadwulf—that at the time, they were in the utmost need, and in peril of their lives, they made a vow to God, that if they escaped in safety they would carry into effect the Decree

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Rome was coincident with his fulfilment of the letter and the spirit of the gospel. "If he was rich," remarked the Revd. Alban Butler, "he knew no other use of what he possessed than to employ it in the foundation of churches, and *in the relief of the poor.*" (Lives of the Saints, vol. viii, p. 642.

How true this statement is; we have the proof in Eddius, who having described the bishop displaying all his wealth, thus tells us the manner in which he commenced the distribution of it—"Ex tribus aliis partibus unam *pauperibus populi mei* pro redemtione animæ meæ dividite." How well his intentions in this respect were fulfilled, we also learn, viz. "anniversaria die obitus sui universas decimarum partes de armentis, et de gregibus *pauperibus populi sui* dividere omnibus diebus vitæ suæ ad gloriam Dei constituit, *absque his eleemosynis, quas omni die, pro se et pro anima episcopi sui, semper nominatim simul indigenis et Deo dabat.*" Eddius, c. 61, 62, pp. 77, 78. (Gale).

* *Sax. Chron.*

† Beda, Lib v, c. 24, §. 452. Berthfrid is designated "Consul" by Rog. de Wend.

‡ Rog, de Wend. Vol. i. p. 202. Flor. Wigorn. p. 264. H. Hunt. p. 337. "Alderman Bertfrith fought with the Picts between Heugh and Carau." *Sax. Chron.*

"710. Slaughter of the Picts in the field of Manan, among the Saxons, where Finguin McDelaroith perished" Annals of Ulster p. 60 as quoted in Turner's *History of the Anglo Saxons* vol. i, p. 398.

of the Pope, with respect to Wilfrid—that sacrcely had they made that vow, than general homage was tendered to them, the entire country seen to rise in their support—the royal youth raised to the throne—the enemy defeated, and the tyrant put down.*

In the same year† Ina and his relative Nun, fought against Geraint, King of Wales.‡ At the commencement of the battle between the Welsh and Saxons, Higbald, a Saxon General was slain; but at length Geraint and his soldiers turned their backs to the enemy, and abandoned, on the field, the arms, with which they should have defended themselves.¶

Two years after this battle with the Welsh, King Ina again engaged in hostilities. He collected a large army, for the purpose of destroying Ceolred, King of Mercia. The battle between these monarchs was fought at Wodenesburney.‖ It was contested with such fury, and attended with such a dreadful slaughter on both sides, that neither could claim a victory. Each was aware he

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* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii, p. 268.

† Sax. Chronicle.

‡ "Geraint the British King of Cornwall. This Geraint was the third of that name in Cornwall. Aldhelm addressed to him a letter on the British celebration of Easter." Turner's *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i, p. 399, note 38.

¶ H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv, p. 337.

‖ The varions names given to the place by different authors is curious, viz. "Wadnesbeorhe," *Sax. Chron.* "Wothnesbeorhge," *Ethelwerd.* "Wonsdike," *Malmsbury.* "Wonebirih," *H. Hunt.* "Wodnesbeorh," *Flor.* "Wodnesburch," *Rog. de Wend.* "Bonebirg," *Brompton.*

had suffered a frightful loss, and by his own misfortunes was taught to respect the valour of his antagonist.*.

In the year 714, died Guthlac, the holy.† This hermit terminated his days in the marsh of Croyland. He was of illustrious descent; and at the time of his birth, a prodigy marked his entrance into life, for there was seen descending from the sky, a hand of a dazzling blood red colour, which rested upon a cross‡ in front of his mother's mansion, and then disappeared from the sight of the beholders. This circumstance was spoken of as a miracle, to the utmost extent of the country, in which it occurred.¶

The infant was, by the express desire of his parents,

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* "Ut neutra parte victa cui eorum clades detestabilior contigerat nesciatur." BROMPTON *Chron.* p. 773. See also H. Hunt. p. 338. *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 715.

† "Her forthferde Gutlac the halga" *Sax. Chron.*. See THORPE'S *Codex Exoniensis* pp. 107—184.

‡ "A cross in many districts supplied the place of an oratory, and around it the thane and retainers frequently assembled to perform their devotions. 'Sic mos est Saxonicæ gentis, quod in nonnullis nobilium bonorumque hominum prædiis, non ecclesiam, sed Santae crucis signum Deo dicatum, cum magno honore almum, in alto erectum, ad commodam diurnae orationis sedulitatem solent habere." (Vit. S. Willibald.) LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church.* Vol. ii. pp. 113, 114. (Ed. 1806).

¶ "Cujus miraculi magnitudo mediterraneorum terminos Merciorum in momento replevit." ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. 206. The account of Guthlac is abridged by Roger de Wend. from the life of the sainted hermit by Felix, a contemporary, and Felix declares that he has written nothing, without having made a diligent inquiry into its truth—"post certissmum rerum gestarum inquisitionem."

baptised with the name of Guthlac. As soon as he came to the years of manhood, he joined, with other warriors, in martial expeditions against the enemies of his country;* but he acted unlike to others, for, influenced by the innate goodness of his disposition, whatever spoil he acquired as a soldier, he restored one-third portion of it to those who had been its former possessors.

For eight years he had passed the wild and perilous life of a soldier, when upon his return one night to his home, he thought to himself, how vain and fleeting was the glory of this world—how lasting the pains of hell; and how uncertain his chance of escaping them. As soon as morning dawned, he made known to his relations and his followers, the result of the reflexions that had occupied his mind. He abandoned to them the spoils that he had accumulated; and repaired to the monastery of Reppington then one of the most famous in the country.† There, he received the tonsure, and the humble habit of a monk, with the determination of passing a life of penitence, in satisfaction of the sins, of which he had been guilty.‡

His life in the monastery was distinguished for its austerities. It was passed in fasting, in devout prayer, in the earnest study of the holy Scriptures. The horror that he had conceived for every species of vice, was not less strong than his ardent desire to attain every virtue. He

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* See *Act. Sanct.* (Aprilis). Vol. ii. p. 39 (E).

† "Reppington or Repton in Derbyshire; afterwards destroyed by the Danes." COXE. "Rebuilt in the year 1172, by Maud, widow of Ranulph, Earl of Chester: yearly income 167*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*, now worth 3,358*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*" *Cobbett.* See also CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 415. (Gough).

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 207.

sought to acquire every great and good quality, for which he saw each of his fellow-monks most eminent. Thus he laboured to possess the learning of one, the abstinency of a second, the patience of a third, the humility and meekness of a fourth, the silence of a fifth; the severe discipline of life, in some—the daily and nightly vigils of more—in fine, to concentrate in spirit, in manner, and in practice, the great virtues which were distributed amongst all.

When he had for two years afforded, by his conduct, a glorious example to those with whom he lived in community; higher thoughts filled his mind—they were those of passing his entire time in devotion, as a solitary. He communicated his intention to the abbot and his brother-monks, and having received their permission to depart, and being strengthened with their benediction, he proceeded to carry his pious intention into effect.*

In seeking for a place, suited to his purpose, he was told of a large lake on the eastern boundary of the Mercian kingdom, and that in this lake was to be found a distant island, in which many had taken up their abode, but found it impossible to reside there. Guthlac, upon hearing this, desired to be transported thither. He was carried across the waters in a fishing boat, to that spot, which is now called "Croyland," and where none previously could endure to remain, on account of the terrible appearance of the many demons, who had been permitted to occupy it.

The hermit Guthlac, confiding in the special protection

* The life of St. Guthlac, by Felix, as abridged by Harpsfield. *Oct, Saec.* c. 19, p. 143.

of St. Bartholomew, upon whose feast day, he began his abode in Croyland determined to remain there. He returned in a short time to his fellow monks, and taking with him from the monastery two young lads, he repaired again to the island—resolved to battle as a brave soldier, manfully in the cause of God, against all his spiritual enemies. He found in the island a grassy mound of earth, in the side of which there was a hollow like a cistern. There, he built for himself a hut, and commenced his hermit's life. His body was clothed neither with woollen nor linen garments, but defended from the inclemency of the weather, solely by the skins of animals; whilst such was his abstinence, that the only nourishment he took was a small piece of barley-bread and glass of water, every day, at sun-set.

Thus was he passing his time, when one day, that his mind was, as usual, absorbed in divine meditation, two strangers, on a sudden stood by his side, and thus addressed him:

"We have tried the fortitude of your faith, and have "had experience of your invincible patience: we have "therefore determined not only to cease from again dis- "turbing you; but even to instruct you in the customs "of the ancient hermits. Moses and Elias, and other "patriarchs and fathers have made themselves pleasing "to God, by their great abstinence. A fast of two or "three days is not enough—a holy person ought to fast "six days; for as God formed the world in six days, "and rested on the seventh; so ought man, by fasting "for six days, to purify his soul; and then, eating on the "seventh, to give rest to his body."

When the pious hermit heard these words, he thus re-

plied to them:—"*Let God arise, and his enemies be dis-*
"*persed, and let all that hate him, fly from before his face.*"
When he had spoken thus, he took as usual his daily particle of barley-bread---and the evil spirits instantly vanished, filling the air with sad cries as they disappeared.*

Guthlac was visited in his solitary abode by bishop Hedda, who bestowed upon him the order of priesthood. Ethelbald, afterwards king of the Mercians, came as an exile to Croyland. Ethelbald, wearied out with a long career of misfortune was, when he first saw Guthlac, fast yielding to despair. Utterly prostrate in spirit, he began his conversation with Guthlac; but a brief time was sufficient to dissipate his cares, and to fill his heart with hope. Guthlac predicted to his guest many things that were to occur to him, and among the rest, that he should possess the crown, to which he afterwards succeeded. This power of foretelling distant events was exercised by him, in favor of a future king, and of many others. It was not the only aid he administered to the afflicted. He effected cures of

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* In Rog. de Wend., as in the Act. Sanct. (11th April) there will be found other instances stated of the temptations and trials of the holy Guthlac; but in all he is described as conquering, by employing the words of the holy scriptures. If anti-Catholics affirm that the life of St. Guthlac, as described by Felix is in itself a proof of "monkish superstition," and an attempt to impose on the credulity of a barbarous age, they must admit, that in describing Guthlac as defending himself by scriptural quotations, they also impressed upon their hearers the necessity of knowing the Bible thoroughly—a fact not at all consistent with the most hacknied, most vulgar, most false, and therefore most favorite calumny against Catholic priests and monks—that they desired to render the Bible a closed book to the bulk of mankind.

the body as well as of the mind. All who approached him were directly aided by his devout prayers, or his wise counsels.

Fifteen years of his life thus passed away in his solitary retreat, and during all that time his thoughts were of God, and his actions those of peace and charity to all mankind. No one had ever seen him elated; none had beheld him in the slightest degree irritated; none had found him sad, mournful, or depressed in spirit. There was a constant, and settled calm in every feature of his face, indicative alike of the tranquillity of his spirit and the goodness of his heart. His discourse was ever gentle and affable, his counsel ever pious and prudent; whilst his entire appearance personified the greatness and magnitude of his humility. With all this, his life was a life of labour, of affliction and of temptations; all of which were overcome by his boundless love of God. There can, however, be no doubt, that his toils were lightened and his sorrows alleviated by the great external and internal consolations, which heaven was pleased to bestow upon him.

The holy hermit fell sick upon the Wednesday in Holy Week; and upon the seventh day from that Wednesday expired. His last effort was to offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass—and with its consecration, and communion as his viaticum, he departed from this world.*

Guthlac had a sister named Pega, whom from the time he became a hermit, he did not desire to see; but when he felt that he was dying he sent his attendant Beccelinus to

* "Quantumvis infirmis viribus, se recollegit atque excitavit, et Dominici corporis sacrificium immolavit, septimoque die jam animam exhalaturus, eodem se viatico munivit."

intimate to her, that he wished to deprive himself of the happiness of beholding her in this life, in order that he might add to the joy and felicity of beholding her in the everlasting kingdom of heaven. Denying to himself the last great satisfaction he was capable of feeling upon earth, he prayed of her to come to the island, as soon as his death had been notified to her, and consign his body to the grave.*

Guthlac whilst living had been favored by his Creator with many blessings, which were exhibited in the relief, the assistance and the consolation afforded by him, to his fellow-creatures; and upon his death, in addition to the glory, to which he was elevated in heaven, such signs were shewn, as recommended his name and his memory to the honor and veneration of mortals. The house in which his corpse was laid was illuminated with miraculous splendour; a blazing tower of brilliant, sun-like light arose over it, and seemed to reach from the sky to the earth; the songs as if of angels were heard in the air; and over the entire island there was diffused a most fragrant and delicious odour. As his body was borne to be buried, the eyes of a blind man, washed with some water, in which salt blessed by Guthlac had been dropped, were restored to sight. Even when his body had lain in the earth for a year, and his sister Pega had it again raised, for the purpose of removal, it was found as perfect, and entire, and the limbs as flexible, as if it were insensible with slumber, and had not been struck by death.

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* St. Pega afterwards became a nun; her relics are still preserved in Rome. See *Act. Sanct.* (January) vol. ii, pp. 532, 533. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii, pp. 289, 290. INGULPHUS *Hist.* p. 5. (Gale).

A magnificent mausoleum to the memory of Guthlac was afterwards erected by King Ethelbald, who, whilst still an exile, again visited the island of Croyland, in order that he might look upon the grave of the hermit, in whose society, when living, he had found such great consolation. It was by the side of the grave of his friend, that Ethelbald prayed for his intercession. The king's love and piety were alike rewarded; for on the night that he had so prayed, Guthlac appeared to him in a vision. The saint appeared clothed in all the radiant light of another world, bid him be of good cheer, to cast away from his thoughts all solicitude, for his future undertakings would be crowned with success. It was a true prediction, for within a year, from the time of its utterance, Ethelbald was hailed as a sovereign.*

Ethelbald, as soon as he became king of the Mercians, determined at once to carry into execution the resolution that he had formed, and the promise that he had made in the days of his adversity. He therefore summoned to his presence a monk of the monastery of Evesham, named Kenulph, in order that he might establish a monastery, and for that purpose he conceded to him, and other persons who devoted their lives to the service of God, the entire island of Croyland. This he did, as expressed in his charter, "by the counsel and advice of his beloved confessor, the holy anchorite, Guthlac."†

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* "The life of St. Guthlac, by Felix, as abridged by Harpsfield, Oct. Sæc. c. 19, pp. 144, 145. See Capgrave, fol. clxix-clxxiv.

† "Hinc est, quod cum dilecti confessoris mei Guthlaci anachoritæ devoti instructus fuissem consilio, precibus pulsatus

In the year 716 died Ceolred King of the Mer-

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gratanter in hunc modum acquievi. Ad perpetuam securitatis memoriam hoc chirographo patenti dono trado et concedo omnipotenti Deo, beatae Mariae et S. Bartholomaeo de dominicis meis ad fundationem Monasterii nigrorum monachorum, sub norma S. Benedicti Deo famulantium, totam insulam Croylandiae &c." INGULPHUS. *Hist.* p. 851. *(Scrip. Post Bedam.)*

Thus arose the monastery of the black Benedictine monks of Croyland! The pages of an Anti Catholic writer supply us, with some interesting particulars respecting it.

"Ethelbald, King of Mercia, founded here A.D. 716, at great expense, a monastery being eminent for *its sanctity and wealth.* Of which take these lines from the life of Guthlac, by Felix a very antient monk:

"Nunc exercet ibi se munificentia regis,
Et magnum templum magno molimine condit
At cum tam mollis, tam lubrica tam male constans,
Fundamenta palus non ferret saxea, palos
Præcipit infigi quercino robore cæsos,
Leucarumque novem spatio rate fertur arena,
Inque solum mutatur humus, suffultaque tali
Cella basi multo stat consummata labore.

"The royal bounty here itself displays,
And bids with mighty pains a noble temple raise;
The soft, the slippery, the unsettled soil
Had long disdained the busy workman's toil:
No stone foundation suit this marshy land,
But piles of oak in goodly order stand,
And boats for nine long leagues fetch filling sand.
The fickle soil cements to solid ground,
The sacred pile on the firm base they found,
And art and labour grace the work around."

"Croyland lies among the deepest fens and waters stagnating off muddy lands, so shut in and environed as to be inaccessible

cians. He had in his conflict with King Ina displayed the

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on all sides except the North and East, and that only by causeys. Its situation, if we may compare small things with great, is not unlike that of Venice; consisting of three streets, divided by canals of water; planted with willows; and built on piles driven into the bottom of the fen; and joined by *a triangular bridge of admirable workmanship*, under which, the inhabitants report, is a pit of immense depth, dug to receive the confluence of the waters. Beyond this bridge, whereas the poet says—"*in solum mutatur humus*" anciently stood the monastery, so famous, in a much narrower space, all round which, except where the town stands is so moory, that you may run a pole into the ground to the depth of thirty feet. CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii, pp. 331, 332. (Gough's Ed.)

The "admirable workmanship" here referred to, it cannot be denied, was accomplished by the monks. See what is stated in another passage:

"From hence (Spalding) to Deping, a town ten miles off, Eyebric, *Abbot* of Croyland, afterwards Bishop of Durham, through the centre of a wild forest of deep marshes, as Ingulphus relates, raised with wood and gravel a solid causey for travellers, called after him *Elrich Wood. But no traces of it are now to be seen.*" *Ibid.*

Such was the fate of that which Ingulphus designates "Opus sumptuosum valde, primeque necessarium." (Histor. p. 897.)

In Camden (Gough's edition) there is to be found, abridged from Petrus Blesensis, an account of the manner in which Croyland was rebuilt in the year 1112. It is worthy of perusal, as a specimen of the manner in which all classes cooperated for the erection of churches and monasteries before the Reformation.

"On this day (the festival of S. S. Perpetua and Felicitas) numbers of *nobles*, *prelates*, and *the common people* resorted hither. After the service and the chanting was ended the abbot himself laid the first stone at the East corner; each of the nobles laid a stone in turn, and upon the stone some laid money, others grants of land, titles to the patronage of churches, tithes of their sheep and of their churches, measures of wheat, or a certain number of labourers or stonecutters. Of *the common people some gave money, others their labour for one day in every month* till the work was completed; *some offered to erect whole pillars, others, bases of pillars, and others, parts of the walls, with an eager and cheerful devotion.* The abbot in a public manner commends their ready benevolence to so holy a work,

valour of a soldier; but his death was the most miserable that can afflict a sinner.* He had, as a King, been the violator of the ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy; and his brutal passions had led him to the sacrilegious crime of making those who had devoted themselves to God, subservient to

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grants them ALL *the brotherhood of his monastery,* and a share in all the spiritual good things of that church, and after feasting them sumptuously, dismisses them with his blessing in good spirits to their respective homes." (Vol. ii, p. 332).

This was England "before the Reformation." Let us now look at Croyland—its town and monastery "after the Reformation." Again we quote from the same anti-Catholic authority:

"*The town is miserably decayed,* and has nothing that deserves the name of an inn; and there was, about seventeen years ago, an unsuccessful attempt made to establish here a market and a fair for cattle. After the destruction of the monastery by the Danes 870, it was refounded by King Edred 948, at the persuasion of his chancellor Turketyl, who was abbot there. It was valued at the dissolution at £1083. *per annum. The East part of the church with the transepts was then pulled down.* It was used as a church until the close of the last century; after which the North Aisle was fitted up for the use of the parish, with a heavy short tower of modern state. The nave was entire 1661, and its roof and South Aisle fell within this century; and *the beautiful West front loaded with statues and the legend of St. Guthlac over the door stands neglected and running fast to ruin. Only the Westernmost lofty noble zig-zag arch of the tower remains, which was closed up when the rest of the choir part was pulled down. At the East end have been taken up the massive oak planks on which the foundation was laid.*"

CAMDEN'S *Britannia.* Vol. ii. p. 343.

In the reign of Edward VI, Croyland was bestowed upon Edward, Lord Clinton. For an account of the injury inflicted upon the agriculturers of Lincolnshire, by the destruction of this and other monasteries, See LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church.* Vol. i. pp. 209. 210. (Ed. 1806). See pp. 218, 216, of the same volume, when a noble instance is given of the boundless charity, and hospitality of the monks of Croyland.

* *Sax. Chron.* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 79.

his pleasures. It was in the midst of a splendid banquet, and when surrounded by his friends and companions, that the evil spirit was permitted to take possession of him. Without confession, and without the viaticum he was torn from life; his last words were worthy of a demon—his last exclamation was a blasphemy!*

The same year Osred King of the Northumbrians was slain.† He was killed whilst fighting near to the sea.‡ He had been guilty of the same crimes as King Ceolred;§ he had sacrilegiously violated the sanctity and purity of convents; and fell at last ignobly, a victim to a conspiracy amongst his own relations.¶

Ethelbald was the successor of Ceolred in Mercia; Osred's successor in Northumbria was Cenred.‖

The venerable Egbert induced at this time the monks of Iona, by his reasoning, to conform to the proper regulation as to Easter, and the fitting ecclesiastical tonsure.** He remained for thirteen years in their community; and was called to Heaven on the Easter Sunday, a few hours subsequent to the solemn celebration of Mass on that great

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* "—Sine confessione et viatico, cum diabolo sermocinanti, et legem Dei detestanti animam extorsit."
Epist. Bonif. SPELMAN'S *Concilia.* Vol. i. p. 235. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Vol. i. p. 114. (E.H.S.)

† *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 716.

‡ "Juxta *mere* pugnans interfectus est." H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv. p. 338. "Juxta *mare* pugnans." ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. 211, "at the lake of Windamere." TURNER'S *Ang. Sax.* Vol. i. p. 399.

§ *Epist. Bonif.* SPELMAN'S *Concilia.* Vol. i. p. 125.

¶ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 53.

‖ H. HUNT. Hist. Lib. iv, p. 338,

** Sax. Chron. A.D. 716.

festival.* "The day of the Lord" which that venerable father had desired to see, "he saw and was rejoiced."†

Inigils, the brother of King Ina, died in the year 718‡. About the same time, Cuthburga, the virgin wife and

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* H. HUNT. p. 338. CAPGRAVE, p.p. cxxi, cxxii.

† BEDA Lib. v, c. 22, §. 446. This Egbert was an Irish-educated Catholic priest; the description given of him by Beda is distinct on the point—"Venisset ad eos *de Hibernia* Deo amabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus pater et sacerdos Ecgberct." In the able translation of Beda. by the Revd. Dr. Giles (a clergyman of the established church) it is curious that the fact of Egbert's coming from Ireland should have been omitted. He translates the words we have quoted thus: "The holy father and priest Egbercht, beloved of God, and worthy to be named with all honor." The omission would not, perhaps, be worthy of notice if it did not spoil the sense of another passage, in which Bede contrasts the conduct of the Irish and the British (Welsh) Catholics towards the English people.

"It appears," he says, "to have been accomplished by a wonderful dispensation of the Divine Goodness, that the same nation,"—that is *the Irish*—"which had willingly, and without envy, communicated to the English people the knowledge of the true Deity (gens illa, quam noverat scientiam divinæ cognitionis *libentur ac sine invidia populis Anglorum communicare curavit)* should afterwards, by means of the English nation, be brought where they were defective to the true rule of life. Even as on the contrary, the Britons, who would not acquaint the English with the knowledge of the true faith, &c." Beda's Ecclesiastical History, translated by Stevens, carefully *revised* and *corrected* by the Revd. J. A. Giles, L.L.D. p. 332.

‡ Sax. Chron. A.D. 718. "Though no atchievement of greatness is attached to his (Inigils) name in history, yet the events of the future time have given it importance. He was the ancestor from whom Egbert and Alfred, and the following Saxon monarchs of England, deduced their descent." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons.* Vol. i. p. 400.

widow of Egfrid King of Northumbria, the sister of Ina and of Kineburga, erected the convent at Wimborne.*

Ina, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, marched at the head of a powerful army into Sussex; he there encountered in battle the South Saxons, and obtained a signal victory over them. In this engagement he slew Ealdbright, who had previously taken possession of, and held as an enemy, the town of Taunton, which had been fortified by Ina. The Queen of Ina, Edelburga, had attacked Ealdbright in Taunton—there defeated him—destroyed the fortification, and forced Ealdbright to fly as an exile to Sussex.†

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* Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 212. See W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. p. 15 *(Scrip. post Bed.)*

" The Chirch of Winburne minstre was first a nunnery erected by S. Cuthburge. The cryptes in the East part of the chirch is an old peace of work. S. Cuthburga was buryed in the North side of the Prisbyterie. * * Sins was translated to the Est end of the High Altare. The soile about Winburn minstre self is very good for corne, grasse and woolle. The town of Winbourn is yet neatly good and reasonably well inhabited, it hath been a very large thing, and was in pryce in tyme of the West Saxons Kings. There be in and about it diverse chapellis that in tymes, paste were, as I have lernid, paroche chirchis of the very town of Winbourne."

Leland. Vol. iii. fol. 54,55.

" Winborne nunnery was destroyed by the Danes. A collegiate church was afterwards founded here before the conquest." Coxe.

" Valuation at the dissolution, £131,14, now worth £2,634; granted,1 Edward VI., to Edward Duke of Sommerset, then to Giles Keylway and Wm. Leonard, but finally to Edward Lord Clinton." Cobbett.

† H. Hunt. Hist. Lib. iv. p. 338. In the Saxon Chronicle the destruction of Taunton by Edelburga and a battle between Ina and the South Saxons are placed in the year 722. The vic-

Edelburga, the Queen of Ina, was a woman of truly generous and royal spirit. Frequently had she sought, by her prudent counsel, to induce her husband, once he had fallen into the vale of years, to tear himself away from the thoughts and cares of mere temporal matters. This advice was met, day by day, by various pretexts, until at last his procrastination was baffled by an expedient adopted by Edelburga.

Upon a certain occasion, the royal splendour was displayed at a festival in one of the king's villas. Upon the following day, Ina, Edelburga, and their guests departed; and then the steward of the villa, by the direction of his mistress, made the palace hideous with filth, trampled down the earth, or strewed it over with manure, whilst in the very couch, on which the sovereign had rested, were placed a sow, and a young litter of pigs.

Whilst this change was taking place, the royal party were travelling from the villa; but when they had proceeded about a mile on their road, Ina was addressed by his wife, who begged of him to return to the place, they had just quitted, assuring him, that it was not only necessary that he should do so, but that a refusal on his part might be attended with evil consequences to himself.

The Queen's desire was instantly complied with. The King returned. He beheld the place that the day before

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tory of Ina over the South Saxons, and the death of Ealdbright in the year 725. In the same year is also mentioned the death of the good, and pious, although unlearned King of Kent—one of the very few who in that age signed a charter, conferring donations on the church, with a cross, "on account of his ignorance of the art of writing."—*pro ignorantia literarum.* See SPELMAN'S *Concilia.* Vol. i. p. 198. MAITLAND'S *Dark Ages.* p. 11.

seemed crowded with delights, and with courtiers displaying a Sardanapelean luxury, now deformed with ordure, and not giving back an echo in its desolate silence. His eyes were his instructors; no voice sounded counsel to his ears, when he turned and looked upon his Queen; seeming to demand, by his glance, an explanation of this mysterious contrast.

Edelburga took advantage of the opportunity she had herself made, and smiling upon Ina, she thus addressed him:—

"Where, my lord and husband, have been dispersed the "noise and clamour of yesterday? Where are now the "rich hangings, flaunting in their gorgeous Sidonian "dies? Where are the pert and intrusive parasites, that "foresaw your caprices and anticipated your fancies? "Where are those Dædalean-like vessels of massy plate "that made your table groan beneath their burden? "Where are those delicate viands, that the ocean yielded, "and the earth was compelled to surrender, as temptations "to the appetite? Where are they? Are they not all as "a puff of smoke—as a breath of air? Have they not all "passed away?—and woe! to those who are attached to "such things, for with them they too will pass away! Are "not all these things like to a headlong river that rushes "downward to the sea? and woe! to those who cling to "them, for they will be dragged away along with them. "Think! oh! think, I beseech you, how miserable is the "corruption of that same flesh, that we now pamper with "luxuries? The more richly we feed it, the more foully "must we rot. The more powerful we are, the greater "the torments to which we shall be exposed. The greater "the strength of the victim, the more exquisite the "agony endured by him."

These were the only words she addressed to Ina. They were sufficient. A single illustration of the words she had often used produced at once the effect, which the same words had hitherto in vain attempted to accomplish.

Ina, victorious in many fields of battle—Ina, illustrious by many acts of virtue, at last determined upon attaining the pinnacle of perfection, and resolved upon making a pilgrimage to Rome.*

For seven and thirty years had Ina reigned, when he abandoned the crown, commended the care of the kingdom to those younger than himself, and proceeded during the pontificate of Gregory, to the seat of the apostles. He was desirous to spend his last days in this world, in the vicinity of those places, which had been blessed with their presence; and he decreed so to act, as that he might be worthy of uniting with the saints in heaven. The spirit that animated him, in visiting Rome, was one that generally prevailed, about the time, amongst the people of England. Nobles and persons of inferior rank—laymen, clergy, men and even women, eagerly, and as it would seem almost in rivalry of each other, undertook the journey.†

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* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. i, p. 15, (Script. post. Bedam) vol. i, p. 49. (E.H.S.) In his history of the Antiquities of Glastonbury Malmsbury describes Ina as making journies to Rome—the first to obtain the Pope's sanction to the charter of Glastonbury—the second time in company with the Queen Edelburga.

"Eodem autem anno (725) quo idem Rex Romam *personaliter* adiit, privilegium Apostolico signaculo corroboratum *in redeundo* Glastoniam apportavit. Et *postea iterum* cum Æthelburga Regina Ina instinctu videbat ejusdem, Romam abiit." W. Malmsb. *De Antiq. Glaston.* vol. i, p. 313. (Gale).

† Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 7, §. 373. The pilgrimage of

Ina abdicated his throne, in favor of his relation Athelhard, and sought, at Rome, to exchange a temporal for an eternal kingdom. Upon his arrival at Rome, he established, with the permission and the good will of Pope Gregory, an institution entitled "the School of the English." The school was established for this particular purpose—that whenever any of the Kings of England, or members of the royal race, or bishops, priests and clerks should come to Rome, for the purpose of being instructed in the Catholic faith and doctrine, that the chance might be thus avoided of any thing contrary to the Catholic unity being introduced into the English Church; and that they should be enabled, thus strengthened and confirmed in the faith, to return to their own country. There had been, from the time of St. Augustine, the teaching and schools of the English interdicted by the Popes of Rŏme, on account of the constant heresies that had sprung up, from the arrival of the English in Britain—heresies occasioned by the intermixture of Pagans with Christians—by the impieties of the one, being permitted to taint the purity of faith in the others.

Near to the school, that he established, Ina built a church in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary; in which the Divine Mysteries were celebrated for the English visiting Rome, and in which it was intended, that such of his countrymen as died in Rome, should be interred. For the purpose of securing his pious intentions, it was deter-

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Ina to Rome had taken place according to the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester in 728. Mr. Stevenson in his note, on the preceding passage of Beda fixes it, at the latest, in 726. See also Mr. Hardy's note on William of Malmsbury, vol. i, p. 110.

mined by a General Decree of the whole kingdom of the West Saxons, over which Ina had reigned, that in each year, there should be collected from each family a penny, called in English "Romescot,*" to be sent to St. Peter, and the Church of Rome, in order that a fitting support should be given to the English dwelling there†

In Rome, Ina made no pompous display of his conversion. So far was he from exposing himself to the public gaze, that he avoided it; he cut off his hair;‡ alone anxious to make himself pleasing in the sight of God, he concealed his royal dignity beneath a plebeian frock, and sunk silently and unknown into the decrepitude of old age.¶ The Queen, who had urged him to this mighty act of self-

* Dr. Lingard more than doubts—he is positive, that Ina was not "the author of the Romescot." *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 140 (Ed. 1806.) See on this tribute to Rome, and the generous affection of the Anglo Saxon Kings for the Popes of Rome the same author, vol. i, pp. 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143. See also notes by Mr. Coxe (Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 215, 216, notes 2 and 1) and Mr. Hardy (W. Malmsb. vol. i, p. 152, note 4) POLYDOR. VERGIL. Lib. iv, mentions that which first brought him to England was to collect the Romescot, p. 118. (Leyden, 1651) See *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. i, p. 912.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol i, pp. 215, 216.

‡ "The delineations of the Saxon manuscripts almost universally represent the hair of the men as divided from the crown to the forehead, and combed down the sides of the head in waving ringlets," TURNER'S *Anglo Saxon History*, vol. iii, p. 43.

¶ "Alcuin," it is observed by Mr. Turner mentions Ina, "by the name of In:

"Quem clamant *In*, incerto cognomine, gentes." *History of the Anglo Saxons.* Vol. i. p. 402, (note 50).

In doing so, it has escaped the observation of Mr. Turner, that Alcuin has but parodied the words of Aldhelm, in his poem "De Basilica edificata:"

"Quem clamant *Ini* certo cognomine gentes." See S. ALDHELM, *Opera.* p. 116. (GILE'S).

denial, proved herself worthy of so great an occasion. In his sorrow, he found in her words, consolation; in his depression, he learned, from her example and her precepts, how to elevate his thoughts; and through her, he perceived, that nought was neglected, which tended to his salvation.

United together, by mutual affection, Ina and Edelburga passed, at a fitting time, the way of all mortals, honored, it is said, by many miracles; with such, as testified, that Heaven was pleased with the merits of this truly happy, because truly blessed and virtuous couple.*

Two kings, residing in adjacent territories, Cedwalla

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* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 37.

"Inas vero Romam regrediens, comam deposuisse dicitur, et brevi obiisse; et regina ejus Edelburga primo monialis facta est in Cœnobio Berkingensi juxta Thamasim, et deinde illic abbatissa." Spelman's *Concilia.* Vol. i. p. 230. See *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) Vol. i. p. p. 913, 914. P. Vergil Lib. iv, p. iii.

The following note by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner will be found worthy of perusal:

"The most celebrated of our modern historians says, that Ina, "in the decline of his age, made a pilgrimage to Rome; and, on his return, shut himself up in a cloister, where he died. Hume History of England c. i. In support of this account he quotes Bede, Chron. Sax. High. Wil. Malm., Hen. Hunt., Mat. West. Now the truth is, every one of this formidable band of historians gives the lie to this account; according to whom, Ina did not return to England, but died at Rome; nor is there any mention or intimation of his living in a cloister. Let the brief Saxon Chronicle speak in the name of the other authorites quoted·

"An 728. Hoc anno Ina profectus est Roman et ibi animam efflavit." *Antiquities of Winchester.* Vol. i, p. 79. In the same note other gross mistakes made by Hume or pointed out by Dr. Milner.

and Ina, great in their courage, a quality that they possessed in common with mere animals—greater however for their sanctity, that which belongs to angels, and for which few men are remarkable—acted nobly; and hence, all nations will call them blessed. So likewise acted two kings of Mercia, Ethelred and Cenred, who abandoning all the false and seeming good of this life, sought for and won that which is the only and the true good—the greatest of all—the love of God himself.

Ye kings of the earth—ye, who are now living---imitate these kings---these wise and blessed kings---and not furious, ambitious, and miserable monarchs. Mark! the distinction between the works of both, and the various ending of their different works. Let these four kings be as shining lights to all the kings of the earth; that the good may know what they have to imitate, and the wicked may learn wherefore they cannot, in the last day, stand excused. And ye too, who are not kings, imitate these kings, that ye may become kings in heaven. If they left the greater things of this earth for the sake of God, and you will not leave the less, then these holy kings will be your judges, and by them will be pronounced your condemnation.*

Ina, during his reign, gave institutions or laws to his nation.† They thus commenced.

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* H. Hunt. Hist. Lib. iv, p. 338.

† Brompton *Chro.* pp. 758, 759. The time at which these laws were enacted, is uncertain, Labbeus thinks in 642. Vol. vi, p. 1327.

"Ina, by the grace of God, king of the West Saxons, in consequence of the exhortation and teaching of my father Cenred, of Hedda, my bishop, Erconwald, my bishop, and of my earldormen, and witan of my kingdom, and with a large congregation of God's servants; being solicitous for the salvation of our souls, and for the state of our kingdom, have settled and established, with benignant care, right laws and just dooms, for the security and peace of my people, so that no earldormen nor any other persons, under our command, should have power to do away with our written dooms.*

1. "First, we command that God's servants rightly hold their lawful rule. After that, we command that the law and dooms of the whole folk be thus held.

2. "Let a child within thirty days be baptised. If it be not so, let him (the priest) make bōt† with thirty shillings. But if it die without baptism; let him make bōt for it with all he has.‡

3. "*If a 'theowman' (slave) work on sunday by his lord's command, let him be free;* and let the lord pay thirty shillings as 'wite.' But if the 'theow' work,

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* Brompton *Chro.* p. 761. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, p. 45, (Thorpe.)

† "Bōt amends, atonement, compensation, indemnification. See Thorpe's Glossary to Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, p. 47, note c.

‡ A modern law requires the registration of the birth of a child, under severe pecuniary penalties; but its propounders, with a generous confidence in the religious feelings of the people, and the pious anxiety of the Clergy of the law-established church, have not deemed it necessary to remind either, that baptism is a sacrament which for the child's sake, ought not to be dispensed with.

without his knowledge, let him suffer in his hide, or in hide gild. But if a freeman work on that day, without his lord's command, let him forfeit his freedom, or sixty shillings, and be a priest doubly liable.

11. "If any one sell his own countryman, bond or free, (though he be guilty), over sea, let him pay for him according to his *wēr*.

38. "If a peasant and his wife have a child, and the peasant die, let the wife have her child and feed it: let six shillings be given her for its fostering, a cow in summer, an ox in winter. Let the kindred take care of the messuage until the child be of age.

39. "If any one go from his lord, without leave, or steal himself away into another shire, and he be discovered, let him go where he was before, and pay to his lord sixty shillings.

67. "If a man agree for a yard of land or more, at a fixed rent, and plough; if the lord desire to raise the land to him to service and to rent, he need not take it upon him, if the lord do not give him a dwelling: and let the tenant not forfeit his fields.*

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* "*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 45, 65, Besides these the dooms 5, 7, 24, 25, 26, 27, 35, 40, 41, 42, 43, 49, 53, 57, 60, will be found worthy of perusal, and above all, the valuable notes attached to the statutes by Mr. Thorpe, whose translation or suggestions have been copied or adopted.

In all, we find an attempt made by the King, the Catholic Church, and the Witan to ameliorate the condition of the poor and the serfs. In the 38th doom, for instance, there is a better provision made for the widow and the orphan, than any enforced by a modern Poor Law. When Ina reigned, England was struggling out of barbarism into civilization and christianity; but when a new Poor Law was enforced, civilization was under the conduct of Mammon, and was engaged in trampling christianity, and charity, out of the hearts of the people."

In p. 537, some observations are made, in the notes, respecting the validity of the Charter of Evesham Monastery. It is there maintained, on the authority of Bollandus, Act. Sanct. (January) p. 712, 713, that the charter was genuine. This note was printed before it could be re-corrected; for the author, upon further examination, discovered that the Charter of Evesham, as well as that of Ina to Glastonbury, are repudiated by Bollandus in the Treatise, "de diplomatis discernendis," *Act. Sanc.* (April) vol. ii, pp. xxx, xxxi, §. 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136. The object sought to be attained in this work is TRUTH, and though we may be mistaken in its pursuit, we certainly never shall be impeded in our career, by a wilful adherence to error: "nonnunquam etiam nos ipsos correximus, retractando fidem quam talibus antea dederamus." *Propylaeum Antiquarum, &c., Praefatio.*

CHAPTER IX.

Events in the Reign of Ethelbald, King of the Mercians.

Comets in the year 729. Death of Osric King of Northumberland. King Ceolwulf...his virtues as a sovereign...the friend of the historian, Beda. Ceolwulf abdicates the throne, and becomes a monk at Lindisfarne. Death of Berthwald Archbishop of Canterbury. Ethelbald King of the Mercians...his successes in war. The venerable Bede's account of his own life...his edifying death, described by an eye-witness. Eadbert King of Northumberland...his brother Egbert becomes Archbishop of York. The Prince and Archbishop Egbert a teacher in schools...founds a splendid library. Many pilgrimages from England to Rome. Conflicts between Ethelbald King of the Mercians, and Cuthred King of the West Saxons. Letter of Archbishop Boniface to King Ethelbald. The Welsh defeated by the united forces of the Mercians and West Saxons. Death of Cynric, Atheling of Wessex. Civil war in Wessex. Decisive battle of Burford, between the West Saxons and Mercians...flight of Ethelbald. Death of Cuthred. Sigebert his successor...his cruelties and injustice ...is deposed by his subjects, and Cynewulf elected as king. Sigebert assassinated. Ethelbald slain in battle. St. Boni-

face " the Apostle of Germany"...his life as a monk...elected as abbot...resolves upon the dangerous office of a Catholic missionary in Germany...proceeds to Rome...is blessed by the Pope...reforms abuses amongst bad Catholics...converts pagans...is joined in his mission by many holy priests and nuns from England. Three times visits Rome...anoints Pepin as king of France...founds several bishoprics in Germany... appoints his successor to the Archbishopric of Mentz...predicts his approaching martyrdom...his conduct when assailed by pagans...is crowned with martyrdom. Remarkable letter of St. Boniface to the nun Eadburga, detailing the visions of a monk, with respect to the future state of the soul.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 729—755.

In the year 729, the appearance of two comets was the cause of universal apprehension; one of these preceded the rising of the sun in the morning, and the other followed him, in his career when he set at night. They were regarded as presaging dire calamities to the eastern and the western world. The one seemed to foretel of the day—the other, to prognosticate the afflictions of the night—both to indicate misfortune to mankind. The flames that issued from them were directed to the north, and looked as if they would involve the world in fire. They appeared in the month of January, and were visible for nearly two weeks.* At the time that they appeared a frightful invasion of the Saracens occurred; these barbarians overspread the lands of France like a raging pesti-

* Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v, c. 23, §. 448. *The Saxon Chro.* mentions but one comet-star. See Ingram's *Saxon Chro.* p. 64, note 6. Roger de Wendover copies Bede, and describes the comets as "duæ stellæ horribiles." Vol. i, p. 218. Henry of Huntingdon also copies the words of Bede. pp. 338, 339.

lence, bringing with them death and destruction; but shortly afterwards (A.D. 732) were doomed to pay the severe and just penalty of all the evils they had caused, and all the crimes they had perpetrated.

In the same year (729) Osric King of Northumberland departed this life.* The kingdom which he had governed for eleven years, he specially left to Ceolwulf as his successor; Ceolwulf being the brother of Cenred, who had preceded him on the throne.†

Ceolwulf had been adopted by Osric in his life-time, and the death of the latter was the less regretted, when the people regarded his successor. The new monarch—the seventh from Ida—ascended the giddy heights of an unsteady throne. He was well fitted for all its duties; as he had prepared his mind for them, by careful thought, by diligent attention, and by severe literary studies. That he was well entitled to such praise, is demonstrable by the fact, that Beda, then the most learned man in Britain, at a time too when it abounded with literature—presented him specially with the work—the history of England—in order that it might be revised by him—intending that what was properly written should be strengthened and confirmed by the monarch's knowledge and authority; and

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* The words of the Saxon Chronicle distinctly state that Osric was slain "her wæs ofslegen Osric;" See also W: MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 53, whilst the expression of Roger de Wendover is consonant with his abdication or his death—"regnum suum, quod quindecim annis tenuerat, *reliquit*." Bede's phrase has something peculiar in it. "*Successorem fore* Ceoluulfum decrevisset."

† BEDA. Lib. v. c. 23, §. 448.

that what was wrong might not escape the king's useful censure as a critic.* The termination of the life of Ceolwulf proved how advantageous to him had been its study.†

The commencement of this sovereign's reign was involved in difficulties and perplexed with dangers.‡ In the course of a single year he was taken captive, shorn as a monk, and restored to his throne.¶

Ceolwulf, during the life of Bede, had often held conversation of a serious import with him. Before the death of that venerable man, as well as afterwards, he had studied deeply and well "the ecclesiastical history," he applied to himself the facts to be found in it, and he drew from its precepts this moral---that the kingdoms of this earth, are sought for with toil, possessed with fear, and lost with grief. He knew that the mindless, the young, the giddy, and the unthinking who are captivated with the glare, and seeming beauty of that, which it merely temporal, regard as frivolous and foolish the warning of those, who point to such outward happiness, and say that it is to be despised or avoided. Such persons have not yet felt what wild agonies may rest concealed

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* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 53. The following words of Bede fully justify this statement of Melmsbury: "Historiam gentis Anglorum Ecclesiasticam, quam nuper edidideram, libentissime tibi desideranti, rex, et prius ad *legendum ac probandum* transmisi. *Prolog.* §. 1. See also Roc. de Wend. vol. i, p. 219. Leland *Script. Brit.* p. 128.

† "Quantum profecerit finis beatus regis ostendit." H. Hunt. Lib. iv, p. 339.

‡ "Tot ac tantis redundavere rerum adversantium motibus." Beda. Lib. v. c. 23, §. 448.

¶ S. Dunelm. De Gest. Reg. Ang. p. 99. (Twysden).

amid heaps of riches; how little is their intrinsic value; how soon they may be wasted, and how often they leave behind them, as the only proof of their presence, a late and bitter repentance. Such sentiments were but the more strongly impressed upon his mind, whenever it happened to him, that children, or women, the rabble, or even the wealthy hurried out to look at him; most probably to gape and gaze upon him, as amongst "the happy and the blessed of this earth," when the probability was, that at that very moment, his mind was tortured with distracting fear—with the apprehension of assassination, of treachery, of multitudinous calamities —and that the agonies of the spirit had communicated themselves to the body, and heated it with the fever of passion, or chilled it with the ague fit of terror;* that whilst those who beheld the pomp and state of royalty, with which he was invested, deemed him to be the most fortunate of mortals, he, who knew his own heart, who felt what was beneath all that outward shew, was certain, that he was most miserable, most unhappy, and most worthy of pity and commiseration.

With such reflexions weighing upon his mind he endured the burden of the crown but for the brief space of eight years.† He deemed it to be unworthy of a christian's care, a christian's hope, and a christian's anxiety.‡ So far from being the slave of wealth, he de-

* "Ipse horribilibus curis necis, et proditionis, et multimodæ calamitatis intus cruciabatur, et animo et corpore decoquebatur." H. Hunt,

† H. Hunt, p. 340.

‡ "Citra gravitatem christanam æstimans terrenis negotiis immori." W. Malms. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 64.

termined not even to command it as a master; to avoid all contact with it, as a thing, vile, unclean, and contaminating.* At last, the only anxiety that filled his mind was that so much of his time had been passed in the world—that so much of his life had been already given to vain cares, and evanescent griefs—and therefore did he resolve, that all of existence, which heaven might spare to him, should be dedicated to the study of that which was truly wise, and the practice of that only, which was truly good, truly useful, and truly virtuous.

The history which Bede had written and dedicated to him, afforded to him the precedent he ought to follow. This truly good man took as the examples, which it became him to imitate, those really great and virtuous Kings—Ethelred the Mercian king, and his successor Cenred; Cedwalla king of Wessex, and Ina---Sigebert the king of the East Angles, who had become a monk, and who was slain by Penda--Sebbi, the king of Essex who rejoiced to die as a monk. He looked to these kings---men, who had not wasted their wealth in impure pleasures; but had passed through life, strewing their seed in weeping, that they might in the harvest time, reap it in gladness. To these Ceolwulf added his name—he put on the habit of a monk, and thus completed the hebdomidal number of good kings. Thus did he encircle his shorn brows with a diadem of unfading lustre and undying glory.†

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* "Sponte igitur divitiarum non servus, sed Dominus, quasi magnus viles abjecit." H. HUNT.

† "Complevit ergo Ceolwulfus hebdomadam regum perfectorum; et habitu monichali suscepto capite ejus corona de lapide pretioso imposita est a Domino." H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv, p. 340.

For the love of God, he parted with his wife, abdicated his throne, and repaired to the monastery of Lindisfarne, on which he bestowed a large extent of landed property.* There he laid aside his beard,† and accepted the tonsure, There too (in the year 762) died this good king---a soldier of the Lord.‡ His body was afterwards removed to the church at Northam, and it was said, by the inhabitants of the place, to have been honored with the performance of many miracles.

Upon this king becoming a monk permission was, for the first time, given to the monks of Lindisfarne to taste either wine or ale ; for previous to that period, their only drink was water or milk. Such was the Rule established by St. Aidan, the first bishop of the church, and of the monks who came with him from Ireland.¶

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* S. DUNELM. *Hist. de S. Cuthbert.* p. 69. (Twysden.) See also pp. 9, 100, 139, 795.

† "Barbam deposuit." S. Dunelm, p. 69. "To have a beard was forbidden to the clergy." (Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 85.) TURNER'S Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, vol. iii. p. 43.

‡ The year of his death is disputed by the old historians, but all agree as to the fact of his sanctity, and that it was testified by miracles. BARONIUS *Ann. Eccles. cum critic. Pagi.* Vol. xii, p. 431,

¶ ROG. DE HOVENDEN. Annal. p. 403. S. DUNELM. p. 139. When we consider the character which anti-Catholic writers are still in the habit of assigning to the monks, we may be pardoned for calling attention to this fact, so demonstrative not merely of their sobriety, or their temperance, but of their *teetotalism.* The Irish monk Aidan was a disciple of St. Columba—and in both we find worthy predecessors of the Very Revd: Theobald Matthew—the apostle of temperance. Their rule is thus stated--"Antea enim *non nisi lac vel aquam* bibere solebant, secundum *antiquam traditionem,* Sancti Aidani primi ejusdem ecclesiæ antistitis, et monachorum, qui cum illo de Scotia veniebant."

So distinguished did the monk-king become in the monastery of Lisdisfarne, by his virtues, that upon his death his body was placed near to the remains of St. Cuthbert.*

The same year (729) in which Ceolwulf succeeded to the throne of Northumbria, died Berthwald, Archbishop of Canterbury.† He was the first Englishman who filled the see of Canterbury, and exercised the powers of a Primate in his own country. The duties of Archbishop were discharged by him for the space of thirty seven years. Berthwald wrote an account of the foundation of the monastery of Eversham, and the life of St. Egwin, bishop of Worcester.‡

Berthwald had been abbot of Reculver; whilst his successor, Tatwini, had bene a priest in the monastery of Bredon in Worcestershire.¶

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* W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 64. See also, Act. Sanct. (Januar) vol. i, p. 1082.

† *Sax. Chron.* In the year 731 according to the *Catologus Roffiensis. Anglia Sacra* vol. i, p. 85.

‡ S. BIRCHINGTON *Vitae Arch Cantuar. Ang. Sac.* vol. p. 3, *Act. Sanct.* (Januar) vol. i, pp. 597, 598.

¶ *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 3 BEDA, Lib. v, c. 23, §. 449. It was said of St. Tatwini, that he was a man remarkable for his piety and (as the highest praise that could be bestowed upon him) in the truest sense of the word—*a monk!* "Vir eximiae religionis et quod *praecipium est* monachi professione, et habitu insignis." EADMER. Vit. B. Bregwin. Ang. Sac. Vol. ii, p. 185.

As to Bredon See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 488. (Gough) Leland in describing Bredon observes: "Peradventure here was the noble monasterie of Bredon, that Beda speakith of." vol. vi, fol. 80.

Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, in the year 733,* mustered under his command an immense army and invested the town of Somerton.† He completely encircled the place by his encampments, and when the besieged perceived that no relief was to be hoped for from without, nor any chance of their assailants being attacked with the slightest hope of success, they capitulated to the king, and surrendered to him the town, as fully acquired by the rights of war. Strengthened by this success, and his ambition incited to further conquests, Ethelbald determined to subdue all the neighbouring princes and nations. The object thus proposed, was enforced by his valour and military skill; and, at last, all the provinces of England, from Mercia to the Humber, were with their respective rulers, compelled to become his tributaries, and to acknowledge him as their supreme sovereign.‡

It was, in the fourth year of the reign of king Ceolwulf, that the historian and priest, the venerable Bede departed from this life, and became a denizen of that heavenly city, to which he had long aspired.¶ At the

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* *Sax. Chron.*

† "Somerton anciently the chief town of the whole county (Somersetshire) which takes its name from it." CAMDEN'S *Britannia.* Vol. i. p. 79. (Gough). By mistake it is added, that Ethebald "took it by storm," or in the words of the original "perruptis muris" p. 191. (Ed. 1600). Henry of Huntingdon says the king "eam recepit in suam" Roger de Wendover "in jus suum recepit."

‡ H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv. p. 339.

¶ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 54. Bede was born in the year 674, and died May 26th 735. See Hardy's notes on Wm. of Malmsbury vol. i. pp. 80, 81, notes 6, 2.

conclusion of his ecclesiastical history, Bede thus speaks of himself:*

"This ecclesiastical history of Britain, and especially of the English people, derived either from ancient documents, from tradition, or from facts and circumstances within my own knowledge, has been written by me, Bede, a servant of Christ, and a priest in the monastery of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, at Weremouth and Jarrow.

"I was born in the land belonging to the monastery, and when I was seven years of age, through the care of my relations, given, for the purpose of being educated, to the most reverend abbot Benedict, and afterwards to the abbot Ceolfrid. The entire time of my life has been passed in this monastery. It has been my habitation, in which all my attention has been devoted to a meditation of the Scriptures; in which my occupations have been the observance of the regular discipline of the monastery, and the daily care of singing in the church, in which my only pleasures have been to learn from others, to teach others, or to write for others.

"In the nineteenth year of my age, I received the order of deacon; in my thirtieth, I was ordained as a priest; both were conferred by the hands of the most reverend bishop John, and both accepted by me, in obedience to the directions of Abbot Ceolfrid.

"From the time that I became a priest until now, that I am in the fifty ninth year of my age, I have been employed, according as I felt the necessity for myself, or my friends, in briefly commenting upon, explaining, and duly

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* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. § 54.

interpreting the Holy Scripture, or the minor works of the venerable fathers.*

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* Beda *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 24, §. 453, 454. In this short biography of Bede, we have an insight afforded to us of the life, the habits, the tastes and the pursuits of the ancient monks; but even in the days of Bede, there were *pretended monks*—as well as *bad monks*. For an account of one of the latter, and his awful death, see Bede. Lib. v. c. xiv. §. 400. The sins of the bad monk are specified by Bede, and it may be remarked, that a breach of the vow of chastity is not amongst them :—

"Serviebat autem multum *ebrietati* et *ceteris vitae remissioris illecebris; magisque in officina sua die noctuque residere quam* ad psallendam atque orandum in ecclesia, audiendumque cum fratribus verbum vitæ concurrere consuerat."

It may also be added that this bad monk, was like the great majority of all monks, whether good or bad, not a priest. The bad monk, was "a good carpenter"—*fabrili arte singularis.* He was unlike the good monks, as they are described by St. Boniface, in all things but one; viros strictæ abstinentiae, absque sicera et servis, *proprio manuum suarum labore* contentos."

As to the *pretended monks,* denounced by Bede—himself a monk, their history is given by Dr. Lingard, and we adopt his words,—it will be seen that "monkery"—pure "monkery" is as innocent of their crimes, and had as little connexion with them, as it had to do with the spoliations, the sacrilege, and the robberies of the religious reformers of the Sixteenth Century.

"The estates of the monks," observes Dr. Lingard, "like those of the clergy, were liberated from all secular services: and the hope of participating in so valuable a privilege, gave occasion to a singular species of fraud, which cast a temporary but unmerited stain on the reputation of the order. We learn from Bede, that in the reign of Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, certain noblemen had expressed an ardent desire to consecrate their property to the service of religion. By the influence of friends and presents, the consent of the sovereign was obtained, and the ecclesiastical privileges were confirmed to them by ample charters, subscribed with the signatures of the king, the bishops, and the principal thanes. But their secret motives were betrayed by the sequel of their conduct: *and the advantages, not the virtues of the professoin,* proved to the object

To these observations, Bede added a specification of the number of volumes written by him, as well as the number of books into which they were divided. There is some

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of their pursuit. *They quitted not the habits nor the pleasures of a secular life; but were content to assume the title of abbots, and to collect on some part of their domain a society of profligate, and apostate monks. The wife also was proved to copy the example of her husband, and her vanity was flattered with the power of legislating for a sisterhood of females as ignorant and dissipated as herself.* The success of the first adventurers stimulated the industry of others. Each succeeding favourite was careful to procure a similar charter for his family. Whoever was able to interest the avarice, easily obtained the consent of the sovereign; and so universal was the abuse, that the venerable Bede ventured to express a doubt, whether in a few years there would remain a soldier to draw the sword against an invading enemy. This respectable priest, in the close of his ecclesiastical history dedicated to King Eadwulf, hints in respectful terms his opinion of these *nominal monks;* but in his letter to Archbishop Egbert, he assumes a bolder tone, and in the language of zeal and detestation, *insists on the necessity of putting a speedy period to so infamous a practice.* But the *secular abbots* were numerous and powerful, and existed in the other kingdoms no less than in that of Northumbria. It was in vain that Bede denounced them to his metropolitan, and that *the Synod of Cloveshoe attributed their origin to avarice and tyranny: they survived* THE CENSURES OF THE MONKS, AND THE CONDEMNATION OF THE SYNOD: *their monasteries were inherited by their descendants; and for their extirpation the Saxon Church was indebted to the devastations of the Pagan Danes in the succeeding century.* LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church,* vol. i, pp. 190, 191, 192, 193. See also note 66 in p. 193. (Ed. 1806).

The great Pope St. Gregory, who sent monks to England to convert its pagan people to Christianity has placed upon record his protest against laymen interfering, intermeddling with, or controlling in any way the affairs of monasteries:

"Quia rationis ordo non patitur, ut monasterium ipsum, et maxime contra voluntatem fundatorum, ab eorum dispositione ad arbritrium suum præsertim laïca persona subducat, aut aliquis sibi in id jus debeat vindicare." S. GREGORIUS Oper. Omn. Lib. viii, Ep. 31, vol. ii, p. 920. See also on this subject PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the British Commonwealth,* Vol. i, pp. 166, 167, 172, Capitulary of Charlemagne, c. XV.

difficulty in determining whether he is more to be praised for his diligence, or his excellence as a writer.* To his praise, this too is to be added, that he was invited to Rome, and that the Pontiff Sergius expressed a strong desire to see him.†

A description of the death of this venerable man, has been given by Abbot Cuthbert, who was present at the time, and who thus pourtrays it in a letter to a fellow student.‡

"To Cuthwin, the most beloved in Christ, and wishing him salvation in God, his fellow disciple, Cuthbert.

"Most willingly did I receive the little present that you sent to me; and most gratefully did I read the pious and learned letter that you penned, and in which I found that you had duly and faithfully performed that, which I most wished you to do, viz., offered up masses and prayers for the beloved father in God, our common master Bede.¶ Thus then, it is a satisfaction to me, in compliance with the desire you express, to narrate, in as few words as I can, the manner in which he departed from this world.

Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script, vol v. p. 690, Leges Wisigothorum, Lib. iv, Tit. 5, §. 6, Leges Ripuariorum, Tit lviii, §. 2.

* "Deinde enumeratis triginta sex voluminibus quae in septuaginta octo libris edidit." W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 56.

† Ibid. §. 57. The letter of Pope Sergius to the Abbot Ceolfrid is given in Malmsbury, §. 55. See as to the supposed visit of Beda to Rome the observations of Mr. Hardy. W. Malmsb. vol. i, p. 85, note 3. (E.H.S).

‡ S. Dunelm. *Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* Lib. i, c. 14, p. 8. Beda, vol. i, Introduction p. xiv, note, 3. (E.H.S).

¶ "Missas et orationes sacrosanctas, pro Deo dilecto patre ac nostro magistro Beda, a vobis diligenter celebrari." S. Dunelm. c. 15, p. 8.

"He was attacked with a very great difficulty of breathing, but unaccompanied by pain, about two weeks before Easter Sunday (8th April.) And so he continued rejoicing and happy, giving thanks to God, day and night, it may be said hourly, until the day of our Lord's Ascension, the seventh of the Kalends of June (25th May.)

"Daily he gave lessons to us, his disciples, and the residue of each day he passed in the singing of psalms.* The whole night, except when a little slumber intervened, he watched, always joyful, always praising God. If sleep a moment overtook him, he did not fail, on rousing, to resume his wonted devotions, and with out-stretched hands, to utter his gratitude to heaven. O, blessed man! Often did he repeat that saying of the Apostle Paul, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God!' And many other passages of scripture, all fitted to rouse us from the sleep of our minds, and to impress us with our last end. And some things also he spoke in our own, the English language, for he was well versed in our songs; and, putting his thoughts into English verse, he feelingly said: 'For so necessary a journey, no man can be too prudent; none can reflect too much on the good or evil he has done; nor can be too solicitous about the judgment which, after his death, his spirit must receive.'

"According to our customt and his, he sang the anti-

* From this sentence to the conclusion of the letter of Cuthbert the translation is adopted, from that invaluable work, "*Rome under Paganism and the Popes*," vol. ii, p. 238, 239 240, 241.

† This is the reading in S. Dunelm. In the copy published

phonies, of which one is, 'O King of Glory, Lord of all virtues, who on this day didst triumphantly ascend to heaven, leave us not orphans, but send us the promise of the Father, the Spirit of truth, Hallelujah!' And when he came to the words, 'leave us not orphans,' he burst into tears, and wept much; and seeing this, we wept with him. Again we read, again we wept: indeed we always wept. In such godly employment we passed the quinquagesimal days, until the day before mentioned (Ascension) he rejoicing and thanking God that he was thus afflicted. For he often repeated: 'God scourgeth every son whom he receiveth;' with many other passages from Scripture. And he repeated the saying of St. Ambrose. 'Non sic vixi ut me pudeat inter vos vivere; sed nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habemus.'*

"And during this time he was occupied not only in teaching us, but on two works which well deserve to be remembered: the first was the gospel of St. John, which he had translated into English, for the benefit of the church, as far as that passage: 'But what are they amongst so many'? The other consisted of extracts from the book of Bishop Isidore. 'I do not wish my disciples to read lies, that after my death they should labour in vain.' On the arrival of the third feria before the Ascension, his breathing became more painful, and a little swelling appeared in his feet. Yet, for all that he

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by Mr. Stevenson (Beda vol. i. Introduction p. xxi) the words are: "For our consolation and his own he sung, &c."—"Cantabat etiam antiphonas ob nostram consolationem, et sui."

* "I am not abashed because of the life I have passed among you—and I am not cast down with fear, for our's is a merciful God."

taught and dictated with cheerfulness, sometimes observing, 'Learn quickly; for I know not how long I may live; how soon my Maker may call me.' To us it seemed as if he well knew his approaching end. The next night he passed watching and giving thanks.

"And on the morning, which was the fourth fernia, he told us diligently to continue what we had begun. And this being done, we walked, as the custom of the day required, until the third hour, with the relics of the saints. But one of us remained with him, and said to him—"Dear Master, one little chapter yet remains, will "it not pain you to be asked any more questions?" "No; "take thy pen, prepare it, and write quickly." And this he did. And at the ninth hour the Master said unto me, "I have some precious things in my little chest. Some "pepper, Orarias, and incense; run quickly and bring the "presbyters of our monastery, and I will distribute "among them what God has given me. The rich men of "this world delight to make presents of gold, silver, and "other precious things; I also, with much affection and "joy, will give to my brethren the gifts, which I have re-"ceived from heaven!" And he addressed every one by name, beseeching and admonishing them to say Masses, and to pray for him, which they willingly promised.*

And they all mourned and wept, when he said that they should see his face no more in this world; but they rejoiced in that he said—"The time is come when I must "return to Him who created me out of nothing. Long

* "Et allocutus est unumquemque monens et obsecrans pro eo missas et orationes diligenter facere; quod illi libenter spoponderunt."

" have I lived; well my Merciful Judge foresaw the tenor " of my life. The time of my departure is at hand; I " long to be dissolved, and to be with Christ!" These and many other words he spoke with much cheerfulness. And when it drew towards evening, the youth before mentioned, said—" Dear Master, one sentence yet re- " mains." " Write it quickly," was the reply. Immediately afterwards, the youth observed. " It is now " finished." He rejoined—" Well and truly hast thou " spoke, it *is* finished. Now take my head in thine hands " and turn me towards the holy place where I was wont " to pray, that sitting I may call on my Father." Wherefore, being laid on the floor of the cell, he chanted, " Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto." And no sooner had he repeated the concluding words, ' Spiritui Sancto,' than his soul winged its flight to the celestial kingdom. All who witnessed the death of this blessed father said that they had never seen any other man end life with such devotion and tranquillity.*

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* " Rome under Paganism and the Popes," vol. ii, p. 238 to 241. BEDA Introduction, pp. xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix. (E.H.S.) S. DUNELM. Hist. Dunelm. Eccles. Lib. i, c. 15, pp. 8, 9. (Twysden).

This was the death scene of Beda—of him who has deservedly been designated " venerable,"—(See Baronius, vol. xii, pp. 435 406) and in whose praise all ancient Catholic writers have exhausted the terms of laudation, and whose merits even modern Anti-Catholic writers have not been able to deny. A contrast is to be found however in the manner in which Catholics and Reformers have treated his remains, and as it is depicted by one not a Catholic, we have the less reluctance in transcribing it.

" When the relics of St. Cuthbert were translated in the year 1104, the bones of Beda were discovered in the same coffin, from which they were then removed, and were some few years afterwards placed by Hugh Pudsey, *Bishop of Durham, in a*

The successor of Ceolwulf on the throne of Northumbria was Eadbert, whose brother Egbert was consecrated as Bishop of York, in the year 734.* Guided by his own wisdom, and sustained by his brother's power, Egbert was enabled to restore the See, to which he had been appointed, to its former condition. Paulinus its first prelate, having been compelled by his enemies to abandon York, and to repair to Rochester,† had left there the pallium, which had been the emblem of his Archiepiscopal dignity. Of the many prelates who succeeded Paulinus, until the time of Egbert, all had been content with the simple title of "Bishop," and had aspired for nought beyond it. Egbert however was one of those men, who believed that it would be, in a priest, as unbecoming an

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casket of gold and silver, in that part of the Cathedral *erected by him,* still called the Galilee. * * *

"*In November* 1541," (that is when the Reformation had begun and counted its victims) "*the bones of Beda were removed* with other relics from the Cathedral church of Durham. *The fate of the rich casket of Bishop Pudsey may easily be imagined;* but the stone on which it rested is still existing, transferred to the south side of the nave of the church."

STEVENSON, Beda. vol. i, Introduction, p. xx. See same introduction for many valuable particulars both as to the life and writings of Beda—also the *Act. Sanct.* (Mai) vol. vi, pp. 63 68. BARONIUS *Cum. Crit.* PAGI. vol. xii. pp. 400 to 407. LELAND *De Scriptoribus Britannicis,* c. 87, pp. 115 to 121.

The person by whom the remains of Beda were treated with contumely was "Whittingham, the unworthy Dean of Durham." (Decanus indignus Dunelmensis)—a name for every deserving of infamy, in every Christian country. See *Act. Sanct.* (Mai) vol. vi, p. 68.

* *Sax. Chron.* S. DUNELM, pp. 11, 78. STUBBS. *Act. Pont. Ebor.* p. 1697.

† See BEDA *Hist. Eccles.* §. 112, 148, 149, W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 26. See pp. 260, 261 of this volume.

ambition to seek for a rank, which did not belong to him, as it would be base, to forego claims to that, which rightfully attached to his office. Influenced by this feeling he repaired to Rome, sought for, and at last by his frequent appeals, obtained the Pall, and the restoration of the Archiepiscopal title to York.*

This Archbishop Egbert was, it may be said, an armoury of all the liberal arts. He established a magnificent library, at York,† and of him as well as of it, Alcuin has given testimony. Alcuin had been sent on an embassy of peace by the King of England to the Emperor Charlemagne. By the latter he was most hospi-

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* In the *Saxon Chronicle* it is stated he received the pall in the year 735. According to Stubbs it was in the year 736. "Septimo anno regni Ceolwlfi regis," p. 1697. Rog. de Wend. fixes it in the year 745, vol. i, p. 228.

The man, who thus sought for the pall of an Archbishop, was truly humble—so humble that he washed the feet of the poor. This fact of the Royal Archbishop, must have been well known when we find St. Boniface sending him, as presents, with copies of some of St. Gregory's letters, which he believed, had not before been seen in England, "et corporale pallium, et *villosam unam ad tergendos pedes cum lavêris servorum Dei.*" BONIFAC. *Oper.* vol. i, p. 114. (Giles).

The following brief extracts from the Excerpta of Archbishop Egbert demonstrate his disinterestedness, his purity, and his benevolence as a Catholic priest:

XII Ut nullus presbyter sacrum officium sive baptismatis sacramentum, aut aliquid donorum spiritalium pro aliquo precioso vendere præsumat, &c.

XV Ut nullus sacerdos extranearum mulierum habeat familiaritatem nec in sua domo in qua ipse habitat ullam mulierem unquam permittat habitare.

XXVI Ut episcopi et presbyteri non longe ab ecclesia hospitiolum habeant. LABBÆUS. Vol. vi. p. 1587.

† In Turner's Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, vol. iii, p. 398, will be found a prose catalogue of the books in York library, recited by Alcuin, in his Poem, lines 1541 to 1561.

tably received, and in a letter addressed to Eanbald, a successor in the See of Egbert, he thus refers to the Archbishop:—

"Glory and praise be to God, who has preserved my "life so long, that I should be able to rejoice in your "exaltation, my dearest son, whose duties henceforward "will be to labour in that church, in which I was edu-"cated, and to watch over those treasures of learning, "the value of which I was taught by my beloved master, "Archbishop Egbert."*

Again, in a letter addressed by Alcuin to Charlemagne, he thus expressed himself:—

"Give me those exquisite books of devout literature, "which I had in my own country by means of the good, "and most pious industry of my master, the Archbishop

* Egbert, notwithstanding his royal birth, was proud to imitate his master Bede, by becoming himself a teacher of the youths in the Episcopal Monastery. Egbert, in dying bequeathed his library to Alcuin. See LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church.* pp. 201, 202, 203, notes 68, 69, 70.

Alcuin was worthy of the instructions of such a teacher as Archbishop Egbert, both on account of his scholarship, and his priestly boldness and integrity. For instance, his contemporary the historian Eginhard, declares him to have been "virum undecunque doctissimum" (c. XXV.), and the monk of St. Gall asserts; "Qui erat in omni latitudine scripturarum, supra caeteros modernorum temporum exercitatus." (Lib. i. c. 2) and adds, that which is no less to Alcuin's honour as a clergyman, his reproving Charlemagne, where that mighty monarch gave vent to the vehemence of his pride and passion—an act of courage, that no other living man would have presumed to perform "nullus mortalium in conspectu terribilissimi Caroli audere præsumerat." (Lib. i. c. 9). *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* Vol. v. pp. 99, 107, 110. The merits of the master are exhibited in the virtues of the scholar. Alcuin, the pupil of Egbert, was the founder of schools in France. Rabanus, the pupil of Alcuin, the founder of public schools in Germany. See *Vit. S. Raban.* c. 5. §. 25. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol, i, p. 529.

" Egbert. If it should so please your gracious wisdom
" I shall send some pupils, who will copy whatever is
" necessary, so that they may bring back with them, the
" flowers of England—the flowers to be found, in the
" well cultivated garden of York, and the seed of which
" will thrive in the paradise of Tours,"*

In the year 735,† the Bishop Forther, with Frigedida Queen of the West Saxons, went on a pilgrimage to Rome. To accomplish this object, wealth, lands, and power, and splendour were willingly resigned, and for ever abandoned. It was a custom, in those days, and complied with by all ranks and all classes.

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* W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 65. (E.H.S). The wealth of Egbert was expended in literature, upon the altars and in the churches of his diocese. See ALCUIN *De Pont. Eccl. Ebor.* lines 1492 to 1507 : and for a new church at York, the following rhymes are sufficient :

" Hæc nimis alta domus solidis suffulta columnis
" Suppositæ quæ stant curvatis arcubus, intus
" Emicat egregiis laqueribus atque fenestris
" Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis
" Plurima diversis retinens solaria tectis,
" Quæ *triginta* tenet variis ornatibus *aras*."

ALCUIN l. 1509, vol. iii, p. 730. (Gale).

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 225, 226. H. Hunt. p. 340 There can be as little doubt, that piety was the motive which induced numbers of the Anglo Saxons to visit Rome, as that idle curiosity solely influenced others, in quitting their country. Religion was the pretence with the vain in this case, as it was with the covetous and wicked persons, who established the lay or pretended monasteries, and as it was with the wicked, greedy, and

During this year, Ethelbald ravaged the land of the Northumbrians. It was at the very time, that Ceolwulf was exchanging his robes as a sovereign, for the humble habit of a monk, that the proud King of Mercia, mindful only of his own ambition, despising what was due to piety, and cutting down with the sharp edge of the soldier's sword, the manifest but unprotected rights of his fellow man, rushed into Northumbria. He found

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insatiable plunderers of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. So far from pious Catholics countenancing idle or unnecessary pilgrimages to Rome: they did their utmost to take away all pretext for them, (Beda, vol. ii, p. 338, §. 4. E.H.S.) or they denounced those who brought, by their vices, scandal upon them. (Boniface. Epist. lxiii, vol. i. p. 146. Giles's Edition). In the very same letter in which Boniface stigmatises these pretended English pilgrims, as bringing down disgrace upon "the virtue, the honor, and the purity of the truly religious.—"Bonum et honestas, et pudicitia vestræ ecclesiæ illuditur." he declares that the usurping occupiers of lay monasteries, are to be esteemed as "sacrilegious robbers and *murderers of the poor*."—Raptorem et sacrilegum, et homicidam pauperum." Again it is necessary to repeat the observation that anti-Catholics charge upon "the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church," the crimes of pretended pilgrims, and the immoralities of lay monasteries. The iniquity of such a proceeding has been often exposed; but the rank falsehood is, in each new anti-Catholic publication, repeated as if it had never been refuted. The only consolation for all this is—that if the Church had never been assailed by any argument but that derived from truth, we should never have heard of any heresy, and the name of "the church militant" would be scarcely applicable to it.

See on the subject of pilgrimages to Rome, Lingard's *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. ii, pp. 135, to 142. (Ed. 1806).

In the life of St. Coemgen an Irish saint, a demon is described as speaking thus to St. Berchans:

"Dæmones nihil possunt ei suadere nisi sub specie boni, ita ego ficonem ejus intravi, suadens ei peregrinari et deserere locum suum, *quod est malum in specie boni*."

Act. Sanct. (Jan.) vol. i, p. 319. B.

there no force capable of resisting him—he laid waste the lands as he listed—collected all the spoil that he desired to take away with him, and returned to his own country laden with booty, which he had acquired easily, and wrongfully.*

Cuthred, in the year 740,† succeeded to the throne of Wessex upon the death of King Ethelheard. The young sovereign was encountered by the enmity of Ethelbald, who incited the West Saxons to repeated revolts, and then tried to depress Cuthred, by open invasions of his territories. In the former attempts Ethelbald failed; in the latter, his efforts were attended but with dubious success. Fortune favoured at one time the arms of the West Saxons—at another, the Mercians were crowned with victory. Amid these continued conflicts peace was frequently proclaimed; but each proclamation was merely the announcement of a brief truce, and the certain preliminary to another battle, as desperately contested, and as undecisive in its issue, as any that had preceded it.‡

In the year 740 Cuthbert was consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury.¶ By him, as well as by King

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* H. Hunt. Hist. Lib. iv, p. 340.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ H Hunt. p. 340.

¶ Saxon Chron. Cuthbert was the successor of Nothelm, the collector in Rome of many valuable documents, for Bede's Ecclesiastical History. (Beda, *Prologus.* §. 2). The importance of these documents is proved in a letter, addressed by St. Boniface to Nothelm, in which he enquires for one of them, stating that a copy of it could not then be found in Rome. The last

Ethelbald were received letters, from St. Boniface which induced them to hold a council, (the council of Cloveshoe) for the purpose of correcting all those evils, to which that saint objected.*

The same Boniface also addressed a letter to the King Ethelbald (in the year 745). This epistle demonstrates that the good bishop, whose labours were afterwards crowned with martyrdom, had obtained a knowledge of

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question put by this great bishop is worthy of being quoted as a curiosity in itself:—

"Similiter rogo, ut mihi studeatis indicare in quoto anno ab incarnatione Christi, prædicatores primi missi a Sancto Gregorio ad gentem Anglorum venissent." BONIFACE. Oper. Vol. i. p. 91. (Gile's Edition).

With respect to Cuthbert and Nothelm, and the difficulty of fixing with accuracy the exact number of years they filled their Secs, see *Ang. Sac.* Vol. i. p. 95. The author says—"omnia sunt conturbata, incerta, tenebris atque spinis involuta."

* *Saxon Chronicle* A.D. 742. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 83. The council here referred to, will be found in LABBÆUS. Vol. vi. pp. 1572 to 1585, in WILKINS. Vol. i. p. 90 &c., in SPELMAN. Vol. i. pp. 242 to 256. W. MALMSB. *De Gest. Pont.* Lib. i. p. 197. LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church.* Vol. i. 239, 240, 330, 331, 332, 333, (Ed. 1806).

The language employed at this council with respect to the lay monasteries, is deserving of quotation.

"*Monasteria*, si tamen fas est ita nominare, quæ utique quamvis temporibus istis propter vim tyranniæ quandam avaritiæ, ad religionis statum nullatenus immutari possint, id est, quæ a secularibus, non divinæ scilicet legis ordinatione sed humanæ adinventionis præsumptione utrunque tenentur."

SPELMAN'S *Concilia.* Vol. i. p. 247.

The deep interest felt by Boniface in the state of morality as well as the welfare of the church in his native land will be seen by his letters to the priest Heresford (*Herefrid* SPELMAN. Vol. i. pp, 236, 237), and to Archbishop Cuthbert (Labbæus. Vol. vi. p. 1565). The same letters may be seen Dr. Giles' Edition of Boniface's Works. Vol. i. p. 131, 132, 139 to 147, together with his letter to Archbishop Egbert pp. 113, 114. &c.

the sins, that were then spreading amongst the people of England; that he was apprehensive of the terrible results that must follow from their indulgence; and, at the same time, he afforded a terrible but an unavailing proof, in the sudden and dreadful deaths of Kings, how severely falls the judgment of heaven on those who have provoked the wrath, and presumed on the patience of their Creator.

A part of this letter is subjoined:

"To his most dear Lord, and in Christ the most be-
"loved of all the kings of England, from Archbishop
"Boniface, the Papal Legate in Germany.

"We declare, before God, that we are greatly re-
"joiced whenever we hear of your prosperity in this life,
"of your faith, and of your good works; and so too are
"we grieved, whenever we are told of any adversity
"occurring to you, whether it be by losses in war, or
"danger to the souls of your subjects. We have heard,
"that you are constant in alms-giving; that you prevent
"theft and rapine; that you are a lover of peace; that
"you are the protector of the widow, and the guardian
"of the orphan; and for these things we give thanks to
"God.

"We have heard, that you refuse to enter into the
"bonds of marriage. If this be from motives of purity,
"it is laudable; but if it be, that you may give loose to
"your passions—that neither the marriage vow nor the
"church vow are impediments to you—then you do that,
"which is not merely censurable but damnable, which
"degrades your character, and stains your honor before
"God and man—nay, which places you on a level with
"idolators, because in so acting, you have violated the
"the temple of the living God.

"Therefore, my dear son, do penance, and remember "how infamous it is, that you, whom God has placed as "a ruler over many nations should, to His injury, become "the slave of foul desires.

"We have even heard, that most of the nobles of the "Mercian nation have imitated your example—that they "have abandoned their lawful wives, and polluted by "their passions, those consecrated by conjugal and "religious vows. Let the example of another nation "teach you how abhorrent such conduct is to honor, to "decency, and the instincts of morality. In old Saxony "if a female, whether single or married, is forgetful of "the decency of her sex, she is strangled by her own "hand, her body is burned, and the partner of her guilt "is hung over her grave; or stripped to the waist, she is "whipped from village to village by the chaste matrons; "or her body pierced with the points of their knives, "until the miserable wretch at last expires. Even the "Winedi, a most loathsome race of men, have this cus-"tom amongst them—that a woman upon the death of "her husband, desires to be burned on the same pyre, "with which his remains are to be consumed. If then— "these Pagans—men ignorant that there is a God, have "such a zeal for chastity, what, I ask, is becoming in "you, my dearest son, who are both a Christian and a "king?

"Have mercy on your own soul! Have mercy on "that multitude of people, who may be destroyed by "your evil example, and of whose souls you will have "to render an account.

"Attend also to this: that if the English nation first "make themselves a subject of reproach for their im-

"purities, and their contempt of the marriage vow, "not only to the people of France and Italy, but to the "very Pagans themselves, that the next result will be "a debased, debauched, and irreligous race of men, the "offspring of such criminal excesses, and that the latter "will, with their country, go to destruction; as it has oc- "curred to the Burgundians, the Spaniards and other "nations, overcome, and afflicted, for many years by the "Saracens, on account of their past sins.

"It has moreover been told to us, that influenced by "your example, many of your leading nobility have "violated the privileges, and taken away the property of "churches and monasteries. Reflect, I beseech you, how "terrible has been the vengeance of God, upon "former kings, who committed the offences which are "now alleged against you. Remember the fate of your "predecessor Ceolred—of Osred the King of Bernicia "and Deira—of Charles, the Prince of the Franks—the "subverter of many monasteries—the appropriator to his "own use of the money which belonged to Churches— "how lingering, how miserable, and how shameful was "his death!*

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* This allusion to Charles Martel is not to be found in the original as published by Dr. Giles.

The perdition of Charles Martel was believed to have been revealed to St. Eucherius, Bishop of Orleans. See "Epistola Patrum Synodi Carisiacensis" as quoted in *Rer Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. iii, pp. 659, 660. In the life of St. Rigobert, Charles is thus alluded to:

"Iste Carolus omnibus audacior episcopatus regni Francorum laicis hominibus, et Comitibus primus dedit, ita ut Episcopis nihil potestatis in rebus Ecclesiarum permitteret."

The revelation as to Charles Martel is treated by Dom. M. Bouquet as fabulous. See vol. iii, p. 658, note *b*, and p. 659,

" Do you therefore, my dear son, be not disposed to treat "with neglect the counsel of your father, who incessantly " prays for you. Nought is better for a good king, if he " have committed such faults, than that when he is re- " proved, he should amend them, as it is said by Solomon, " ' He that loveth correction loveth knowledge.'

" We give you, my dearest son, good counsel, and we " entreat and beseech you in the name of the Living God, " and of His Son, Jesus Christ, and through the Holy " Ghost, that you bear at all times in mind, how fleeting " and how brief is this life, how momentary its filthy " pleasures, and how ignominious it is, that a man, in " the few years of his existence, should leave an ever- " enduring bad example to posterity.

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note *a*. It is certain that Charles Martel did bestow the property of the church and the poor upon his military retainers, and even transferred the mitre to ignorant laymen, or men who were but *in appearance* priests. See same vol. pp. 310, 315, 352, 364, 649, 672.

The letter of Boniface is well worthy of attention for many reasons, but particularly for this, that it may be esteemed a prediction as to future events.

It is not possible to look at some of its passages—the intimation to the English people, that if they did not repent of their sins, they would be afflicted with an invasion of Pagans, as the Spaniards were by the Saracens; and the warning to Ethelbald to abandon his vices, or his death would be that of Ceolred, and Osred, and not regard the priest, who penned them, as a Christian prophet. There can be as little doubt that this letter was written ten years before the death of Ethelbald, and fifty years before the invasion of the Danes, as that the writer was an ardent advocate for the supremacy of the Church of Rome. In his letter to Archbishop Cuthbert he says:

" Decrevimus autem in nostro synodali conventu, et confessi sumus fidem catholicam, et unitatem, et *subjectionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, fine tenus vitæ nostræ, *velle servare:* Sancto Petro, et *vicario ejus velle subjici.*" Bonifac. *Oper.* vol. i. p. 140.

"Begin then—at once begin to lay down a steady rule "of life—a life of morality—to correct the past errors "of your youth—and, so doing, you may here obtain "praise from men, and in the life to come, eternal joy, "and everlasting glory."*

Cuthred King of the West Saxons, and Ethelbald the supreme monarch† of Mercia, in the year 743‡ abandoned their hostilities for a time, in order that they might, with their united forces, make war against the Welsh,¶ who had collected from all parts of their country an immense multitude of combatants. The two Saxon Kings, equally distinguished for their personal valour, and their military skill, divided into two bodies, the accomplished warriors they commanded, and made at the same moment, from different quarters a charge upon the close-wedged lines of the Welsh. The English fought not merely in emulation of each other, but as if the Mercian would leave no portion of the glory of victory to the West Saxon, and as if the West Saxon felt he would be defeated, if he did not surpass the valour of the Mercian. Amid such a rivalry for their common destruction, the Welsh were

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* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 79, 80, 81. Malmsbury whose copy of the letter has been followed, only gives an abstract. It will be found, published at length, in Dr. Giles's edition of Boniface's work. Vol. i. pp. 132 to 139.

† "Rex *Merce* Edelbaldus maximus omnium" "rex superbus" "rex omnium regum." H. HUNT. pp. 339, 340, 341.

‡ *Sax. Chron.*

¶ The research of Mr. Turner has enabled him to trace the motive for this seeming peace between Ethelbald and Cuthred. The former had been defeated at Carno, a mountain in Monmouthshire, by the Welsh, and driven across the Wye, with great loss. *History of the Anglo Saxons.* Vol. i. p. 406.

driven with slaughter from their position. Despite their courage they were forced to yield to the superior strength of the enemy. At last, their retreat became a flight—and the flight itself a carnage. The Welsh cast away their arms, and the victorious Saxons, laden with spoils, returned each in triumph to his own country.*

In the year 744 died Wilfrid the younger† bishop of York. In the same year was seen a wonderful sign in the heavens. The stars appeared to fly backwards and forwards through the air.‡ It was regarded by all who saw such a spectacle as a wondrous prodigy.¶

King Selred, it is stated, was killed in the year 746; but the ancient writers who specify the year in which he died do not mention either the manner nor the cause of his being put to death.§

In the ninth year of the reign‖ of Cuthred, King of

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* H. Hunt. p. 340. Roger de Wendover. Vol. i. pp. 227, 228. Mr. Turner fixes the site of this battle at Ddefawdan. Vol. iii. p. 407.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ "Stellæ hac et illac discurrebant." H. Hunt. p. 341.

¶ "Magno fuit monstro." H. Hunt. The Saxon Chronicle merely observes—the stars went swiftly shooting—(and sleorran foran swythe scotienda). Rog. de Wend. "stellæ de coelo cadentes apparuerunt, ita ut omnes hæc videntes consummationem mundi seculi instare putant."

§ H. Hunt. p. 341. *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 746. Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 226. W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 98. See Mr. Hardys notes vol. i. pp. 136, 139, notes 2 and 3.

‖ Sax. Chron. A.D. 148.

the West Saxons, his son Cynric was slain. This Athel-ing* was accomplished in every martial and manly exercise, a bold huntsman, and a brave warrior; his few years were illustrated with deeds of great courage, and the proofs of great genius. Confident in the successes he had gained, he presumed that in the varying chances of war, fortune would be always favourable to him; and his death, which occurred in a mutiny, was the heavy punishment inflicted upon his presumption.†

The same year died Eadbert, King of Kent. He was succeeded on the throne by Ethelbert---a monarch who reigned for fourteen years.‡

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* "Et quia cogitabat eum hæredem facere, nominavit eum *Adeling*, quod nos dicimus domicellum; sed nos indiscrete de plurimis dominis, quia barones vocamus domicellos: *Angli vero* nullum nisi natos regum." Rog. de Hoveden. Annal. p. 608. See De Courson Histoire des Peuples Bretons, vol. ii, p. 604, §. 41. Ducange *Glossarium*, in verb. "Adalingus," "Adelinga."

† H. Hunt, p. 341. Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 231.

‡ Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 231, ad ann. 749. We find in the letters of St. Boniface, that this King Ethelbert was in correspondence with the good bishop, sending him "caucum argenteum intus deauratum, pensantem libras tres et semis et duo repta"—beseeching his prayers, whilst living, "Qoniam dies mali sunt, et multiplicantur quotidie variæ et improvisæ perturbationes in hoc sæculo scandalis pleno," and also the benefit of his prayers, when dead, "etiam post obitum meum *si te tamen promerear habere superstitem*." This kingly letter concludes with the request that Boniface will send him two falcons from Germany—"duos falcones, quorum ars et artis audacia sit, grues velle libenter captando arripere, et arripiendo consternere solo,"—and he adds, that such birds are very scarce in Kent—"perpauci hujus generis accepitres in nostris regionibus, hoc est, in Cantia, reperiuntur." Bonifac. *Oper.* vol. i, pp. 177, 178. (Giles).

In the year 742, Boniface had sent a letter to Ethelbald, and with it "accipitrem unum, et duos falcones, *duo scuta et duas lanceas*." It was a letter of introduction for a person named

Cuthred in the eleventh year of his reign,* was engaged in a long and serious conflict with one of his ealdorman—the proud Ethelhun. This chief had stirred up a rebellion against his sovereign, and though far inferior in numbers, ventured to meet the royal army in the field. The battle was long and desperately contested; for the distinguished bravery of Ethelhun was of more avail in war, than the swords of a thousand soldiers. Joyous victory seemed with fluttering wings about to descend upon the arms of the traitor warrior,† when a severe wound struck him to the earth. The pains of sickness, reminded him of his perjury, and reconciled him to the triumph, which his sovereign had justly won over him.‡

Ceola; and he added that "*if* another letter should be sent to his majesty, through a different messenger, he begs his earnest attention to it, (si per alterum nuntium verba nostra ad presentiam tuam scripta venerint, &c.) That letter may or may not have been the courageous and christian letter, of which an abstract has been given by Malmsbury. It is dated in Dr Giles's Edition in the year 745, three years after the first; but both letters are thus connected together by Mr. Collier:

"To make the contents of this letter *pass the better Boniface ordered another short one to be delivered to him first*, together with a present of a goshawk, and cast of falcons, and *some other curiosities.*" COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 299.

* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 750.

† "Ei jam pene victoria lætis applauderet alis."

‡ H. HUNT. p. 341. Roger de Wendover mentions that in this year, Bishop Cynewulf was arrested by Eadbert King of Northumbria, and imprisoned at Bebbanburgh, and that the Church of St. Peter in Lindisfarne was blockaded by his order. Vol. i. p. 231. The cause for this outrage is stated by Simeon of Durham, to have been that Offa a person of royal rank, had sought for sanctuary, in the church, but had been taken from it, by force, and put to death. *Hist. Eccles. Dunelm.* p. 10. We

Two years after the suppression of this rebellion,* Cuthred, finding the exactions of Ethelbald intolerable, and his oppression unceasing, determined to muster an army, and meet the tyrant in the field, resolved to die a free and independent sovereign, rather than live, as if he were the bondman of another, He had in this battle the support of his Ealdorman Ethelhun—who from his foe, had become his steadfast and trusty friend. Cuthred confided to the valour of Ethelhun's arm in the conflict, and he was guided, by his counsel, in the disposition of his army. He relied upon both, as capacitating him to withstand the worst efforts of Ethelbald.

The latter, as the monarch over tributary kings marched to the field of battle, with an immense body of forces—he brought against the West Saxons, the warriors not only of Mercia, but also of Kent, of the East Saxons and of the Angles.

The hostile armies met at Burford.† As soon as they were arrayed in lines against each other, both at the same time advanced to the attack, preceded by the standard bearers of their respective sovereigns. Ethelhun, who carried the golden dragon, the ensign of the King of Wessex, rushed forward and transfixed the enemy's

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may well believe, that in this transaction the bishop was perfectly innocent, for we learn that having governed his diocese for forty one years, "worn out with old age and toil" he delegated his duties, to one competent to their performance, and devoted the last three years of his existence to peace and prayer "quieti et orationi" p. 12.

* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 752.

† Hereford and Bereford H. HUNT. Beorg-forda *Sax. Chron.* Burford in Oxfordshire. HARDY. "A stone coffin was found near Burford, in December 1814." TURNER.

standard bearer.* A loud and joyous huzza burst from the ranks of Cuthred, as they crossed their weapons with their foes.

An awful clash then followed—and then came the roar, the tumult, and the thunder sounds of battle—the clatter of swords—the heavy fall of the instruments of death, the piercing shrieks, and sobbing groans of the wounded, and of men in their last agonies. Havoc spread like fire, and consumed in its rage, the compact masses as they hurried into the thickest of the horrid strife. The Mercians and the West Saxons seemed to feel that this was a battle, the result of which was to decide the fate of their posterity for ever. One moment might be seen troops of

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* "Edilhun præcedens Westsexenses regis insigne draconem scilicet aureum gerens transforavit vixilliferun hostilem." Mr. Turner thus translates this passage. "Edilhun, advancing beyond his line, pierced the golden dragon, the splendid banner of Mercia." Vol. i. p. 407. See Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 232. Camden's *Britannia* p. 327. (Ed. 1600) and vol. ii. p. 3. (Gough).

Upon the Antiquity of Armorial bearings we find the following note in De Courson :—

"Dans le poeme d'Ermold-le-Noir, Morvan dit qu' il opposera aux boucliers blancs des Francs les boucliers de ses guerriers peints de diverses couleurs :

Scuta mihi fucata, tamen sunt candida vobis multa manent.

L'usage des armoires remonte à une plus haute antiquité que ne le pense le vulgaire des erudits. Tacite nous parle des boucliers coloriés des Germains (Germ. vi.). Dion Cassius fait allusion aux figures bizarres dont ils étaient bariolès (Dion. Cass. Hist. v.); et Ammiens Marcellin place sur le casque de Chnodomare, roi des Allemans, une flamme ètincelante en guise de panache (Amm. xvi. 12.)—Voy. le P. Menetrier, Abrege methodique." *Histoire des Peuples Bretons.* Vol. ii. p. 117.

See also "Konung Olaf Helges Haraldsons Saga" c. 233, 234, 235, 239. Snorro. Vol. i. pp. 786, 787, 793.

of soldiers with glittering armour, with crested helmets, with bristling spears, and with banners gay with gold, and radiant with brilliant colours—and in a moment after, the same soldiers might be beheld, covered with blood, their helmets broken, their armour crushed, their spears in splinters, their banners torn, dabbled with blood, or clotted even with the brains of those who had fought in their defence. It was however around the regal standards in both armies, that the bravest and boldest were to be found; rank following rank, and doing the work of destruction with the sword, or Amazonian battle axe. In neither was there entertained a thought of flight; both fought with the certain expectation of victory: the Mercians inflated with the pride of many former conquests; the West Saxons incited by an utter detestation of slavery.

In all parts of this terrible field of battle, the Ealdorman Ethelhun was to be seen, cutting his way, though entire ranks of his foes; and leaving a heap of dead or dying in his track; for his awful battle axe fell like the thunder bolt upon armour and men; riving them to pieces and striking them dead on the instant.

On the other hand, the valiant King Ethelbald rushed amongst the enemy, and slaughtered all who chanced to encounter him; for to his sword the breastplates of his foes, were but as a thin garment, and their bones but as yielding flesh. Ethelhun and Ethelbald were, as two dreadful fires, which beginning from opposite quarters, at length in their progress of destruction come to unite their raging flames with each other.

Ethelbald and Ethelhun stood face to face! Both were brave—each felt, in regarding the warlike champion who stood before him, that he had a terrible opponent.

They gnashed their teeth with rage—exchanged blows —then collected all their strength, and prepared for a mutual conflict, in which, at last, each was to be fairly matched with his only fitting combatant.

It was at that very moment, that God, who resists the proud, and from whom all strength, courage and magnanimity come, withdrew His Grace from Ethelbald. Ethelbald's spirit was abated. He felt on the instant, that he had neither his wonted courage, nor his accustomed strength; he fled the very first from the battle, and abandoned his soldiers to the wrath of the mighty champion, he had been himself afraid to encounter.

And from that day forth God never permitted any thing to prosper with him.*

In the year 753† Cuthred engaged in a new war against the Welsh, in which the latter suffered dreadfully in battle and were at length put to flight.‡

Cuthred fortunate as a monarch, and successful as a general, whose life might be esteemed as an almost uninterrupted career of prosperity, in the year (754)—that immediately succeeding the defeat of the Welsh—experienced the last sad adversity; for then all, his joys and all his glories were withered away by death.¶

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* H. Hunt. Histor, Lib iv, p. 341.

† *Sax. Chron*

‡ *Chron de Mailros* A.D. 754. According to the expressiosn in Ethelwerd, this war against the Welsh was unprovoked—"Post annum ut solitus erat suae ferocitatis implere conamen, arma contra Brittanos aptavit." Lib. ii, c. 16, p. 838.

¶ "Tot prosperitatibus et victoriis potitus mortis inclementia lætitiam finivit." H. Hunt.

He was succeeded by his relation,* Sigebert, who was permitted to reign but for a very brief period of time. Proud of the deeds of his predecessor, and insolent by nature, the conduct of Sigebert soon rendered him intolerable to his subjects. He oppressed them in every manner, that his caprice dictated. To suit his own purposes, he openly violated, or cunningly evaded the laws of the land. One of the most distinguished nobles of the king's court, named Cumbra, at the request of the entire nation, made known to the sovereign, the prayers of his people. Cumbra sought to mitigate the tyranny of the king, by pointing out to him the necessity of ruling the country with mildness, and of making himself an object of love to God and man; but the impious Sigebert, instead of listening to the petitioner of the people, ordered him to be put to death, and then pursued, with greater recklesness than before, his course of cruelty and oppression.

It was in the commencement of the second year of the reign of this sovereign, when despotism and wickedness had made him alike intolerable, that the nobles and people of the entire kingdom congregated together. After due and solemn deliberation, and with the unanimous consent of all, he was expelled from the country, whilst Cynewulf, a gallant youth of the royal race, was elected as king.†

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* According to Malmsbury Sigebert was an usurper; the expression used is, "*arripuit* illud (regnum) Sigebertus." Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 41. Ethelwerd employs a term the very opposite—"Suscepit principatum." p. 838.

† "Congregati sunt proceres *et populus* totius regni et provida deliberatione et *unanimi consensu omnium* expulsus est a regno. Kinewlf vero juvenis egregius de regia stirpe oriundis, *electus est in regem*." H. HUNT.

Sigebert, being thus banished from his kingdom, and fearful of the vengeance that his misdeeds had provoked, fled as a fugitive to the wild forest of Andredswald, in the deep recesses of which he hoped for concealment and safety. In this forest he was met by a swineherd of the noble Cumbra, who had been so basely murdered by him. The swineherd recognised the king, and the moment he did so, he determined to be the avenger of his murdered master, and stabbed to death the trembling and fallen monarch*

This was the due enforcement of the old English Catholic constitution. This it was, in practice, even before the Danish invasion, and thus it was expounded in the reigns of the Catholic sovereigns, Henry III, Edward I, and Henry VI.

"Kings ought not to be under man, but under God *and the law*, because *the law makes the king*. The King ascribes to the law, what the law ascribes to him; that is dignity and power; for *he is not king where his will governs and not the law.*' (Bracton, p. 5.)

"He is not called king from reigning; but *the name is assumed from well governing*. He is a King while he governs well; but *a tyrant when he oppresses his people by his violated domination* (Fleta p. 16).

"The King of England cannot change the laws of his kingdom at his will.

"He cannot change the laws without the assent of his subjects; nor burthen his people with strange impositions." (Fortescue pp. 25, 40.) See TURNER'S *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. iii, pp. 162, 163. PALGRAVE, vol. i, 655.

It is not, until the Reformation was established in this country that we hear of a Sovereign telling the Parliament that it "ought not to deal, to judge, or to meddle with her majesty's prerogative royal," (Dewes. p. 479) and further that "as it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what the deity may do so it *is presumption and sdition in a subject to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power.*" (King James's Works p. 557). See BLACKSTONE'S *Commentaries*. Book. i, ch. 7, p. 238.

* The event that led to the death of Sigebert is differently told by William of Malmsbury, Ethelwerd, and the Saxon Chronicle.

In this fact, we find exhibited the manifest judgment of God. In this, we perceive that the justice of Heaven metes out to men, even in this world, a fitting punishment for their misdeeds; at one time chosing, that bad kings should be the means of exciting, and at last of forcing a wicked people to contrition for their sins; and that, whilst harassing his subjects, even the bad king should be the instrument of torment to himself. At another time, taking pity on a nation, and by a speedy and violent death ridding it of a cruel and merciless despot, like to Sigebert, who as he had been proud and remorseless, so was he doomed to see his heart's blood stain the base hands of a wretched swineherd; to pass from the pains of this world to the worse pains of the next.

This is God's justice! for which praise and glory be to Him now and for evermore!*

Ethelbald was slain in the year 755,† in a revolt of his

The following is the account given by the last-named authority:

"This year (755) Cynewulf, with the consent of the West Saxon Council *(wiotan)* deprived Sebright, his relative, for unrighteous deeds *(unryhtum daedum)*, of his kingdom, except Hampshire; which he retained, until he slew the Ealderman, who adhered the longest to his cause. *(the him lengest mid wunode)*. Then Cynewulf forced him to fly to the forest of Andred, and dwelt there until a swain stabbed him at Pryfetes-flodan; and thus wreaked due vengeance for the Ealdorman Cumbra."

Roger de Wendover states that the name of the swineherd was Ansian, Vol. i, p. 234.

* H. Hunt. *Hist.* Lib. iv. pp. 341, 342.

"Ita crudelitas regis omnem pene nobilitatem pervagata, in homine ultimae sortis stetit." W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 41.

† *Sax. Chron.*

own subjects, at Seckington, in Warwickshire, and with him fell an immense number of soldiers on both sides. Thus did this once most powerful king, who had reigned for one and forty years,, at length suffer the just punishment of his immoderate ambition.* He was put to death by a pretender to his throne--Beornred;† and of Beornred, there is nought else to be mentioned, worthy of the memory of mankind, but the fact, that he was soon after put to death by Offa, and thus was metely rewarded as a seditious subject,‡ and a tyrannical usurper.¶

The body of Ethelbald was removed from the field of battle to Repton, and there interred in the monastery, which was at that time one of the most celebrated in the country.§

Contemporaneous with the death of Ethelbald may be dated the rise of the West Saxon kingdom, as the ruling state of the country. From that time forth, it waxed in strength, until at last its supreme domination was secured.‖

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* H. Hunt. p. 341.

† Ingulphus. *Hist.* p. 7. This was the fulfilment of the prophecy of St. Boniface, to Ethelbald, if he did not repent. See his letter, Bonifac. *Oper.* Vol. i. p. 137.

‡ W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 79.

¶ *Chron. Mailros.* A.D. 757. *Ingulph.* p. 7.

§ H. Hunt. p. 341, Ethelwerd, p. 841. Ingulph. p. 7.

This monastery was destroyed by the Danes, but rebuilt in the year 1172, by Maud Countess of Chester. At the Reformation it was valued at £167 „ 18 „ 2ƒ now worth £3,358 „ 3 „ 4 yearly. See Cobbett, and Camden. Vol. ii. p. 416, 419.

‖ H. Hunt. p. 341. Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 233. The

In the year 755,* St. Boniface (also known as Winfrid) Bishop of Mentz, received the crown of martyrdom, with fifty three of his companions, from the Frisii, whom he was endeavouring to convert.†

Of all the holy priests of England, who devoted themselves to the conversion of the Frisii, and the pagan nations of Germany, Boniface, the first Archbishop of Mentz, must be regarded as the greatest, and to him beyond all others must be given the title of the "Apostle of Germany."‡

Boniface, whose original name was Winfrid, was born in the year 680, at Crediton in Devonshire. From his earliest days, he manifested the determination to pass a religious life. At thirteen years of age, he entered the monastery of Exeter, where he was educated by the Abbot Wolphard.¶ From the monastery of Exeter,§ he

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event referred to occurred in the reign of Egbert the first King of England.

* Baronius vol. vii, p. 672, ad ann. 755, §. 44.

† Rog. de Wendov. vol. i, p. 232.

‡ *Act. Sanct.* (Jun.) vol. i, p. 452.

¶ *Act. Sanct.* (Jun.) vol. i, p. 454. *Vit Bonifac.* vol. ii, p. 147. (Giles).

§ Leland, in his description of Exeter, has the following among other observations:

"There *was* a priorie of S. Nicolas in the north side of the toune. Ioannes de Grandisono *Bishop* of Excester made an hospitale of S. John, and *endowed it with landes.* This hospitale is hard by the Est Gate. There is an other poore hospitale in the Toun wherein *yet* sic men be kepte. There was an House of Gray Freres bytwixt the North and West Gate neere the Toune Walle, *now* a plain vacant ground caullid *Ferenhay. Bishop* Bylten of Excester remevid then thes Gray Freres and *builded them an House* a little without the South Gate. There

passed to that of Nutcell,* where he soon distinguished himself by his capacity, his genius, his learning, and his extraordinary piety. His life was one of prayer, of obedience, of study, and of manual labour.† In all his acts, and words, he was an edifying example to others.

At the age of thirty years, he was elevated to the rank of the priesthood, having previously distinguished himself as a preacher. Upon the rich as well as the poor, his exhortations had an equally beneficial effect—for the former were not flattered, nor their feelings soothed because of their wealth; and the poor, whether free or servile, were not rebuked with harshness, because they were humble and helpless.‡ His great severity was exhibited to-

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was an House of Blake Freres in the North side of the Cemiterie of the Cathedrale Church, but without the Close. *The Lorde Russelle hath made hym a fair place of this House.* LELAND'S *Itinerary*, vol. iii, fol. 33. See fol. 35, 36, 37, where will be found an account of the contributions of the Catholic bishops towards the building and completion of their magnificent Cathedral. Amongst these contributors was the Bishop Grandisono above mentioned, of whom it is likewise stated, that he made an abridgement of the lives of the saints, for the use of the church of Exeter—"Joannes de Grandisono abbrevavit legendas sanctorum in usum Exon Eccles." Fol. 35. See also CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, pp. 55, 56.

* "Nutcell, or Huntcell. This monastery underwent the fate of all the rest in the time of the Danish devastations, and was never since restored; so that we know not at present the place where it stood," *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i, p. 339.

† "*Ut labore manuum quotidiano*, et disciplinali officiorum administratione incessanter. * * * omnibusque exemplum bene vivendi, in verbo et conversatione, in fide et castitate se præbens, ut omnes de fructu ejus perciperent. *Vit S. Bonifac.* vol. ii. p. 149. (Giles),

‡ Divitibus ergo ac potentibus *liberisque ac servis* aequalem sanctae exhortationis exhibuit disciplinam, ut nec divites adulando demulceret, *nec servos* nec liberos districtione pergravaret." *Vit. S. Bonfac.* Vol. ii. p. 151. (Giles).

wards himself; in his fasting and mortification, in not tasting of wine, nor of beer;* in imitating the great apostle of the Gentiles, like to whom he could say—"I chastise my body and bring it into subjection: lest perhaps, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a cast-away."

It was with some difficulty, that he was permitted by his Abbot to proceed upon the dangerous mission of converting the heathen Germans. He parted from the abbot and his brethren amid their tears and prayers for his success; but he was destined to find upon his arrival amongst the Frisii, that a recent victory gained by their infidel King Radbod,† over Charles Martel of France, had been made use of for the purpose of destroy-

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* "Sed ita omni se jejunii frugalitate subjugavit, ut vinum et siceram non bibens &c. *Vit. S. Bonifac.* Vol. ii. p. 152. *(Giles,)*

The good and kindly Boniface in imposing mortification upon himself, did not desire, on that account, to deprive others of a gratification, which he knew would not be abused by them; for we find him sending a present of wine to a brother bishop, and his monks with these words:—

"Praeterea Celsitudini Vestrae, vice osculi, duas vini cupellas per hunc portitorem literarum transmisimus, petentes ut charitatis inter nos precibus nostris inde *laetum diem cum fratribus vestris facietis.* Bonifac *Oper.* Vol. i. p. 88. (Giles).

† This Radbod, it is said, was at last disposed to become a Christian. He was about to be baptised, and had already placed one foot in the water, when he turned round to Bishop Wolfron, and asked, "where were the souls of the Frisian Kings, his ancestors?" It was replied to him, that the unbaptised could not be in Heaven—"Then," replied, the Pagan monarch, standing back from the font—"I prefer being with the multitude of my fathers in the land of Woden, than an associate of the few, in the heaven of the Christians." In three days afterwards he was dead! Wagenaar *Vaderlandsche Historie.* Vol. i. p. 370.

ing the Christian Church; of again erecting Pagan temples, and of restoring amongst a barbarous people all the horrors of idolatry. The object, for which he had undertaken this journey, proved fruitless, and he was again compelled to return to his monastery.

There, despite of his reluctance, he was upon the death of the abbot unanimously elected by his brethren, as the monk most fitted to act as their father, and ruler. By constant and earnest prayer, he was relieved of this office and sent to Rome, with commendatory letters from the good Bishop Daniel.

Arrived at Rome, and admitted to an audience with his Holiness, he explained the desire, that animated, and the hope that sustained him. The Pontiff admired the zeal, and was charmed with the learning, and the piety of the Apostle. The project of Boniface was sanctioned by his Holiness; and strengthened by the Papal benediction, this great saint proceeded to carry it into execution.*

In Thuringia he converted its infidels to Christianity: bad priests, and bad Catholics, he converted to the strict life and rigid discipline ordained by the Gospel.† In Thuringia, he heard of the death of King Radbod, and he immediately travelled to Friesland, where he was for three years engaged in preaching the Gospel. He next converted the pagans in Hesse and in certain districts of Saxony; and in the year 723, he was recalled to Rome by Pope Gregory, ordained as a Bishop and the name of

* *Vit. S. Bonifac.* Vol. ii. pp. 154, 155, 158.

† "A malitiæ pravitate ad canonicae constitutionis rectitudinem correxit." p. 159.

Boniface, in addition to that of Winfrid, conferred upon him.*

Upon his return to Hesse, numbers were converted by him; but many still clung, with superstitious fear, to their ancient idolatries; believing that there were deities in their forests, and a supernatural power in their fountains to which they paid worship in secret, or openly offered sacrifice.† Amongst such objects of Pagan veneration, was a gigantic oak, dedicated to Jupiter. This,

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* Vit S. Bonifac. vol. ii, pp. 161, 164. BARONIUS vol: x, pp. 301, 302.

† Alii etiam lignis et fontibus clanculo, alii autem aperte sacrificabant." Vit. S. Bonifac. vol. ii, p. 165.

The state of things, such as St. Boniface had to correct and reform, are thus described by ancient authors:

"Cujus infelici tempore (A.D. 717) his de ecclesiis multa sunt ablata, et res ab episcopis divisae, domus Religiosorum destructae, ecclesiastica disciplina disperdita, adeo ut clerici, Sacerdotes, Monachi, Moniales sine lege ecclesiastica viverant, et refugia indebita haberent. *Gest. Episc. Trevir.*

———"Omnis religio Christianitatis pene fuit abolita, ita ut episcopis in paucis locis residuis, episcopia laïcis donata, et rebus divisa fuerint; adeo ut Milo quidam tonsura Clericus, moribus habitu, et actu irreligiosus laïcus, episcopia Rhemorum ac Trevirorum usurpans insimul, per multos annos pessumdederit: et multi jam in Orientalibus regionibus (Scil. Franciæ, et Transrhenanæ) idola adorarent, et sine baptismo manerent———" HINCMAR. *Epist.* vi. *ad Episc. Remens.* Rer Gall. et Franc Script. vol. iii, p. 649. See also the letter of Pope Adrian written in the year 775, and quoted in the life of St. Rigobert, pp. 658, 659.

The same cause, which produced this lamentable condition of ecclesiastical affairs, led to to a similar affliction in England, upon the invasion of the Danes. Religion suffered in both alike—"propter discordiam et contentionem de principatu;" because there were wars "frequentia ac civilia, imo plusquam civilia, quia intestina et parricidalia." HINCMARI *Epistola ad Episcopos Remensis diœcesis.*

Boniface determined to destroy; and in the presence of a vast multitude he proceeded to cut it down. Scarcely however had he made an incision upon its bark, when the enormous mass of timber seemed to feel the force and blow of a thunder bolt—it shivered to pieces, and fell from its topmost branch to its lowermost base, a frightful ruin to the earth! its huge trunk riven into four mighty blocks of timber, as straight and even, as if the hard labour of the monks had been employed in shaping them into form.* The incident was regarded by the Pagans as a miracle—and those, who had at first hoped to witness the destruction of Boniface, as the profane enemy of their idols, knelt to receive his benediction, and returned to their homes, true believers, and humble Christians.†

From the timber of the oak itself an oratory was constructed, which was dedicated by Boniface, to St. Peter.

From Hesse, he again returned to Thuringia, which was distracted, by the false teaching of bad priests, who under the name of religion, had introduced a foul heresy. The heresy was condemned by him; and its priests, who

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* Sed ad modicum quidem arbore praecisa, confestim immensa roboris moles divino desuper flatu exagitatur et palmitum confracto culmine corruit, et quasi superni nutus solatio in quatuor etiam partes dirupta est, et quatuor ingentis magnitudinis aequali longitudine trunci, *absque fratrum labore* astantium apparuerunt." *Vit. S. Bonifac.* Vol. ii. p. 165.

† "—— qui et inimicum Deorum suorum intra se diligentissime devotabant. * * * etiam versa vice benedictionem domino, pristina objecta maledictione, credentes reddiderunt." *Ibid.*

The men thus converted are described, as "indomitos gentes, animo truces, moribus sævos." Baronius. Vol xii. p. 305.

practised impurity, sent out of the country.* With their expulsion, the numbers of the faithful increased by multitudes; and with them the number of preachers was also multiplied. Churches arose, and a monastery was founded at Orfordt, in which the monks, like to the apostles of old, fed and clothed themselves, by the labour of their hands.†

The renown of Boniface's preaching diffused itself over all parts of Europe, and every civilized nation soon echoed with his praise. Numbers of persons, attracted by the glory of their countryman, came from Britain; these were all devoted to the service of God, and distinguished for their talents, their knowledge and their skill. They were masters in learning—men accomplished in science, or in the arts. These were dispersed by him amongst the villages and hamlets in Hesse and Thuringia where they preached the word of God, and thousands upon thousands were baptised by them.‡

At this time (732) the Pope Gregory II died; and deputies were immediately sent by Boniface to his successor

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* *Vit. S. Bonifac.* Vol. ii. pp. 165, 166. The description given of the preachers of the heresy, in Thuringia, will be found strictly applicable to many of the clerical and lay apostles of the "religious reformation" in the sixteenth century. We do not wish to quote the words; but they will be found in Dr. Giles's edition of Boniface's works. Vol. ii. p. 166, and in the *Act. Sanct.* (Jun). Vol. i. p. 467, c. See also PAGI. Vol. xii. p. 311.

† "—Qui propiis sibi more Apostolico manibus victum vestitumque instanter laborando acquisierunt." *Vit. S. Bonifac.* Vol. ii. p. 166.

‡ *Vit S. Bonifac.* vol. ii. pp. 166, 167, BARONIUS, vol. xii, pp. 425, 326. Pagi. viii, A.D. 725.

for the purpose of expressing his devout submission to the Apostolic See.* The deputies were dismissed with honor, and returned to Boniface, with the pall of an Archbishop, many presents, and several relics of saints.†

The zeal of Boniface received a new impulse. Two churches were immediately built by him, one at Fridislar, in honor of the Apostles S.S. Peter and Paul; and the other at Hamenburg, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel; and to both churches, monasteries were, by his directions, attached.‡

In the year 738, Boniface paid a third visit to Rome. He was accompanied thither by a crowd of disciples. His object in going was first to have the advantage of a personal conference with the Pontiff; and next, he was desirous, as he was now advanced in years, to commend himself to the prayers of the saints.¶ His presence in Rome was most welcome to the Pope, and such was the veneration entertained for him, that his religious discourses attracted the multitudinous attendance of French, Bavarians, and the inhabitants of other nations, along with the English, who came from Britain to hear him. Boniface stopped in Rome for the greater part of the year, and then having gone round, visited, and prayed at the shrines

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* "Devotam ejus in futuram humilitatis apostolicae sedi subjectionem narraverunt." *Vit. S. Bonifac,* vol. ii, p. 167.

† "Cum muneribus, diversisque sanctorum reliquiis." *Vit. S. Bonifac,* vol. ii, p. 167.

‡ Vit. S. Bonifac. vol. ii, p. 167, BARONIUS, vol. xii, pp. 398, 399. See also note by PAGI. A.D. 731.

¶ "Ut Apostolici videlicet Patris salubri frueretur colloquio, et sanctorum se, jam aetate provectus, orationibus commendaret." *Vit. S. Bonifac.* vol. ii, p. 168.

of the various saints,* he, with renovated health, took his departure from the Holy See, endowed with precious gifts, and amongst the rest, with many saintly relics.†

In Bavaria, by his preaching, he was enabled to put an end to the crimes and misdeeds of those, who had been the destroyers of churches, and the perverters of the morals of the people. Here he found men, pretending to be bishops, and, without due authority, acting as priests; an unjust, false, and heretical sect, led by clergymen who gave loose to their passions. All these abuses he corrected. With the permission of the Duke Odilo, he divided Bavaria into four Bishoprics, over which were established Prelates duly and canonically consecrated.‡

Supported by the power of Carloman and Pepin, Boniface held many Councils for the purpose of correcting abuses. By these, improper marriages were put an end to amongst the laity, and by his exhortations the abominable alliance of priests with wives was dissolved.¶ So

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* "Et sanctorum peragrando atque orando circuisset reliquias.' *Vit. S. Bonefac.* vol. i, p. 168.

† "Cum muneribus et reliquiis sanctorum honorifice ditatus." *Vit. S. Bonifac.* vol. ii. p. 169.

‡ Vit S. Bonifac. vol. ii, p. 169. BARONIUS, vol. xii, pp. 439, 440. PAGI, i, ii, A.D. 739.

¶ "Et tam laicorum injusta concubinarum copula, partim exhortante sancto viro separata est, quam etiam *clericorum nefanda cum uxoribus conjunctio* sejuncta ac segregata." *Vit. S. Bonifac.* vol. ii, p. 170.

It was, upon one occasion, said by a leading politician in this country, that "the dark annals of the church have taught us, that *an unmarried is an unholy priesthood.*" (HANSARD'S *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xxvii, p. 438).

With all due respect for this distinguished gentleman, whose acts as a minister were more dangerous to Catholicity, than his

widely had heresy spread, at the time, that it involved amongst its followers, the greatest portion of the population. Its principal authors were two persons named Adelbert,* and Clement, who, influenced by a sordid love of gain, were incessantly occupied in spreading its poison†.

A fifth council was held by Boniface, as Archbishop of Mentz, in which the General Councils of the Church

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worst words, as a political partizan, "the dark annals of the church" prove the converse of his proposition. See, for instance, the complaints of St Boniface, in his letter to the Pope Zacharias, BONIFAC. *Oper.* vol. i, pp. 101, to 105.

Of the Pope's answer to that letter, the following quotation may suffice, as to the sacrilege that is committed when a clergyman marries:

——"Unius uxoris virum &c. Et hoc ante susceptum sacerdotium uti licitum est: nam *a die suscepti sacerdotii etiam ab ipso proprio conjugio prohibendi sunt.*" S. BONIFAC. *Oper.* vol. i, p. 107.

An incident, in the history of Gregory of Tours, with respect to a bishop in the Fourth Century, will show what was the ancient practice of the church. See GREGOR. TURONENS. *Hist. Francor.* Lib. i, c. 39. "Excerpta ex vitis Patrum." Vol. ii, pp. 438, 439. (Ed. Societ de l'Hist. de France). See also BERGIER *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, vol. i, p. 462, in verb. "*Celibat.*"

* The following account of these *religious reformers* is given by the Revd. Alban Butler:

"Adalbert, a Frenchman, pretended to know the secrets of hearts, gave his own hair, and the parings of his nails as relics, and wrote his own life, filled with absurd pretended miracles, enthusiasm and pride. The other called Clement, a Scotsman, rejected the canons or the ecclesiastical laws, taught that Christ in his descent into hell delivered all the souls of the damned: he also held heterodox opinions concerning predestination. Saint Boniface, in a council in Germany, condemned them both in 742; Carloman caused them to be confined in close prison." *Lives of Saints.* Vol. vi. p. 740. See. *Act. Sanct.* Jun.) Vol. i. p. 470, *(c.)* 474, *(a.b.)*.

† *Vit. S. Bonifac.* Vol. ii. p. 170.

were promulgated, and such wise provisions adopted, as were calculated to guard against the introduction of new errors. Boniface's next care was to establish new Bishoprics in Germany.*

Upon Pepin being elevated to the throne of France, in the year 752, he was anointed as king, by the hands of Archbishop Boniface.† It was with the consent of Pepin, that Bonifaee ordained Lullus as his successor, for he felt the weight of years pressing down upon him, and rendering

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* *Vit. S. Bonifac.* pp. 170, 171, 172. "Pope Zachary subjected to the new metropolitan Church of Mentz the bishopric of Tongres, Cologne, Worms, Spire, Utrecht, Strasburg, Ausburg, Constance and Coire; for Triers was then comprised in France. Shortly after Cologne, and in process of time many other churches were raised to the dignity of Archbishoprics, though in honour of St. Boniface, Mentz has always retained the primacy." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. vi. p. 742.

† *Act. Sanct.* (JUN.) Vol. i. p. 488. *(e).* BARONIUS. Vol. xii. p. 563.

To this fact may be added, that it was in consequence of the preaching of St. Boniface, the brother of Pepin, Prince Carloman imitated the conduct of so many Anglo-Saxon Kings, by renouncing the world—abandoning its power, and forsaking its riches to become an humble monk in Mount Cassino, where "he chose and discharged with great cheerfulness the meanest offices, often served in the kitchen, kept the sheep of the monastery, and worked like a day labourer in the garden." See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.* Vol. vi. pp. 740, 741. BARONIUS. Vol. xii. pp. 539 to 547. A.D. 747, *Chronica* Regia S. Pantaleon; Riccobaldi Ferrariensis Historia; ECCARD. Corp. *Histor. Medii. Ævi.* pp. 836, 1149. EGINHARD. *Annal.* A.D. 746. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France.* Lib. v. c. 28. Chron. Centulens. Lib. ii. c. 2. Chron. Virdunens. Brev. Chron. S. Medard Vit. S. Medard Vit. S. Burchard L. du Four. Annal. in *Rer. Gall et Franc. Script.* Vol. ii. pp. 363, 366, 367, 662, 671, 706. in the same vol. Hepidan. Annal. A.D. 745. Chron. S. Benign. Divion. A.D. 747. Chron. Herman. A.D. 747. Mirac. S. Benedict. c. 14, 15.

him incapable of performing the many duties, attached to his holy office.*

Freed from the Archiepiscopal burden, Boniface determined to conclude his missionary labours in Friesland, where he had first commenced them. As he was about to depart, he thus addressed his successor Lullus:

"I cannot understand the desire, that moves me to "make this journey. I feel, that the day of my dissolu- "tion is fast approaching, and that the time must soon "come, when released from the prison of the body, I "may hear the final determination of Him, who has been "the witness of my labours. To you, my dearest son, "I leave the completion of the church, which I have "commenced in Thuringia—to you I confide the finish- "ing of the church at Fulda;† for there it is, in the

* Vit. S. Bonifac. Vol. ii. pp. 172, 173. ECCARD. *Corp Hist.* pp. 141, 1149.

† "To assist him in planting the spirit of meekness and Christian piety amid a fierce and uncivilised nation, St. Boniface invited over from England many holy men and religious women. Among these were St. Wigbert, St. Burchard, St Willibald and St. Lullus; and among the holy virgins were St. Lioba, our saint's cousin, St. Thecla, St. Walburge, Bertigita, and Conbruda, to whom he committed the direction of several nunneries, which he erected in Thuringia, Bavaria, and other places. In 746 he laid the foundation of the great abbey of Fuld or Fulden, which continued long the most renowned seminary of piety and learning in all that part of the world." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vi, p. 742.

Of Fulda and its inhabitants, the following description is given by St. Boniface, in a letter addressed to the arch-chaplin of King Pepin.

"Sunt enim pene omnes peregrini; quidam presbyteri, per multa loca ad misisterium ecclesiae et populi constituti; quidam sunt monachi, per celullas nostras; et *infantes, ad legendum literas ordinati;* aliqui seniores, *qui longo tempore mecum viven-*

" course of some years, you will have to deposit my re-
" mains. And now, I beseech you, prepare all things that
" you deem necessary for me to have in travelling; and
" amongst them be mindful to deposit in the same chest,
" in which my books are placed, the linen in which these
" wasted limbs will be wrapped, when life has departed
" from them."*

Upon revisiting Friesland, many thousands of men, women and children were baptised by him: new churches were built; and a new bishopric established. At last, he arrived with his missionary priests and attendants upon the banks of the river Bordne. Here a tent was raised by him, as a place convenient for administering the sacraments, to those inhabitants of the district, who had recently been converted by him to Christianity.

Instead of the persons he hoped for, he beheld the place invested by a hostile band, who made their approach known by the clang of armour, the brandishing of their spears, and the clashing of their shields. The attendants of the Bishop seized their swords, and determined to defend their master against the raging foe, who were fast advancing towards him.

The moment the noise of the tumult reached the ears of Boniface, he took up the relics of Saints, which he always carried with him,† and accompanied by his clergy,

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tes laboraverunt et me adjuverunt. De his omnibus solicitus sum, ut post obitum non disperdantur." *Act. Sanct.* (Jun.) vol. i, p. 490. *(c.)* LABBÆUS, vol. vi, p. 1528.

*An account of St. Lioba, and other English saints will be found in Harpsfield, p. 124, and the *Britannia Sancta*, vol. ii, p. 145.

* *Vit. S. Bonifac.* vol. ii, pp. 173, 174.

† " Sumptis Sanctorum reliquiis, quas secum indesinenter habere consueverat." *Vit. S. Bonifac.* Vol. ii. p. 175.

he walked outside the tent, and thus addressed those he saw equipping themselves for battle:—*

"Forego, my children, all thoughts of war: for the "Scripture bids us not return evil for evil; but to do "good, to those who hate you. At last, the wished for "day is come: now is the time of my dissolution at hand. "Comfort yourselves in the Lord; and whatsoever He "will graciously permit, do you patiently endure. Hope "in the Lord, and He will be your deliverer."

He then turned to the Priests, Deacons, and other orders of religious men, who were with him, and thus spoke:—

"Now brethren, be of good heart; be not dismayed by "those, who can slay the body, but cannot kill the soul. "Rejoice in the Lord! fix on Him the anchor of your "hope, who can, on the instant, give you an eternal re- "ward, and make you at once a fellow citizen of the "angels in heaven. Despise the delights of this world; "scorn the fleeting flattery of paganism; courageously "suffer death, in order that you may reign with Christ, "for ever and for ever."

Whilst he was thus meekly encouraging his disciples

* Upon the fact of the bishop's servants arming themselves to defend their lives, Wagenaar makes a malignant attempt to show, that Boniface's mission to the Frisians ought to be regarded rather as a military expedition, than a simple unsupported effort of a pious priest to convert heathens to the true faith. Wagenaar has however the honesty to admit, that amongst other abuses which Boniface had laboured to correct, was that of men clothed with the episcopal robes, taking any part in military expeditions:—

"—onze Bisschop zig immers te ernstig en te openlyk tegen de Krygvoerende Bisschoppen verklaard hadt om Zelf de Wapenen te gebruiken." *Vaderlandsche Historie.* Vol. i. p. 415.

to receive the crown of martyrdom a furious band of armed Pagans burst into the Christian encampment, and in a moment afterwards their swords were red with the blood of the Saints! The work of butchery was completed in an instant, and then they seized upon the chests and caskets, in which there were books, and relics, fancying they had obtained in them an immense treasure.

The Pagans next made themselves drunk with wine; then quarrelled as to the division of the spoil; and finally the same weapons, which had produced the deaths of martyrs, were turned by their slayers against the hearts of each other. A general massacre took place. Its few survivors pounced upon the spoil which was the cause of the conflict; but upon opening the chests, they found not gold, but volumes, and in place of silver all they held in their hands were the sacred writings.* The Pagans finding themselves destitute of that wealth which they had sought for, scattered the manuscripts about; some they cast on the ground, others they hid in the sedgy banks of the river, and more they concealed in different places.

Of these things thus treated, all that belonged to St. Boniface were, by the gracious permission of Heaven, recovered, and are still to be seen, to the edification of the faithful.†

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* "Pro auro volumina, pro argento divinæ scientiæ charta repererunt." *Vit. S. Bonifac.* vol. ii, p. 177,

"Sanctus autem Præsul hoc singulari miraculo in sua passione claruit, quod cum ictu gladii percussoris in sacrum caput ejus, codicem sacri Ewangelii, *quem manu gestare solebat,* interposuisset, liber ipse incedebatur, sed nulla libri litera incisa videbatur." Martini Fuldensis Chronicon—ECCARD, *Corp. Histor. Med Ævi.* vol. i, p. 1646.

† *Vit. S. Bonifac.* p. 174, 175, 176, 177.

"Three books are still preserved in the monastery of Fuld,

In the year 725 St. Boniface addressed the following letter to the nun Eadburga.*

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or, Fulden; namely *a book of the Gospels* writ in St. Boniface's own hand; a copy of a Harmony or Canons of the New Testament and a third book, which is stained with the martyr's blood. The body of St. Boniface was first carried to Utrecht, thence to Mentz, and lastly to Fuld, where it was deposited by St. Lullus, as the Saint himself had desired. *It is to this day regarded as the greatest treasure of the monastery.*" BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. vi. p. 744.

The following reference to the martyrdom of St. Boniface will show, that in religion—reformed England, there is not the same veneration for the memory of this great and good Anglo-saxon.

"Winifred who was born here (Crediton), was legate under several popes, and suffered martyrdom A.D. 354" (755) "on the 5th of June. *The Frisians murdered him for his money*, but found only relicks and books which they threw into the river." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*. Vol. i. p. 54. (Gough). In Camden, p. 166. (Ed. 1600) nothing like these phrases can be found. They belong to Leland, which we give, for the sake of the last sentence, *not translated by the Editor of Camden*:—

"Hoc constat Frisios occiso, spe potiundi thesauri Bonifacio, excussisse ejas cistas et manticas omnes, nec aliud prætor reliquias et libros invenisse; quos illi nulla mora in vicinum fluvium projecerunt. *Illa fuit Bonifacii libris dies ultima.*" LELAND *de Scriptoribus Britannicis*. p. 128.

* The patience of the reader, it is humbly hoped, will not be taxed too severely, by the perusal of this letter. Its authenticity cannot be doubted. As the composition of St. Boniface, it is worthy of being read by his countrymen; independent of any consideration due to it, on account of the subject on which it treats; being to the religious one of interest, and to those who are not so, at least, a matter of curiosity. The "*philosopher*" may denounce St. Boniface as "superstitious," as "pitiably credulous," for gravely narrating the wild vision of a brother monk; but even so, it is of importance, as a an historical fact to know what things were believed in the Eight Century—what were the subjects of correspondence, and conversation in the olden time—what were the topics on which the much-abused monks, wrote to the much-slandered nuns. A popular belief,

"You ask me, my dearest sister, to send you in writing, an account, such as I heard it, from the venerable

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a speculation, a superstition, or a mania is, or ought to be, as carefully noticed by an historian, as a battle, or a change of dynasty.

Deeply impressed with this truth, we translate the letter of St. Boniface to the Abbess Eadburga, being utterly regardless, whether or not it may excite the sneers of those, who have faith in man, and little belief in God—whose hearts in these days are so hardened in money-seeking, and money-getting, that they esteem the asceticism of religion as "absurdity"—its generous martyrs as "fools," its holy priests, as "hypocrites," and who reverence "selfishness" as wisdom, and the "political trickster" as a "demi-god." We envy not such persons their creed or their opinions. They may regard St. Boniface with contempt, for the letter to be found in the text; and yet, what is the difference between them and him? He believed in the omnipotence of God, they in the omnipotence of matter. They sneer at him, because he believed that God created the world out of nothing; and yet how many amongst themselves firmly believe, that a man can manufacture insects out of that, in which there does not exist a germ of animal life?

Assuredly, it is not profane to say of such persons, they "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." We do not seek to justify ourselves to them, but as proofs that such a statement as St. Boniface has detailed, found believers in his time, long prior to his days, as well as in succeeding years we refer to the works of St. Gregory, vol. ii, pp. 432, 433, 936. BEDA, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii, c. 19, §. 202, 208, Lib. v, c. 12. §. 389, 396. THORPE'S *Codex Exoniensis*, pp. 367, 375. THORPE'S *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 647, 648, *Aurea Legenda* pp. 630, 642. (Ed. Graesse). AIMION, *Hist.* Lib. iv. c. 36. *Gest Dagobert*, c. 44, *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. iii, pp. 362, 659. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i, p, 177, vol. ii, pp. 506, 651, &c., &c.

"This vision" (the vision of Drythelm narrated by the venerable Bede) "of purgatory and hell appears to have furnished the groundwork of the description of those places, which so frequently grace the legends of the middle ages, even as late as the popular 'Shepherd's Calendar' of which there were numerous editions in France and England during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," STEVENSON. (Bede. Vol. i. p. 359, note 23).

Abbess Hildelida, of the wondrous visions, seen by the monk who lately died in the monastery of the Abbess Milburga, and who was afterwards restored to life.

"I give thanks to the Almighty God, that it is in my power, more fully, and completely to comply with your request, than when when you wrote to me; for I have seen the very person himself, to whom you refer. He has come to this place, from across the sea, and I have had from his own lips, a narrative of those stupendous visions, which he saw, when his spirit was released from the body.

"He says, that in consequence of the intolerable agony of the sickness, he had been suffering, the burden of the body was cast off; and the change, he experienced, might be compared to that which would occur to a man, who, waking and having sight, found his eyes covered with a thick bandage; and then, on the removal of the bandage, was able to see clearly, distinctly and plainly that, which had been obscured or utterly unknown to him. Such, he says, was his position. Being freed from the bandages and ligaments of the earthy flesh, he beheld, as it were, the entire earth, with one glance—its seas, its countries, and its inhabitants.

"As he parted from his body, he was received by angels of such transcendent brightness, and splendour, that he could not venture to gaze upon them. They sung, as they took charge of him, in the sweetest tones of music he had ever heard, the words—'Oh! Lord rebuke me not in thy indignation; nor chastise me in thy wrath:" and then, (he continued to say) "they raised me high, high up in the air, and I saw that a burning fire encircled

the entire world—and that from this fire, terrible flames ran to a stupendous height, as if they would, with their burning heat, dissolve into one mass the structure of the universe, had not a holy angel restrained their rage, by impressing upon them the sign of the blessed cross of Christ; for as soon as the sign of the cross encountered the minacious flame, it timidly shrank back to an immense distance.* Notwithstanding this, the torture that I en-

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* "Nisi eam sanctus angelus, impresso signo sanctæ Crucis Christi, compesceret: quando enim in obviam minacis flammæ signum crucis Christi expresserat tunc magna flamma ex parte decrescens resedit." S. Bonifac. *Oper.* vol. i, p. 54.

St. Boniface, in reference to the sign of the cross, thus explains himself in his twelfth sermon:

"Have Christ in your hearts, and the sign of the holy cross on your foreheads. We have many invisible enemies, who seek to impede our progress, who place the snares of perversity in our paths, and who would prevent our advancement in the way of life, by noxious pleasures. Against these, arm yourselves with the sign of the cross of Christ (signaculo crucis Christi); because it is that, which the evil spirits, our enemies, avoid and fear; for by that sign have they been condemned, and we have been freed. Let us commence with it every work; let it be our defence when sleeping, and our guard when waking so that our foe, neither when we rest, nor when we toil, have power to injure us." S. Bonifac. *Oper.* vol. ii, p. 97. (Giles Ed).

"Interea ad Sanctum Aredium coeperunt infirmi confluere, quos, *manus singulis cum vexilla Crucis imponens*, sanitati reddebat. Quorum si sigillatim nomina scribere velim, nec numerare percurrere valeam, nec vocabula memorare." Gregor Turensns *Hist Franc.* Lib. x, c. 29, vol ii, pp. 266.

The last act of the great Charlemagne was in making the sign of the cross. His death scene is thus described by the contemporary panegerist of Louis-le-Debonnaire:—"——jussit familiarissimum Pontificem suum Hiltibaldum venire ad se, ut ei sacramenta Dominici corpus et sanguinis tribueret, ut exitum suum confirmaret, * * sciens quod facturus erat, extensa manu dextera virtute qua poterat, signum sanctae crucis fronti imprimens, super pectus et omne corpus consignavit. Novissime

dured was intolerable, from the terribly ardent heat of the flames, reflected back as it were, in the refulgent brightness of the angels near me, until an angel placing a hand upon my head shaded me, from the supernatural glow and glare of both, and guarded me scathless from the wild conflagration around me.

"He also added, that during the space of time, that he was out of the body, he saw gathered from the flesh, to the place where he was, an immense number of spirits—more than he had before supposed, were to be found on the face of the earth.

"He saw too, as he states, an innumerable crowd of evil-spirits, and a most dazzling choir of heavenly angels. Between the evil spirits and the holy angels, there was a dispute for the souls, as they parted from their bodies—the demons accusing them of their past sins, and seeking to encrease their enormity—the angels on the other hand mitigating and excusing them.

"As to himself, he heard all the sins, that he had ever committed from his youth, and that he had either neg-

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autem colligens pedes suos, extendens brachia et manus super corpus, clausit oculos, psallens hunc versum leniter; in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.' THEGAN, *De Gest. Ludov. Pii. Imp.* c. 7. *Rer. Gall. et Franc.* vol. vi, p. 76.

The dying movement of the great and glorious St. Paula was to impress upon her lips the sign of the cross. These are the words of her biographer, St. Jerome—"Digitumque ad os tenens crucis signum pingebat in labiis." Vit S. Paulae, c. 10. §. 45. See upon the sign of the cross St. Athanasius in the life of St. Anthony, c. 6, §. 36: see also the life of St. John the Almsgiver, c. 10, §. 45, *Act. Sanct.* (Januar) vol. ii, pp. 126, 127, (note b.) 500, 721. In the "Index Moralis," *in verb.* "Crux;" in every succeeding volume, reference will be found made to various miracles effected by making the sign of the cross.

lected to tell at confession, or that he had forgotten, or he did not know to have been sins."*

Even his own voice cried out against him, and unrelentingly accused him! and there seemed a certain vice to part from his person, to thrust itself forward and to say—"I am thy cupidity, because thou hast often wished "for that, which was forbidden and contrary to the laws "of God." A second said "I am thy vain glory where-"with thou didst rejoice to exalt thyself amongst thy fel-"low men." A third exclaimed—"I am the falsehood, "which thou hast sinfully told." A fourth; "I am the "idle word, which thou hast foolishly spoken." A fifth; "I am the contumacy and disobedience, which thou "hast exhibited to thy spiritual superiors." A sixth; "I am thy torpor and sloth in the neglect of holy studies." "A seventh; "I, the vain thought and useless care, with "which thou hast unduly occupied thyself, both in the "church, and out of the church. An eighth; "I am the "heaviness that oppressed thee, when thou hast delayed "to confess thy sins to God." A ninth; "I am thy idle "travelling." A tenth; "I am the negligence and te-"pidity which rendered thee without the desire to pursue "the study of holy books." And so there were many other things done by him in life, that he had neglected to tell in confession.† Many too were the matters, that

* "Et se ipsum omnia audisse flagitiorum suorum propria peccamina quae fecit a juventute sua, et ad confitendum aut neglexit, aut oblivioni tradidit, vel ad peccatum pertinere omnino nesciebat." BONIFAC. *Oper.* vol. i. p. 55.

† "Confiteri neglexit." Vol. i. p. 55. There is also used in the same page, the words "ad confitendum Deo." Lest there should be any mistake, as to the meaning which St. Boniface

had never occurred to him to have been sins, that united together, rose up as accusations, and terrifically denounced him.

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attaches to these words, it is but right to quote a passage, in another of his writings, in which he refers to confession.

"If we confess our sins," says St. Boniface, "and amend our life, and return no more to them, God will cleanse us of our sins, and fill us with heavenly virtues, and make us worthy of the enjoyment of everlasting life, with his angels. But if we conceal our sins, God will, in despite of us, make them known. *Far better is it to confess our sins to one man* than in the tremendous day of judgement, to have them published before all the inhabitants of heaven and earth and hell—to be then stricken with confusion on account of our sins, and that not for our amendment, but to our everlasting punishment."

"*Et melius est uni homini confiteri peccata,* quam in illo tremendo judicio coram tribus familiis, cœli, terræque, et inferorum publicari, et confundi pro peccatis, non ad emendationem, sed ad pœnam perpetuam." S. Bonifac. *Oper.* vol. ii. p. 69.

"Those," he says in another place, "who are not afraid to sin, nor care to confess their sins, nor to amend themselves by penitence, are slaves of the devil; whilst those who are anxious to preserve themselves from sin, or who wash away their sins by confession and penitence, and who rejoice to live according to the commandments of God, these are the beloved children of God, and heirs to his heavenly Kingdom."

Igitur illi qui peccare non metuunt, nec sua peccata curant confiteri, vel per pœnitentiam emendare, servi sunt diaboli &c." Ibid p. 61.

The opinion of the venerable Bede on this great doctrine of the Catholic faith, is, that persons who at the point of death who have confessed their sins, and repented of them, shall be received into the Kingdom of Heaven at the day of judgment. He adds, that though not relieved from the pains of purgatory, yet their suffering may be mitigated, and their punishment abated before the day of judgment, by the alms, prayers, and fasting of the living, but beyond all other things, by masses for the repose of their souls:—"Qui tamen quia *confessionem et poenitentiam* vel in morte habuerunt omnes in die judicii ad regnum coelorum perveniunt. Multas autem preces viventium et eleemosynæ et jejunia, et *maxime celebratio missarum,* ut etiam ante diem judicii liberentur, anjuvant." Beda. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 12, §. 394. See in the life of St. Rembert, a curious incident illustrative of this. Chap. 3. §. 10. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. i. p, 561.

"Evil spirits, coalesced with all his vices, in accusing him, in bearing witness against him, in recalling the times, and the places, in which he had lapsed from virtue, and tendering the proofs of all those offences, which his sins alleged against him

"Along with his other accusers, he also saw a person, that he, when a layman, had wounded, and that he knew to be then still living. Even that person was brought forward to testify to his past evil life; and as he looked upon his former enemy, he saw the wound, his hand had inflicted, gape wide again, and the blood that he had shed cry out against him!

"All these sins and enormities, these errors, omissions and crimes were placed in terrible array against him; and supported by these, the great enemy of mankind claimed the monk, as a sinner, whose doom inevitably ought to be that of everlasting perdition.

"On the other hand, this man said, I found crying out, "and petitioning in my favour all those puny, trifling "acts of virtue, which I had done, however unworthily "and imperfectly.

"One of these, for instance, said, I am the obedience "which he exhibited to his spiritual superiors." A second—"I am the fasting, wherewith he chastised his "body when battling against the desires of the flesh." A third—"I am the pure prayer, which he offered up in the "sight of the Lord." A fourth—"I am his care of the "sick, which he always manifested in his tender treatment "of the ailing." A fifth—"I am the psalm which he "sung as a satisfaction to God, for his idle discourse." And thus did each virtue cry out, in palliation for me, against its opposite sin; and these virtues, the bright

angels, magnified with their praises, in my defence. These self same virtues seemed increased in importance, and even in my own sight, far greater, than I, with my weak power, was ever capable of performing.

" He likewise stated, that looking down to the places beneath; he saw, as it were in this world, many deep pits of fire, belching out terrible flames, and as masses of the igneous element burst from the crackling earth, he saw the souls of unhappy men, like in form to birds of a blackened hue, fluttering through the flames, screaming and crying out in wild notes of horror and lamentation, that were syllabled with the language of mortals, deploring their past demerits, and their present punishment. These beings, he beheld, clinging for a moment to the brinks of the pits, out of which they had risen, and with shrieks of agony, fall back again, helpless, and powerless, into the depths of the burning abyss.

One of the angels then spoke:

" The momentary repose, that you see granted, is an " indication, that the Almighty God will, on the day of " judgment, put an end to the punishment of these souls, " and grant to them everlasting rest.

" But beneath these pits," the man continued—" as if there were others, still far below them, in the lowermost depth, of a still lower hell, I heard the noise and clamour of a horrible, a tremendous, an inexpressible howling, weeping and wailing of sorrowing souls.

And the angel said to him:

" The murmur and lamentations, that you hear rising " up from these far off abysses, come from those souls, " to which the tender mercy of God will never descend; " and that an everlasting fire, will torture to all eternity.

"He next saw a place of wondrous beauty, in which a glorified multitude of most lovely mortals were rejoicing with exceeding joy, and who invited him, if it were permitted to do so, to come and participate in their happiness. As they spoke, his senses were invested in a fragrance, with which every word, that came from the lips of these happy spirits seemed to be embalmed.

"The angels told him, that the place he looked upon was God's Paradise.

"He perceived, that between the place where he stood, and this Paradise, there ran along a river, whose waters were a raging fire, and its waves bubbled up, as if they were of flaming pitch, maddened with intense heat. The only means, by which this appalling stream could be crossed, was by a single piece of wood; and to that, he saw the holy and glorious souls by his side hastening, determined, in their eagerness to get to the opposite bank, to venture upon the dangerous passage. A few, he beheld, pass firmly and steadily over the narrow plank—others lost their footing, and fell into the middle of the flowing river—others tripped, and were for an instant bodily plunged into its fires: others were only immersed in the ardent mass to the knees—others to the shoulders; but all, at last, gained the opposite bank; and all arose with a purified and exalted beauty, which they had not possessed, prior to their immersion, in the liquid fire, of the pitchy river.

"And one of the blessed angels said, with respect to the souls, that were thus seen falling into the river:

"These are the souls of persons, to whom some venial "sins still attached—they were not perfectly pure, and "required some chastisement from the hands of a merci-

"ful God, before they could be worthy of being pre-
"sented to Him."*

Encircled by the fiery river, he beheld afar off shining walls of splendid brightness, of stupendous length, and of immense height.

The holy angels said to him:

"That is the holy and renowned city of the heavenly "Jerusalem, in which the souls of the blessed will be "happy for all eternity."

"He declared, that the souls he saw hastening towards those walls, after passing the river, shone upon him, with such an ardent clearness, and were splendent with such refulgent light, that his eyes were dazzled, and then so blinded by the excessive rays of glory emanating from them, that he could not longer look upon them.

"He also added, that at the gathering together of souls parted from the body, he saw one, who had died discharging the office of an abbot, and who had appeared to have passed a life somewhat too showy and refined. The evil spirits had seized upon this person, and contended, that of right he belonged to them. To this claim, one of the choir of angels replied: "I will speedily convince you, "oh, unhappy spirits, that this soul cannot be within "your power." And as the angel said this, there appeared, on a sudden, a legion of souls in the white garments of innocence, who exclaimed: "This has been our superior "and our teacher—we have all, under his guidance,

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* "Hæ animæ sunt, quæ post exitum mortalis vitæ, quibusdam levibus vitiis non omnino ad purum abolitis, aliqua pia miserentis Dei castigatione indigebant, ut Deo dignæ offerantur." Bonifac. *Oper* vol. i, p. 57.

" been won to God. By this payment of his services is " he redeemed—and by this, may it be known, that his " portion is not with you." And then they began to contend with the demons, for the soul of the abbot, and by the aid of the angels, his soul was released from the claim, which the evil spirits had made on it.

" An angel rebuked the demons, and said: ' Now must " you clearly comprehend, that you have unjustly seized " on this soul; depart, ye miserable sinners, into eternal fire." The moment these words were spoken, the evil spirits, amid loud howling and shrieking, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, cast themselves despairingly downwards into the pits of blazing fire, and sank into their torturing flames; but, in a short time, again emerged to contend for the freshly departed souls, and to disparage their merits, as they were brought to judgment.

"He mentioned, that whilst he was in this state of vision, he was able to distinguish the morality of those, who were still on this earth, and animated with life; for those, who were not prone to sin, who acted virtuously, and endeavoured thus to make themselves beloved by God, might be seen guarded and defended by angels, to whom they were united by love and attachment; whilst those who were polluted with abominable crimes, and the filth of an impure life, were constantly associated with an evil spirit, ever inducing them to some new sin. Whenever any such person was guilty of an immorality, whether by word or deed, the evil spirit instantly openly exposed it to the joy and delight of all the other spirits of hell. When such a man sinned, his companion-demon did not wait until he should sin again; but each particular vice was consecutively brought under the special notice of all evil

spirits—no sooner was the prompted sin perpetrated, that it was instantly proclaimed, and testified by numberless witnesses.

"He saw upon the earth, a young maiden working at a mill, who was attracted by the appearance of a trifling article, the property of another, then lay hands upon it, and steal it; and the moment the theft was perpetrated five most foul and hideous spirits rose from the earth to bear testimony against that girl, that she was a thief and a sinner.

To this incident, he added another. "I saw," he said, "the miserable soul of a certain person, who had died a short "time before, and at whose death I myself administered "as a priest, and performed for him the last offices. "This person when dying, commanded me to testify to his "brother that he should, for the repose of his soul, give "freedom to a particular female slave, who was the com- "mon property of both. The avarice of the brother had "interfered with the prayer of the dying; and for this, the "spirit now appeared, and with loud complaints accused "the soul of the unfaithful brother.

"He also gave this testimony, with regard to Ceolred king of the Mercians, and who, at the time, that these things were seen, was most certainly in the body. He saw this king, defended by the angels, from the attacks of the demons, by means of a shield, or covering, that was spread out before him like an immense book. The demons were observed, to pray and beseech of the angels, to remove that guard from the king, in order that they might exercise every species of cruelty upon him. The demons imputed to him a vast number of horrid and abominable crimes, and, with threats, declared that he should be in-

carcerated in the most dire dungeons of hell, and that there according to his demerits, he should be agonised with never ending torments. Then the angels, sadly exclaimed—"Alas! what a sinful man must be this, "when for his own merits, we can no longer give him "any aid." The defence, which had previously preserved him, was removed; and at the moment, there gathered together from all parts of the world, demons in far greater number, than this man had supposed, there were mortals living on the earth; and all pounced down upon the king to assail him, with tortures of every kind and degree.*

"The blessed angels commanded this man, that all these things, which he had either seen or heard in spiritual contemplation, should, when restored to the body, be narrated by him to those who had faith, and who with a pious intention, asked him respecting them; but that he should refuse telling anything to those disposed to indulge in sneers.† They likewise directed him to go to a certain woman, who lived in a place, far distant from his own, to tell to her all her sins, and to intimate, that if she wished, she could, by making due satisfaction for them, reconcile herself to her God. As to himself, they bid him go to a particular priest, declare to him all these

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* That a monk should have this vision, with respect to Ceolred, cannot be a matter of surprise, when it is remembered, that he was amongst the first of "English Reformers." It was by Ceolred and Osred of Northumbria that the privileges of the church were first invaded, and its monasteries despoiled of their property. Of both, like Henry VIII, could it be said, that they had distinguished themselves, "in superstitione et adulterio * et fractura monasteriorum." Bonifac. *Oper*, vol. i, p. 137.

† "Credentibus et intentione divina interrogantibus manifestare non dubitaret: insultantibus autem, narrare penegaret."

visions, and according to his judgment let them be known to men. With regard to his own sins, which had been imputed to him, by the foul and evil spirits, he was to confess them, and amend them according to the judgment of that priest.* As a proof to the priest, that what he said, was by the command of an angel, he was to mention this fact relating to himself, viz, that the priest had, without the knowledge of a human being, worn, from his love of God, an iron girdle for many years around his body.

"The man added this circumstance, that whilst he was out of his body, he regarded it with horror—that in all his visions, nothing had appeared so odious, nothing so abominable, nothing so foul as it, with the exception of the demons, and the rancid, burning flames. He even felt a disgust for his brethren, because he saw them treating with such care and tenderness his own hateful corpse.

"In obedience to the command of the angels, he returned, at six o'clock in the morning to the body, from which his spirit had departed three hours previously.†

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* "Propria quoque peccata, quæ illi a spiritis immundis imputata fuerunt, confessa, supra dicti presbyteri judicio emendaret."

† "Jussus tamen ab angelis primo diliculo redit ad corpus, qui primo gallicinio exierat de corpore." BONIFAC. vol, i p. 60.

"This is the Grecian method of computation *metaxu alektrophōnias kai prōias*, between the hours of three and six in the morning. It must be recollected, that before the distribution of time into hours, minutes and seconds, the day and night were divided into eight equal portions containing three hours each, and this method was continued long after by historians." *Notes Mr. Ingram on the Saxon Chronicle*, p. 84.

Upon his body being restored to life, a full week however passed away, before he was able to see; and during that time, his eyes frequently shed tears of blood. Afterwards in a conference with the religious priest, and the sinning woman, he tested the truth, by their admissions, of what had been manifested to him. The death of the wicked king, which subsequently occurred, and which he had seen, proved the accuracy of these visions, beyond a doubt.

"Many other things like to these, (he added,) had been shewn to him, but which, from want of memory, he could not distinctly nor accurately narrate. He also said, that since he had seen these wondrous visions, his memory was not as good, as it had been previously.

"All these things, which I have now written, in accordance with your desire, he mentioned to me, in the presence of those religious, and very venerable brothers; and who are faithful witnesses, and securities for its accuracy.

"Farewell, virgin of the true life, may your existence here be that of an angel, so that in another world, you may rightly and duly reign for ever, in the kingdom of Christ."*

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* Bonifac. *Oper.* Epistola xx. Bonifacius Eadburgæ. Vol. i, pp. 53 to 61.

The preceding letter of St. Boniface is taken from his works, as edited by the Revd. J. A. Giles, L.L.D., and formerly a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. This reverend gentleman has dedicated his book to Dr. Phillpotts, who will, we fear, be much longer remembered by the public as a political pamphleteer, than he ever has, or ever will be respected, as a bishop of "the church as *by law* established." Such however is not the opinion of the Revd. J. A. Giles, for he compares Dr.

Phillpots to St. Boniface! he even declares that incorporated in the body of the Rt. Revd. Dr. Phillpotts the spirit of St. Boniface rests upon the face of this earth! But, if men should doubt that Phillpotts—Exeter's titular Bishop, personates Boniface, still we have in Boniface's epistles (one of which is translated above) the concentrated essence of the Catholic Bishop's spirit!

These are the words of the Revd. Dr. Giles, as addressed to the Rt. Revd. Henry, Bishop of Exeter.

"At non cum sanguine effuso anima immortalis periit: *vivit in coelo spiritus ipsius patris: immo in terra, dum sub tuæ paternitatis moderamine* Ecclesia Exoniensis, tot sæculis elapsis, *priscam laudem suam exæquat:* vivit in terra spiritus Sancti Bonifacii, in iis scilicet epistolis, quas apostoli instar, in Germania pro Christo exulans, amicis suis in Anglia viventibus direxit." *Epistola Dedicatoria,* vol. i, pp. 1, 2.

It is quite true, that St. Boniface was born in Devonshire, and educated at the monastery in Exeter, and that Dr. Phillpotts is "Bishop" of Exeter, and has a habitation somewhere in Devonshire; but beyond these coincidences, it would be difficult, for any one, (but a clergyman of the established church, perhaps) to discover a similiarity between the apostle of Germany, and "the surplice" bishop of the modern stiff-necked Damnonii.

As yet, the world has never heard, that Dr. Phillpotts has expended his precious time, in founding monasteries, in building nunneries, in discountenancing the marriages of clergymen, in carrying about with him the relics of saints, in acknowledging our Holy Father the Pope, as his spiritual superior, in visiting the poor, in denouncing the vices of his kings, (and he had many opportunities, for he has lived under more than one bad king) in begging the prayers of the faithful for the souls of his departed brother saints, in desiring that masses should be offered up for them. (Similiter, ut pro dormientum fratrum animabus, qui nobiscum laborabant in domino orationum adjuvamina, et missarum solemnia faciatis precamur, quorum nomina gerulus harum literarum demonstravit." Vol. i. p. 201)

All these things were done by Bishop Boniface. We believe that every one of them has been left undone by Bishop Phillpotts; and if he regard them as virtues, he has concealed the knowledge of his participation in them, from his contemporaries. with wondrous art, or miraculous humility. He has not, it must be acknowledged, converted, as yet, to the true faith his hundred thousand English, as Boniface did the hundred thousand Germans. (Vol. i, p. 97).

There are, we admit, two things, in which Dr. Phillpotts resembles, in a slight degree, Bishop Boniface—first in recom-

mending the wholesome practice of confession, and next—in his martyrdom. Dr. Phillpotts has advised confession, but has not stated the names of those duly authorised to give absolution; and Dr. Phillpotts did suffer martyrdom heroically upon one occasion. It was at that interesting period of his life, when he was a Dean, and sacrificed, as if they were so many Pagan Frisians, his publicly expressed opinions, on the Catholic question. And Dr. Phillpotts has been rewarded—even in this miserable vale of tears—with a mitre!

CHAPTER X.

The Reign of Offa and decline of the Mercian Kingdom.

Offa ascends the throne of Mercia. Account of Queen Drida. Eadbert King of the Northumbrians resigns the crown and becomes a monk—is appointed to a Canonship, by his brother, the Prince and Archbishop Egbert. Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury—Account of Bregwin his successor. Review of the events in Northumbria to its decline. Letter of Alcuin. Iambert Archbishop of Canterbury deprived of a portion of his privileges by Offa. An Archbishop of Lichfield appointed. Victories won by Offa. Letters of Offa and Charlemagne. Queen Werburga dies as an Abbess. Cynewulf King of the West Saxons—an account of his death. Legates sent from the Pope to England—the Council of Calcluith. Brithric King of the West Saxons married to Edburga daughter of Offa. First invasion of the Danes. Queen Ricdritha dies as an Abbess. The criminal life of Edburga—her miserable death—the title of Queen suppressed by the West Saxons Ethelbert King of the East Angles, his piety and charity—becomes a suitor for the hand of the Princess Alfleda, daughter of King Offa—plot of Queen Drida for his assassination—martyrdom of St. Ethelbert—his betrothed, the Princess Alfleda

becomes a recluse at Croyland. Queen Drida banished—her miserable death. Offa determines upon restoring the Church of St. Alban—the body of the Protomartyr discovered. Offa visits Rome—Establishment of Peters' pence in his dominions —obtains absolution from the Pope. Lindisfarne laid waste by the Danes. The prophecy of Alcuin. The Danes destroy the monastery of Weremouth—driven back upon the English coast and destroyed. Death of Offa. Premature death of his son Egfrid. The See of Canterbury restored to its former privileges. Lay Monasteries prohibited. The church and monastery of Winchelcombe dedicated by Cenulf King of the Mercians—the festival commemorated by the restoration of a Captive King to liberty. The martyrdom of the boy Saint, King Kenelm. Decline of the Mercian Kingdom.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 755—821.

THE reign of Offa, King of the Mercians, commenced in the year 755, with the expulsion of Beornred, from the throne he had usurped.* The people of the Mercian nation rose in insurrection against Beornred, because he governed them, not in accordance with the laws; but as a tyrant.† All these assembled together, the noble as well as the ignoble under the guidance of a most valiant youth, Offa, and one of the descendants from the famed race of Woden.‡ As soon as the despot was driven beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, Offa was, with the unanimous consent of all the clergy as well as the people, crowned as king.¶

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* *Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 755. *Chron. Mailros*, A.D. 757. H. HUNT. p. 342.

† "Pro eo quod populum non æquis legibus sed per tyrannidem gubernaret." ROG. DE WEND.

‡ See Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 235, where the genealogy of Offa is traced up to Adam!

¶ "Unanimi omnium consensu prædictum Offam in regem

The reign of Offa lasted for nine and thirty years. He was a man possessed of extraordinary genius; for whatever he determined upon accomplishing he was certain to find the means of carrying into full effect. In considering his conduct, however, the mind will be often puzzled to decide, whether he was more deserving of praise, or his memory of infamy. In one and the same man, vices will be found, now palliated by virtues, and these virtues rendered odious, by being commingled with vices. His character is perfectly Protean; and presents to him, who contemplates it, at each moment, a different aspect.*

Contemporaneous with power being vested in the hands of Offa, as King of the Mercians, peace was firmly established amongst the people, and their happiness secured. The laws were enforced, and the nobles, who had been expelled by the tyrant Beornred, were enabled to return to their homes.

At this time, Charles the great and victorious sovereign of France ruled over that country. A female relative of his, Drida, a woman as remarkable on account of her beauty, as her wickedness, had been, for the perpetration of a flagitious crime, condemned by the judges of the

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tam clerus quam populus coronarunt." Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 234, 235. The words in which he was addressed upon being elevated to the throne, are given by Matthew of Paris:

"Nequaquam comes, sed Rex noster eris magnificus, hoc enim sanguis regius expostulat, et merita tua hoc multipliciter præcesserunt," &c. *Vit. Off.* p. 12.

* W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 86. In the text is paraphrased the line from Horace—"Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo (Lib. i, Ep. i) which is adapted by Malmsbury to his purpose.

land to suffer an ignominious death; but in consideration of her near connexion with the monarch, she was spared the shame of a public punishment, and her person committed to an open boat, in which, without oars or sails, and with but a scanty stock of provisions, she was exposed to all the chances, dangers and casualties of the ocean and the storm.*

Accident, or her own good fortune, impelled the boat, which was drifting about for some time in the sea, to that part of Britain over which Offa was the acknowledged sovereign. She was received by his subjects, and immediately conducted by them to his presence. She stated, in answer to his questions, that her name was Drida; that she was related by blood to the King of France; but the persecution of a base wretch, whose tender of marriage she had rejected with scorn, had exposed her to the danger, from which she had escaped. Then bursting into tears, she added—"but God who "frees the innocent from the snares of the wicked, has "now happily placed me, under the wings of your pro- "tection—has changed my misery to joy, has made me "feel more charmed with my exile, than I ever felt in "the land, that gave me birth."

The King was pleased with the manners, the language, and the appearance of the fair stranger, and desired that she should be confided to the care of his mother, the Countess Marcellina, until he had determined, what course he ought to pursue with respect to her.

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* That Charlemagne was unfortunate in the female members of his family is a fact confirmed by more than one historian. See EGINHARD. Vit. Kar. Mag. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. v. p. 97. Vit. Ludov. Pii. c. 21. vol. vi, p. 97.

In the course of a few days, the pallor, which had covered her features, had disappeared—the fatigue and anxiety of her perilous voyage had vanished—her pristine beauty was restored, and she seemed one of the most lovely of her sex. Her charms consisted in her features; for her mind was filled with pride, and her haughtiness was so irrepressible, that it could not be restrained even towards the noble lady, who had received her as a guest. For the sake of Offa, his mother endured this treatment with patience; but when the King visited Drida, and captivated by her transcendant beauty, espoused her as his wife; when he hurried into a clandestine marriage, without consulting his parents or the nobles of his Kingdom, then the shock was too great for the Countess Marcellina. In the course of the same year, she and her husband expired—the same year in which Offa had allied himself to a Frenchwoman, forced by her crimes to become an exile from her country.!*

In the year 757, Eadbert King of the Northumbrians received the tonsure.† From the time, that he had grasped the sceptre, he had distinguished himself as an able monarch, well fitted to hold the empire with which

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* Matth. Paris, Vit. Off. pp. 12, 13. In his marriage with Drida, there was nothing extraordinary, considering the manners of the olden time—for instance, Belechilde was married to King Theodobert, although purchased for her beauty from slave merchants—"Achetée de marchéans, pour ce que elle estoit trop belle." Les *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Liv. iv. c, 16. Bathildes, an English slave was married to Clovis II. and the wife of Adilus, was Yrsa, of whom, it is said, that she was the fairest, noblest, finest woman in her husband's kingdom. Ynglinga Saga, c. 32, Snorro, vol. i, p. 38.

† *Sax. Chron.*

he was invested—to win the respect of his adversaries, and to command the obedience of his subjects. He lived in the midst of those, who, like the Saxons, envied his power; or, as the Picts, the Welsh, and the Scotch, either were his subjects or had been conquered in war. All these were alike emulous to be on terms of amity, or to yield him a due obedience. So great was his renown and so widely extended the respect felt for his prowess, that even Pepin the King of France had sought for his friendship, and testified his regard, by many presents, worthy of a monarch to give, and a sovereign to receive.

It was in the twenty first year of his reign, in the very prime of his popularity and his power—in the midst of peace—in the enjoyment of every dignity, sustained by the love, and regarded by the respect of all, that he determined to resign the throne to his son Oswulf, and in the clerical habit, to announce himself, as alone devoted to the service of God.

Many of the Saxon kings, as soon as they were informed, that Eadbert had determined upon the adoption of such a course, used their utmost efforts to prevent him from carrying it into effect. They even tempted him with the sacrifice of a portion of their own lands, as an extension to his kingdom, provided he would consent to retain the crown.

The resolution of Eadbert was not to be shaken by such offers. He preferred the service of God to all the riches and kingdoms of the earth.* He was shorn as a monk

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*S. Dunelm *Histor. de Dunelm Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 3, p. 11. Harpsfield. pp. 146, 148.

at York, by his brother, the Archbishop Egbert, by whom he was ultimately made a canon.* For ten years —to the close of his life—he was an inmate of the monastery, and at his death, his remains were placed by the side of his brother the Archbishop, who had expired three years previously.†

Eadbert, rivalling his brother in piety, by his abandonment of the world, consigned his throne to his son Oswulf, who was the same year unjustly slain by his subjects.‡

In the year 758, died Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury.§ Previous to his elevation to the Archiepiscopal see, Cuthbert had been Bishop of Hereford. He received the pall from the hands of the Pope, in Rome, and, at the same time, obtained from his Holiness,¶ full power, that for the future, the Archbishops of Canterbury should be interred within its metropolitan church; and likewise that a cemetery might be established within the walls of the city. It had been the practice, previous to his time, for the Kings, the Archbishops, and the monks, as well as the people, to be buried at the monastery of St. Augustine; for the Roman missionaries who first introduced Christi-

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* *Chron. Mailros.* A.D. 758.

† S. DUNELM. pp. 11, 106.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 72. "A suis nequiter occisus apud *Wethelwongtune.* IX. Kal. Augusti" is the expression in the Chronicle of Mailros. The *Saxon Chronicle* mentions, that he was slain by his servants, "and hine ofslogon his hiwan." A.D. 757.

§ *Sax. Chron.* As to the date of his death, and the number of years he held the primacy, See Ang. Sac. vol. i, p. 95.

¶ This is contradicted by THORN *Chron.* pp. 1772, 1773.

anity into the country were opposed to interments within the towns, declaring them to be the habitations of the living, and not the resting places of the dead. This custom was now for the first time departed from, through the procurement of Cuthbert, by the authority of Pope Gregory, and with the assent of King Eadbright.*

Cuthbert considered, that the Archbishops of Canterbury ought to be interred in that church, over which they had personally presided with honor, to themselves, whilst living. For many years, he ruled his Archdiocese with great advantage to the church, for whose benefit many wise and useful regulations were made.‡ By the ecclesiastical council, over which he presided, it was determined that the anniversaries of the deaths of St. Gregory, the Pope, and of St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, should be

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* This simple circumstance is involved in the great controversy, as to whose are the most fitting hands, by whom supreme ecclesiastical authority should be exercised—the Popes or Cæsars. The question itself will be found well discussed in COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, pp. 311, to 319. As far as England is concerned the point is determined against Collier, by his editor, in the following manner:

"Our *national* kings are *in virtue of God's appointment*, DIVINE and *ecclesiastical* characters in Britain, as much as the Pope can be in Italy." Vol. i, p. 318, note i.

Amongst these *national* kings we have had one *Dutchman*, and two *Germans*. As to their being monarchs by "God's appointment," it is a point not so plain, as that William III. was greatly indebted to his Dutch troops for his ascent to the throne; and that an Oligarchy, and not the People, secured it to him and his successors, amongst whom, were counted as "*divine*" in their aspirations, and "*Ecclesiastical*" in their habits, the Georges, First, Second and Fourth!

† It was by him, and in accordance with the advice of St. Boniface, that the Council of Cloveshoe was held. See the letter of Boniface. BONIFACE. *Oper.* vol. i. pp. 139 to 147. (Giles.)

celebrated as holidays by the Church in England. By him was built a church in honor of St. John the Baptist, where he and his successors were honorably interred.*

As soon as he felt that the last sickness had fallen upon him, he gave strict orders, that neither his danger should be made known, nor his death announced in any manner, until his body had been consigned to the tomb he had himself selected. His orders were strictly followed. Upon the tolling of the bells, and the open proclamation of his demise, Iambert, the abbot of St. Augustine's monastery, hastened to the Archbishop's residence, for the purpose of removing the body, according to the ancient practice; but when he found, that the Archbishop had been already buried, and that the Papal as well as Royal authority had changed an hitherto established custom, he retired in a state of great agitation to his monastery.†

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* This was close to the larger or Christ's Church, and in it, according to Osbern, and Eadmer, there was a species of Ecclesiastical Court erected—"ut et baptisteria et examinationes Judiciorum pro diversis causis ad correctionem scelerum inibi celebrarentur." *Vit. S. Bregwin. Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 75, 186.

In an account of the inthronization of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, we find, amongst the other ornaments with which the festival table was decorated, that which is called "*a subtiltie*," a description of which illustrates the preceding passage.

"A Churche Abbey lyke, with many altares and a chayre set at the hygh altare, and a Doctor syttynge therein, his backe turned to the altare lyke a Judge of the Arches, with certaine Doctors, and Proctors pleadyng causes of the lawes of the Church before the sayde Judge." "Intronizatio Wilhelmi Warham Archiepiscopi Cantuar," in LELAND'S *Ceollctanea.* Vol. vi. p. 26. (Ed. Hearne).

† GERVAS, *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* pp. 1640, 1641. THORN *Evid.* Eccles. Cantuar. pp. 2209, 2210. See also *Ang. Sac.*

Cuthbert was succeeded in the year 759 by Bregwin* a prelate of distinguished piety, who approved of the change that had been made, with respect to the place of interment, and who sanctioned it by his authority.†

Bregwin was by birth a Saxon, descended from noble parents, and had from the earliest days of infancy manifested a disposition for every devout exercise, which is sanctioned by religion. The fame of the schools of Canterbury, the piety and learning of their professors atracted Bregwin to them as a student. He entered as a scholar; but his intellectual qualifications soon qualified him to become a teacher, whilst his amiable manners so endeared him to all, that he was speedily regarded as a fellow countryman. Advancing daily in the acquirement of knowledge, he seemed at last to have attained the perfection of wisdom; for he resolved upon contemning the world, and all its delights, in order that he might devote himself solely and exclusively to the service of God. Acting upon this determination he changed the secular for the monastic habit—he abjured his rank, renounced his wealth, and became an humble member of a community, individually possessing nothing.‡ In his exterior, he was

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vol. i, pp. 3, 52, 83, 85, 87, 97, 790. LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. ii, pp. 77, 78, 79. (Ed. 1806).

* Sax. Chron.

† *Evid. Eccles. Cantuar.* p. 2210.

‡ "Itaque sæcularem vitam vita monachali commutans habitu sæculari abjecto monachorum sese collegio *nihil habentium* sociavit." EADMER *Vit. S. Bregwin.*

We find nothing more strictly enforced by the Church than the personal poverty of the monks. St. Gregory the Great, the most tender, compassionate, and humane of men, was yet so indignant with one of his monks, in whose possession, when

a monk, and in the inner man, he was a true monk, for he was adorned with every virtue.*

Upon the death of Cuthbert, the eyes of every one were directed towards Bregwin, as the man, who by his piety, his humility, his gentleness, his gravity and his wisdom, was the best suited to preside over the churches in Britain. Notwithstanding his reluctance, he was elevated to the primacy; and he ascended to the Archiepiscopal chair amid the universal acclamations of the clergy and laity.

As long as he governed the church, tranquillity was universally established over the country. The peace of God was on earth, giving peace to men. A blessed and happy father seemed to be placed in the midst of his family, preaching to them the words of life; and his words were obeyed by the people, as the words of a good parent by docile children.

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dying, three pieces of gold were found, that he enforced the monastic discipline, as prescribed by St. Macarius, and had the body of the monk, and his three pieces of gold buried beneath a dunghill. See S. GREG. *Oper. Omn.* vol. ii, p. 465. In 1179, we find the Pope (Alexander III) laying down this rule, with the approval of the Lateran council, "Qui in extremis cum peculio inventus fuerit, nec oblatio pro eo fiat, nec inter fratres recipiat sepulturum." LABBÆUS, vol. x. p. 1514. The decrees of this council are also published in the *Decem. Scriptores* (Gervas) pp. 1446, to 1456.

St. Columba (as quoted by Dr. Lingard in his Anglo Saxon Church, vol. i, p. 186) declares, that it is not merely damnable for a monk to have anything beyond his mere wants, but even to wish for anything more. "Non solum superflua eos habere damnabile est sed etiam velle."

* "Factus ergo monachus ejus exterior homo, cuncta quæ veri monachi sunt, virtutum scilicet ornamenta, amplexus est interior homo." EADMER.

This happiness was not, however, of long duration. Bregwin ruled the church but for three years, and closed a life of virtue to commence one of everlasting happiness. His body was interred in the church of St. John the Baptist, and near to that of his most worthy predecessor and its founder—Archbishop Cuthbert,*

Upon the demise of Oswulf, King of Northumbria, who was unjustly put to death by his subjects,† the vacant throne was taken (A.D. 759) by Mull Æthelwald, who vigorously administered the affairs of the country for eleven years, and was then compelled to yield to the snares of his rival Alhred, to abandon his crown in the year 765.

Alhred, in the tenth year of his reign, was driven by his subjects from the throne he had himself usurped, and Ethelbert, the son of Mull, hailed as their king in 774 was banished by them five years afterwards. Alfwold, his successor, was called by acclamation to wield the sceptre; but he found during his life and at his death, that he reigned over a perfidious people. This innocent monarch was barbarously murdered, (A.D. 789,) and his

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* Abridged from the Life of St. Bregwin, by EADMER. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 184, 185, 186, 187. An account of the miracles accomplished at the tomb of St. Bregwin, will be found in the same volume, pp. 75, 76, 188, 189.

† "A civibus innocenter cæsus." W. MALMSB. Instead of following as usual the annals of the *Saxon Chronicle*, we have considered it better, for the sake of clearness and brevity, to include in this place the account given by Malmsbury, of the frequent convulsions and changes in Northumbria, to its final decline as an independent Kingdom. See Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 72, 73.

body being interred at Hexham, it was said, that many miracles testified the goodness and virtue of the sovereign.

Osred, the son of Alhred, succeeded to the throne ; but a year had scarce elapsed, when he was compelled to vacate it to its former possessor Ethelbert, who returned from a banishment of twelve years to be again a monarch for four years, and then to be basely assassinated. (A. D. 796)*

Upon the murder of Ethelbert several of the Bishops and nobles, horrified at the crimes perpetrated in the country, fled from it. These crimes are thus alluded to in a letter from Alcuin to King Offa.

"In the same manner, as my lord and King Charles "(Charlemagne) had as a testimony of his sincere friend-"ship for you, directed me to send presents to you, and "the Bishops of your kingdom, I was also desired to for-"ward suitable gifts for King Ethelbert and his Bishops ; "but alas! the messengers who have come to us from you, "and who travelled from Scotland have brought us sad "intelligence respecting the guilt of the Northumbrians,

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* Ethelbert, upon his restoration to the throne was guilty of great cruelty. These facts are stated of him in the Chronicle of Mailros.

A.D. 790. "He took Eardulf prisoner, and slew him outside the gate o f he monastery of Ripon. Eardulf was removed by the monks, who were engaged in singing around him until midnight, when it was discovered, that he was restored to life." (Eardulf afterwards reigned as King in Northumbria).

A.D. 791. "King Ethelbert dragged by force the two sons of Elfwald, from York, and cruelly put them to death.

A.D. 792. Osred returned from exile with an army, which deserted him. He was taken prisoner and put to death by order of King Ethelbert.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores. Vol. i. p. 139.

"and the murder of their sovereign. King Charles has "withdrawn his gifts, and he has been so enraged against "the people themselves, who are denounced as perfidious, "perverse, and the base slayers of their monarch—in his "estimation, worse than the Pagans themselves—and he "would, had I not interceded for them, have inflicted "upon them, the most severe punishment it was in his "power to impose."

After Ethelbert no one ventured to grasp the sceptre of Northumbria;* for each preferred obscurity and safety to the uncertain glory, the fleeting power, and the positive danger that awaited a crown, which had been fatal to so many of its possessors. For thirty three years Northumbria was without a ruler. Its name fell into contempt, and its lands and inhabitants became a spoil to the neighbouring kingdoms, as well as to the desolating invasions of the Danes, until at last, with other kingdoms, it was compelled to acknowledge (A.D. 827) the West Saxon Egbert as its sovereign.†

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* "After the death of Aethelberht in 796, Oswald, a Northumbrian noble, was chosen to succeed him; he held the throne but twenty-seven days, when he was deposed, and fled to Lindisfarne, where he became abbot. The government then devolved on Earduulf. After a few years reign he was also banished (A.D. 806) but by the influence of Charlemagne he was restored to his kingdom A.D. 808." HARDY. (W. Malmsb. vol. i, p. 106, note i. E.H.S.) See *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. v, pp. 57, 58, 322, 333, 555, 366, 379, 602, 603.

† W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 72, 73. See also Sax. Chron. H. HUNT. pp. 342, 343. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 236 to 277. CHRON. DE MAILROS. pp. 138, 139, 140, 141. Sim. Dunelm. pp. 11, 12, 117.

Ethelbert King of Kent; and Ceolwulf who had been a king, but became a monk, died in the year 760.* Ethelbert with Edbert and Alric were the sons of the good King Withred, and all had acted as sovereigns, not unworthy of such a father. Edbert reigned for twenty three years, Ethelbert eleven years, and Alric for four and thirty years.† The glories of the two latter reigns were obscured by the accidental burning of the city of Canterbury, and a defeat endured in a battle with the Mercians.‡

In 762 died Bregwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was succeeded in his see by the Abbot Iambert.¶ Against this Iambert a strong aversion was entertained by Offa, King of Mercia, who endeavoured to despoil the see of Canterbury of the primacy it had previously enjoyed, and to make Mercia the seat of an Archbishop. Offa addressed himself, by letters, to Pope Adrian, and endeavoured, perhaps, to render those letters acceptable, by the presents with which they were accompanied. What he desired was, that contrary to the ancient custom, the Bishop of Litchfield should receive the pall; that all the prelates in the different kingdoms, subjected to the Mercian crown, should be subjected to Litchfield, as their Primate—these were the Bishops of Worcester, Leicester, Sidnacester, Hereford, with two Bishops of the East Angles, Elman, and Dunwich. In this object

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* *Saxon Chron.*

† See Mr. Hardy's note on this passage, W. MALMSB. vol. i p. 23, note 7. E.H.S.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 15.

¶ Sax. Chron. *Rog. de Wend.* vol. i, p. 236, A.D. 763

he succeeded, and the Primacy wished for was conferred on Aldulf, the then Bishop of Litchfield, whilst the only prelates subjected to the see of Canterbury were those of London, Winchester, Rochester and Selsey. Iambert firmly opposed this perverse interference with his rights as primate—neither labour, nor expense were spared by him, in asserting the dignity of his see, nor in struggling to defeat the malice of his rich and powerful enemy.*

The deaths of both his parents had filled the heart of Offa

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* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Pont.* Lib. i, pp. 194, 195. The exact period of time, at which this invasion of the rights of the See of Canterbury took place, is disputed. We are told with reference to it, in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 785, that "a quarrelsome synod (geflitfulli sinoth) was holden at Chalkhythe." See LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church,* vol. i, pp. 74, 75. COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History,* vol. i, pp. 319, 320, 321 WILKINS' *Concilia,* pp. 152, 160, 164, 165, 166, 167. *Anglia Sacra,* vol. i, pp. 429, 430, note *p,* and *Epistola Leonis III Papae,* pp. 460, 461, Rad. de Dicet, p. 445.

In the life of Offa, by Matthew of Paris, it is stated that the cause of the King's enmity to Iambert was that the Archbishop had allied himself with the enemies of Offa, and tendered to Charles of France, if he landed in Kent, for the purpose of attacking the Mercian King, a friendly reception, and ready succour. "Favorem et adjutorium." See *Vit Off.* p. 21.

The Canons agreed to at the Council of Calcuith, *under the sanction of the Pope's Legates,* there is one, which if acted upon by the unpaid magistracy of England, would have saved them from many an exposure in the Courts of Parliament, for their injustice, oppression, and cruelty to the poor.

The thirteenth Canon (and here we adopt the abstract given of it by Mr. Collier) "charges the ministers of justice to behave themselves conscientiously in their station, *not to favour any person upon the score of his quality or wealth. Not to despise the poor:* not to transgress the rules of equity, or take reward against the innocent, but to judge in truth and righteousness as the prophet speaks. *This article is enforced from several texts of Scripture.*" *Ecclesiastical History,* vol. i, p. 324.

with grief, but he sought for and found consolation in religion, to which he, at that time, exhibited a strong devotion. His marriage with his queen was blessed in the course of two years with the births of a son (Egfred) and a daughter. Meanwhile Offa, as a sovereign, proved that he possessed great wisdom as a statesman, and great skill, as a general. The neighbouring kings and nations, who were regarded by him, as enemies, were so boldly attacked, that in a short time, he was able to extend very considerably the limits of the Mercian Empire. Happy in his offspring, gifted with great personal endowments, and illustrious by his intellectual qualifications, he was regarded by his foes, as the most formidable enemy they could venture to encounter.*

He defeated in battle the Northumbrians, the West Saxons, and the people of Kent. The battle between him and the King of Kent was fought (A.D., 774) at Otanford, with a frightful slaughter on both sides, but the victory was at length obtained by Offa. Cenwulf, the King of the West Saxons, awaited the attack of the army of Offa at Bensington, (A.D., 775), and was compelled to fly before it. Offa drove the West Saxons from their encampment, and even levelled it to the earth.†

He also conquered in battle the people of Hastings, and rendered them tributary to his power.‡ He next

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* M. Paris, *Vit. Off* p. 13.

† Brompton. *Chron.* p. 776. Rog. de Wend. vol. i. pp. 240, 243. H. Hunt. p. 343. Hoveden. p. 409. *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 774, 7 M. Paris. *Vit. Off,* pp. 15 16.

‡ Offa rex Merciorum Hestingos sibi per arm subegit." *Chron.* Mailros. A.D. 771.

invaded the lands of the Welsh, by whom he was, in the first encounter, defeated, but subsequently exacted from them a terrible vengeance, for he directed all, of that nation, that his soldiers should meet with, excepting females, to be put to death.*

It was by the direction of this king, that an immense foss and rampart were drawn between the kingdom of Mercia and the lands of the Welsh.†

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* M. Paris. *Vit. Off.* pp. 16, 17, 18.

The same author mentions, that upon Offa being defeated by the Welsh, and returning to his home "dolens et inglorious," he ordered the hostages, which had been given to him as a security for peace, then treachously violated, to be fettered as felons, and their wives and children reduced to the lowest state of slavery: "obsides eorum, qui ad reges suos rupto fœdere redierunt, jussit arctioribus vinculis mancipari, uxores et familiam, ultimæ servituti ascribi, vel venundari." (p. 18).

In the wars between Thierry, and Childebert, we are told, that noble personages, who were given as hostages for the maintenance of peace, were under similar circumstances sold as slaves:

"De quoi il avint que les ostages qui estoient donnes et d' une part et d' autre pour la confirmation de la pais, nès et extraits de hautes gens, furent vendus en servitude, entre lesquels Atalus, un noble enfant et extrait de grant lignage, fu vendu à un barbarin en la cité de Treves." The possessor of this noble slave, employed by him as a care-taker of his horses (gardoit les chevaux son seigneur) when asked to name a price for the redemption of the young man, the nephew of a bishop, made this reply: "Cet enfant qui est de se grant lignage ne m' eschapera pas, si je n' ai dix livres d' or pour sa rancon." *Les Grand Chroniques de Franc.* (A.D. 530). Lib. ii. c. 8. See Aimion. Lib. ii. c. 11. Chron. Virdunens—"obsides dati filii senatorum servitio publico sunt addicti. Nam quicumque eos custodientos acceperunt servos sibi fecerunt." *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* Vol. iii. pp. 51, 52, 356. See Ducange, in verb, "*hostagius*" et "*obses.*"

† Asser *de Ælfred.* p. 3. (Camden). Mr. Turner, who has consulted the Welsh writers, gives the following information with respect to Offa's victories in Wales, and the Dyke erected by him.

As soon as Offa had crushed the power of his enemies, in Britain, he determined upon securing his peace with Charles King of France. For this purpose he addressed him a letter to this effect:

"To the most mighty, invincible, and triumphant "Charles, King of the Franks, Offa, King of the Mer- "cians wishes safety, peace and honor.

"At a time, that fame justly declares you to be the "most powerful as well as the most just of the kings of the "earth, it is, assuredly, unworthy alike of your character and "dignity, that you should afford protection to traitors, who "have desired to shake off that allegiance, which they were "bound to give to the sovereign. You have given too "much credit to the tales of my enemies, and you must "have been altogether ignorant of the real facts, when "your majesty wrote to me, desiring that I should spare "those who had so audaciously, and insolently placed them- "selves in opposition to me. It is not proper, that any "one should be a gainer by his own fraud—and it is by

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"The Britons unable to withstand him quitted the open country, between the Severn and the Wye, and withdrew to their mountains. Impregnable among their natural fortresses, they awaited the return of the invaders and then sallied out in new aggressions. To terminate these wasteful incursions, Offa annexed the eastern regions of Wales, as far as the Wye to Mercia, planted them with Anglo Saxons, and separated them from the Britons by a large trench and rampart, extending from the estuary of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye. It was carried through marshes, and over mountains and rivers for an hundred miles, and was long celebrated under the name of Claudh Offa, or Offa's Dyke. Its remains and direction are yet visible. It was used for ages afterwards, as the boundary which determined the confines of England, and Wales; a boundary jealously guarded with the most rigorous penalties." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i. pp. 417, 418.

falsehoods that your compassion has been excited, and that you have been deluded into a pity for those who do not merit it.*

"I pray—I ardently desire, that a sincere friendship, " and a cordial alliance may be established between us, so " that in our mutual concord, the general weal may be " promoted, and the happiness of both nations increased."

Other subjects of complaint, besides those contained in

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* There is no letter extant of a direct application from Charlemagne to Offa, on behalf of persons who fled to his court to escape the vengeance of Offa; but Mr. Turner (vol. i, p. 416. note 38) directs attention to a letter from Charlemagne to Archbishop Athelhard. The Emperor speaks of a person named Vinhringstan, and observes, "To escape the peril of death, he fled to us, but was always ready to purge himself from all infidelity. We kept him with us, not from enmity, but with the hope of producing a reconciliation. As to these, his followers, if you can obtain their peace let them remain in the country. But if my brother answers harshly about them send them to us uninjured. It is better to travel than to perish: it is better to serve in another country than to die at home. But I trust to the goodness of my brother, if you strongly intercede for them, that he may receive them kindly for love of us, or rather for love of Christ." *Epistolae Caroli Magni* viii, Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. v, pp. 624, 625. Amongst these letters of Charlemagne is one, which is deserving of more attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon it. The letter is addressed by the Emperor to King Offa, and states that an Irish priest, settled in Cologne, had been charged with a breach of church discipline, by eating meat in lent—"Quod carnem diebus Quadragesimalibus comedisset." As such person gave an evil example, and degraded the character of the priesthood, Charlemagne desires, that the priest may be tried by the bishop, who had given him ordination, and requests the assistance of Offa in having him transferred, at the first convenient opportunity, to his own country—"idcirco vestram deprecamur providentiam ut jubeatis illum secundum opportunitatem temporis et provectionis in suam transportare patriam, ut ibi judicetur, unde exivit." vol. v. p. 626.

the letter of Offa, were notified on his part, to King Charles, who, acting as a most merciful and Christian sovereign, with the advice of his counsellors, replied in this friendly manner.

"Charles by the Grace of God, King of the Franks "and the Langobards, and Patricius of the Romans, "to his truly venerated and most dear brother, Offa, "King of the Mercians.

"First, we give thanks to God, for the sincerity of "Catholic faith, which we find so laudably manifested "in the pages of your epistles. As to pilgrims, desirous "for the love of God, and the salvation of their own "souls to visit the seat of the apostles, it is my desire, "that they be permitted to travel thither, free from any "disturbance whatsoever. Still, if there be found amongst "these pilgrims, persons not devoted to religion, but who "are journeying in pursuit of gain, we desire, that they "may pay the stipulated taxes, at those places where "they are collected. We also desire, and have commanded "that merchants may have due protection in our "dominions; and that if they should be harassed "by oppression of any sort, they appeal to us, "and to our judges, and full justice shall be done to "them.*

"We desire, next to state to your majesty, that we

* Proofs of the faithful observance of this promise will be found in the Capitularies of Charlemagne. See A.D. 803, c. 22, A.D. 806, c. 6, 11. Rer. Gall. et Franc. vol. v, pp. 667, 677; and as a proof of his anxiety with regard to trade, his definition of usury. Capit. A.D. 806, c. 12, p. 677, and his sumptuary regulation respecting the price of cloaks, A.D. 808, c. 5, p. 679.

"have sent vestments of Dalmatic texture to each of the "Bishops of your kingdom, as well as of the kingdom "of Northumbria, which are intended by us, as pious "offerings for the repose of the soul of the Apostolic "Pope Adrian, beseeching those bishops that they will "pray for him; not, that we have any doubt, that his "blessed soul now rests in peace, but rather as a testi- "mony of our faith and love to him, who was our most "dear friend.* Of the earthy treasure, which our Lord "Jesus, has, out of his gracious pity, conceded to our use, "we have sent a portion to the metropolitan cities.

"To your majesty, we beg to present a belt, a Hun "sword, and two silken cloaks."†

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* "Cognoscat quoque dilectio vetra, quod aliquam benignitatem de Dalmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes Episcopales regni vel Etheldredi, direximus in eleemosynam domini Apostolici Adriani; deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis; nullam habemus dubitationem, beatam illius animam in requie esse; sed ut fidem et dilectionem in amicum nobis carissimum." M. PARIS *Vit. Off.* p. 20.

† "M. PARIS *Vit. Off.* p. 20. This letter is given in the same words in W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 93. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 241, 242. It will be also found in WILKINS *Concilia*, vol. i, 158. We have subjoined it to Offa's, letter, as it appears in Matthew of Paris, although it is manifestly not a reply to that letter, but rather the result of the peace between Offa and Charlemagne, through the mediation of the Catholic deacon, Alcuin. The necessity for such an intercession is referred to in a letter of Alcuin, as quoted by Wm. of Malmsbury—"I know not," says Alcuin, "what is to become of us. Some dissension, which seems to have been fomented by diabolical skill has arisen lately between King Charles and King Offa, so that all communication by sea is forbidden to the merchants on both sides. It is said, that I am about to be sent to England for the purpose of establishing peace." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 91. Roger de Wendover adds, that the letter of Charles was followed by the re-establishment of perfect

From this time forth, the friendship between the two kings continued daily to increase. They entered into alliances with each other—mutual gifts of great costliness and value were exchanged—both kingdoms were strengthened exceedingly, and the prosperity of the inhabitants of both greatly improved.*

In the year 774, there appeared after sun-set a red crucifix in the heavens; and wondrous serpents were seen in the lands of the South Saxons.†

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peace, and the formation of a solid alliance betwēēn the two sovereigns. Vol. i, pp. 241.

The cause of the dispute between Offa and Charles was, that the latter wished to negotiate a marriage between his son and a daughter of Offa, and the latter demanded the hand of one of Charles's daughters (Berta) for his son. This offended Charles. (Chron. Fontanellen. *Rer. Gall. et Franc.* vol. v, p. 315). Dr. Lingard in his *Anglo Saxon Church* states these facts, and then observes: "I have been rather circumstantial in relating this affair, as the cause of dissension between Charlemagne and Offa has eluded the diligence of our national historians from Malmsbury to Mr. Turner." Vol. ii. pp. 206, 207 note 74, (Ed. 1806). The fact however had not escaped the diligence of the Dutch historians. See WAGENAAR'S *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol: i, p. 437. (Amsterdam 1752).

Neither Dr. Lingard nor Wagenaar state the reason, why Charlemagne refused to bestow his daughter in marriage upon the son of Offa. We find it mentioned by Eginhard, as well as the manner, in which the great Emperor had his daughters educated:

"Filias vero lanificio assuescere, coloque ac fuso, ne per otium torperent, operam impendere, atque ad omnem honestatem erudiri jussit. Filiorum et filiarum tantam in educando curam habuit, ut nunquam domi positus sine ipsis coenaret, nunquam iter sine illis faceret. Adequitabant ei filii, filiae vero pone sequebantur. * * * Quae cum purcherrimae essent, et ab eo plurimum deligirentur, mirum dictu quod *nullam earum cuiquam aut suorum aut exterorum nuptum dare voluit.*" EGINHARD, Vit. Kar Mag. c. 19. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. v, p. 97

* Vit. Off. p. 21.

† *Sax. Chron.* "Ipso anno visa sunt in cœlo rubea signa post

An Ealdorman of the Mercians, named Brorda, requested of King Offa in the year 775 to make free his monastery at Woking, because he desired to bestow it upon the Abbey of Medhamstead and St. Peter, and the Abbot Pusa, who was much loved by the king. Offa freed the monastery of Woking, against King, against Bishop, against Earl, and against all men, so that no man should have any claim there, except St. Peter and the Abbot. This was done at the king's town, called Free-Richburn.*

Athelwold and Herebert, in the year 778, two generals of the kingdom of Northumberland, rebelled against their sovereign, and first slew Aidulf, a leader of the king's army, and subsequently, in a pitched battle, put to death two others of the royal generals.†

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occasum solis, et horrendi serpentes visi sunt in *Sudsexe* cum magna admiratione." *Chron. Mailros.* A.D. 774—"ac si scaterent de terra" is added by Roger de Wendover, vol. i. p. 242.

There are here introduced, in their Chronological order, various incidents, which occurred during the life time of Offa, and with one exception (the account of the Council of Calcuith) are not intimately connected with the events of his reign. They are placed in the text, as indicative of the manners, or as some modern philosopher may perhaps consider them, as proofs of the *superstitious feelings*, that pervaded the minds of the people, and of the Chroniclers of such times.

* Saxon Chronicle. Translated by the REVD. J. INGRAM. See also note i. p. 76.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 242, 243. *Chron. Mailros.* A.D. 771. In referring to these events, Mr. Turner seems to have fallen into a mistake. He says that Ethelred, King of Northumberland, "in his third year fraudulently procured the death of two of his generals, by the instrumentality of two others. In the very next year, these men rebelled against himself, destroying, in two successive attacks, others of his commanders, and expelled him from his kingdom.' TURNER'S *His-*

In the year 780, two leaders of the Northumbrians, Osbald and Athelheard, collected together an armed force, and took prisoner one of the King's Ealdormen, named Beorn, whom they burnt to death.* At the same time, they also committed to the flames, Beorn's justiciary, because of his extreme and unjust severity in the administration of the law.†

Werburga, the widow of King Ceolwulf, died in the year 782‡ She, who had formerly been queen, died on this earth, as an abbess, to live, and reign again, we may well believe, in the kingdom of heaven.¶

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tory of the Anglo Saxons, vol. i, pp. 412, 413." The mistake has arisen from Mr. Turner's reading as different transactions, *two accounts of the same transaction, which are put under different dates.* He refers to the Chronicle of Mailros, as his authority, and there, the same circumstance is thus twice told:

"A.D. 777. *Aldulfus Rinulfus and Ecga* generals of King Ethelbert were by his command fraudulently *put to death by the Generals, Adelbald and Heardbert* on the Kalends of October.

"A.D. 778. *Adelbald and Heardbert generals of Ethelred, King of Northumbria* rebelled against him as their sovereign, and slew Aldulf, the son of Bosa leader of the army at Kingsclive, and afterwards *slew Kinulfus and Ecga generals of the King,* at Hylatyrnum.

Chronica de Mailros. p. 178.

In the *Saxon Chronicle* the three loyal generals thus slain are designated "high-sheriffs"—*heah-gerefan.*" A.D. 778. SIMEON of Durham states that the three were fraudulently put to death by order of King Ethelred. *Hist.* p. 108.

* S. DUNELM. *Hist.* p. 108. *Sax. Chron.* and *Chron. de Mailras* A.D. 780. ROG. DE HOVEDEN. p. 404.

† "Quendam consulem et justiciarum suum, *quia rigidior aequo extiterat,* combusserunt." H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv. p. 343.

‡ *Sax. Crhon.*

¶ S. DUNELM. *Hist.* p. 110. This Queen and Abbess is not to be confounded with the Princess and Abbess, Wereburga, of whom a full account is given in the *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) Vol. i. pp. 384, 389, *Britannia Sanct,* Vol. i. pp. 100, 103.

In the year 784, Cynewulf had reigned for one and thirty years over the West Saxons. During that time he had fought many hard battles against the Welsh;* and other nations, and in all had distinguished himself by his bravery, and made his reign illustrious by his victories,† with the exception of the battle of Bensington, fought in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, when he was defeated by King Offa. That calamity was followed by many other misfortunes, and they found their completion, in his ignoble and premature death. Whether it was that he was elated with pride, or that he was fearful that his power might be assailed, by Cyneard,‡ the brother of King Sigebert, whom he had himself deprived of the crown, or that he was apprehensive the young prince might seek to avenge that brother's death, he determined upon banishing him from his kingdom.

Cyneard yielded to a necessity, which he could not control; and, dissembling his purpose, he pretended to fly voluntarily from the country. He sought refuge in the deepest recesses of the woods, and there soon collected small gangs of robbers, with whom he watched every movement of the king, and prepared to avail himself of the first opportunity that should present itself to assassinate him.¶

"Having understood that the king was gone, thinly attended, on a visit to a lady at Merton, he rode after him, and beset him therein; surrounding the town without,

* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 755, 784.

† Rog. de Wend. vol. i. p. 244.

‡ W. Malmsb. *Gest Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 42.

¶ Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. pp. 244, 245.

ere the attendants of the king were aware of him.* When the king found this he went out of doors, and defended himself with courage; till, having looked on the Etheling, he rushed out upon him, and wounded him severely. Then were all fighting against the king, until they had slain him. As soon as the king's thanes in the lady's bower heard the tumult, they ran to the spot, whoever was then ready. The Etheling immediately offered them life and rewards; which none of them would accept, but continued fighting together against him, till they all lay dead, except one British hostage, and he was severely wounded. When the king's thanes that were behind, heard in the morning that the king was slain, they rode to the spot, Osric, his alderman, and Wiverth, his thane, and the men that he had left behind; and they met the Etheling in the town, where the king lay slain. The gates, however, were locked against them, which they attempted to force, but he promised them their own choice of money and land, if they would grant him the kingdom; reminding them, that their relatives were already with him who would never desert him. To which they answered, that no relative could be dearer to them than their lord, and that they would hence follow his murderer. Then they besought their relatives to depart from him safe and sound. They replied, that the same request was made to their comrades that were formerly with the king: "And we are as regardless of the result," they rejoined, "as our comrades who with the king were slain." Then they continued fighting at the gates, till they rushed in, and slew the Etheling and

* *Saxon Chronicle.*

all the men that were with him; except one who was the godson of the alderman, and whose life he spared, though he was often wounded. This same Cynewulf reigned one and thirty winters. His body lies at Winchester; and that of the Etheling at Axminster.'*

The Pope Adrian, in the year 785,† sent legates to England, for the purpose of strengthening and confirming the faith which St. Augustine had preached. These legates were received by the kings, by the clergy, and the people with every testimony of honor and respect;‡ whilst they labored to place religion upon a solid foundation.¶ A Council was held by these legates at Calcluith, when Iambert, Archbishop of Canterbury, resigned a portion of his see to the Archbishop of Litchfield.§ It was at

* *Saxon Chronicle.* The same facts are related by W. Malmsbury (*Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 42) by Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. iv, p. 343) by Roger de Wendover (vol. i, 245) Rudborne, and other historians; but we have preferred the statement of the Saxon Chronicle, conveyed as it is, in the simple and affecting, because literal translation of the Revd. J. Ingram.

† *Sax Chron.*

‡ "Ipsi vero a regibus cum clero et populo honorifice suscepti." Rog. de Wend. "honorifico recepti sunt et remissi." *Chron. Mailros.* "and hi man mid wurthscipe underfeng." Sax. Chron.

¶ In addition to the abuses of the lay monasteries, we have the testimony of Alcuin, that the conduct of Anglo Saxon Clergymen at the time required the vigilant inspection and control of the Supreme Pontiff. Alcuin severely censures those priests who indulged their vanity by wearing rich habits, as unbecoming their condition in life, and disgraceful to them, considering they had bound themselves by their vows, to renounce all the pleasures of this life. See Alcuin. *Oper.* vol. i, p. 84, *Epist.* 63. W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 82. S. Bonifac. *Oper.* vol. i, pp. 140, 141.

§ See pp. 664, 665 of this volume.

this council, that Offa, King of the Mercians, had his eldest son, Egfrid, solemnly crowned: and that most pious and noble-hearted youth afterwards reigned conjointly with his father, to the close of Offa's reign.*

Offa was now in every part of the country triumphant.† To his court resorted all the neighbouring kings and princes, as to that of their sovereign lord, desiring to be united to him, by the closest bonds of friendship, and consanguinity. Amongst these suitors, at his court, was Brithric, King of the West Saxons. Brithric was a youth of noble exterior, and distinguished bravery, and considered deserving of being honored by the alliance of Offa, who bestowed upon him his daughter (Edburga) whilst another and younger daughter (Elfleda), of exquisite beauty was betrothed in marriage, the same year, with Ethelred King of Northumbria.

Brithric had succeeded to the throne of the West Saxons in the year 784, and in 787 was united in marriage to Edburga the daughter of Offa.¶ Supported by this powerful alliance, Brithric felt that he might bid defiance to the pretensions of Egbert, the sole remaining claimant to the crown, of royal blood. To Egbert himself, the

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* Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 246, 247:

† "Rex autem Offa triumphator ubique." M. Paris. *Vit. Off.* p. 22.

‡ M. Paris. *Vit. Off.* p. 23. W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 90. Rog. de Wend. vol. i. p. 249.

¶ *Sax. Chron.*

chance of obtaining the West Saxon throne appeared so desperate, that he fled for safety to France.*

Freed from the presence of his opponent, Brithric hoped he might enjoy the possession of his kingdom in perfect security, when the sudden arrival of a band of piratical Danes, who reached England in three ships, disturbed the peace of his subjects. The Danes, who arrived at this time, were suspected to have come over as spies, in order that they might report to their associates the riches and fertility of the land they explored; and from the multitude of Danes that afterwards overran Britain, this suspicion seemed to be fully justified. They first approached in a furtive manner one of the royal cities, and being encountered by the king's sheriff, they put him to death.† The sheriff was stopping in the town, which is now called Dorchester, when he heard of the arrival of the strangers; he instantly mounted his horse, and accompanied by a few attendants he hastened to the gate of the town, fancying they were merchants, and not foes. Upon his commanding the strangers to be driven away, to the King's villa,‡ he and all who accompanied him were killed by

* Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 247. "Ut hostem fugavit in Franciam," Rudborn. "Franciam fugandum curavit." W. Malmbs. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. 1, § 43. This refers to Egbert, who so soon after occupied a conspicuous position in English history. His claim to the throne is stated by Malmsbury to be superior to that of Brithric. "Nam et ipse Bricticus, et cæteri reges infra Inam reges, licet natalium splendore gloriantes, quippe qui de Cerdicio traherent originem, non parum tamen a linea regiæ stirpis exorbitaverant."

† Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 248. In the Saxon Chronicle, the Danes are called "Northmen from the land of robbers."

‡ "Ad regiam villam pelli jussit." Ethelwerd. "The *reve* then rode thereto, and would drive them to the king's town, for he knew not what they were." *Saxon Chronicle.*

them. His name was Beaduheard.* He was the first of the English nation slain by the Danes, beneath whose swords many thousands were afterwards destined to fall victims.†

Upon the death of the sheriff and his followers, the multitude took to flight, and the Danes proceeded to load themselves with riches of every description. They even ventured further into the country; and as soon as King Offa heard of this daring expedition he despatched an armed body of men against them, for he would not condescend to collect the general military array of the country against such a ruffian-gang.‡ By his soldiers their presumption was punished. They were speedily routed, many of them killed, and the remainder, abandoning every portion of the spoil they had collected, were forced to seek for safety in their ships. A few of them were made prisoners, and when they threatened that a future invasion would be made of England, by an immense body of the Danes, the King Offa ordered them to be sent back, unharmed, to their countrymen, for the purpose of informing them, that "as long as Offa reigned, the same signal punishment, which had been inflicted upon the first, should fall upon every future invader."

This message struck terror into the hearts of the Danes, and as long as Offa lived, England was free from their incursions.¶

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* ETHELWED, Lib. iii, pp. 842, 843.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 248.

‡ "Missa expeditione, non enim pro tanto popello dignibatur exercitum publicum convocare." M. PARIS.

¶ M. PARIS, *Vit. Off.* p. 22. The place, which the Danish

The same year (787) in which these events took place, the Queen Ricdritha died.* She had possessed all the riches, power, and pomp of a sovereign-lady in the early period of her life; these, she had abandoned for the robes of an Abbess, and as an Abbess, she exchanged the ills of this world for the eternal happiness of the next.†

The daughter of Offa, Edburga, proved the destruction of her husband, Bricthric, King of the West Saxons.‡ She gained his affections, and incited by the ambitious feelings of her mother, she usurped his authority, and exercised it with the capricious wilfulness of a tyrant. All who were loved by Bricthric she detested, and in pursuance of her thirst for power, she did not hesitate to commit crimes, equally odious to God and man. Those she disliked were accused by her of crimes, calculated, if believed, to consign them to death, or to deprive them of their offices, their rank, and their property.‖ If these accusations failed in the proof, then she had resort to poison, and thus pri-

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ships first reached is stated by Asser—"applicuerunt in *Insula* quæ dicitur *Portland*." Annal. A.D. 789, p. 154.

The boast, that the Danes did not again visit England during the life-time of Offa, is not justified by the fact. They reappeared in Northumbria in 793, the year before Offa's death. See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 793, 794.

* Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 246.

† S. Dunelm. *Hist.* p. 110.

‡ W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii, §. 113.

‖ Like her mother, Queen Drida, she was a persecutrix of the clergy:—Et viros religiosos ad regem accusare consuevit." Rudborne *Hist. Major.* Lib. ii, c. 5. p. 196. S. Dulenm, p. 118.

vately despatched those she could not have publicly condemned.

The practice of this crime by the Queen, was thus discovered. There was attached to the court of her husband a certain youth, who was a great favorite of King Brictbric. The Queen became his accuser; but as her accusations were not credible she resorted to poison. The poison prepared for the youth was first tasted by the King. It was not intended by Queen Edburga, that her husband should partake of it: but having unconsciously drank before the youth, for whom the deadly draught had been concocted, both perished at the same moment.*

The Queen-poisoner was compelled to fly from the country to escape the effects of the public indignation. The West Saxons, as a testimony of their detestation of her infamy, decreed, that for the future, no wife of a West Saxon King should sit on the same throne with the monarch, nor bear the title of "Queen."†

Edburga fled from England, with an immense treasure, and presented herself at the court of Charles, the most

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* Asser *de Ælfred* p. 3.

† W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii, §. 113. The practice did not cease in England, (with the fall of the West Saxons), of wretches resorting to poison to rid themselves of private or political enemies. It will be frequently found in the reigns of those distinguished anti-Catholic sovereigns, Elizabeth and James I; and of that favorite of the virgin Queen, Dudley, Earl of Leicester, it may be said, as of Edburga—"quos vero insimulare nequibat potionibus noxiis intercipere." For his crimes, fanaticism has found an excuse, or a denial. Novelists have made the miscreant appear as an hero; and those, who invented virtues for him, have tasked their imagination to discover crimes in those he persecuted or assassinated.

famous of the kings of France. She appeared in his court to offer him magnificent presents. Charles said to her—

"Edburga, say, which do you choose for your husband, "myself, or my son, who now stands beside me?"

To this question, her foolish, heedless answer was, "If "I am to have my choice, I select your son, because he "is the younger of the two."

Charles replied with a smile, "If you had chosen me, "you should have had my son; but since you have "preferred him, you shall have neither."

The King then bestowed upon her a magnificent monastery, in which, having divested herself of her lay habit, she assumed that of a Religious, and for a few years presided over the community as their abbess. The same person who had acted badly in her own country, conducted herself still worse amongst foreigners.

Edburga was driven, as an infamous woman, from the monastery, and then banished from the dominions of Charles. The remainder of her days were passed in poverty and shame, until at last her only attendant was a single female servant, Finally, she was seen a daily beggar in the streets of Pavia, where her shameful life miserably terminated.*

Ethelbert, the King of the East Angles, was, upon the suggestion of Humbert, Archbishop of Litchfield, and

* Asser. *de Ælfred* pp. 3, 4. Of these facts there can be no doubt, for they are stated on the authority of the Great Alfred. See also W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii, §. 113. S. Dunelm. *Hist.* pp. 118, 119.

Unwona, Bishop of Leicester, selected as the husband of Offa's youngest daughter, Alfleda, and invited by the Mercian King, to his court to celebrate the nuptials.* The young East Anglian sovereign was distinguished for his virtues and his generosity. As a monarch, he was the enemy of the strong oppressor, and the defender of the weak and helpless. Merciful and clement, the orphan found in him a guardian, the poor a protector. He grieved when the crimes of others compelled him to punish them; he rejoiced when the merits of any of his subjects enabled, him to bestow upon them laudation and fitting rewards.†

The intention of Ethelbert, from his earliest youth, had been to dedicate his whole life, soul and body, to the service of God, and never to have entered into the marriage state. This determination, he had been persuaded to abandon, by the nobles and prelates of his kingdom, and especially by the advice of one—the Earl Oswald—of whose affection, he was most firmly persuaded, and in whose wisdom, he placed the greatest confidence. The Earl

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* M. PAIRS *Vit. Off.* p. 23.

† BROMPTON. *Chronic.* p. 748. M. Paris gives the following lines, as having been written on him:

"Albertus juvenis fuerat Rex fortis ad arma,
"Pace pius, pulcher corpore, mente sagax."

As a boy, we are also told, by another authority, "he was not fond as children of his quality are used to be of the world and of deceitful pleasures; but rather chose to give himself up wholly to devotion. He distributed with a bountiful hand large alms to the poor. (Eleemosynas larga manu pauperibus effundens) When the other boys went to play, he would repair secretly to the church." *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i, p. 303. HARPSFELD, 129.

Oswald suggested to him, that he ought to seek the alliance of Offa, and become a suitor for the hand of his only unmarried daughter. Upon this proposition, Ethelbert sought the advice of the nobles of his kingdom. A council was held, at which all were present, as well as the King's mother, and the suggestion was, with the exception of the Queen-mother, unanimously approved of, and therefore determined to be carried into immediate effect.

Upon the morning of the day, on which he had fixed, for proceeding to the Mercian King, he heard Mass, as he had always been accustomed to do, with his wonted attention and devotion, and then, accompanied by a splendid retinue, such as suited to his state and dignity, he commenced his journey. In the evening of the same day, he reached, after a toilsome journey, a village in the Mercian kingdom which is called by the inhabitans Sutton Wallis.*

As the evening was far advanced, Ethelbert determined not to enter the town; but to have his tents pitched in the open country, and there to pass the night.† He

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*. "Qui *villa australis* ab incolis vocabatur." BROMPTON "Extant ad huc usque vestigia hujus castri, ubi Offa rex convenit Ethelbertum. Nunc appellantur *Southton Waulls* GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS as quoted in LELAND'S *Itinerary*. Vol. viii fol. 87. Leland, or his Editor, Mr. Hearne, in a side note, attached to an extract from Osbert, designates the place as "Southtown." Vol. viii. p. 57.

† In the works of St. Gregory of Tours a passage, similar to this, may be discovered, which is deserving of quotation as proving, first, the miserable state of the ancient population of the continent, in consequence of the oppression of the nobles, and next, that there, as in this country, the only courageous defenders of the poor were the clergy of the Catholic Church. The incident, we allude, to will be found in the life of St. Nicetius when appointed to the Bishopric of Treves, and accompanied by

ordered however some of the most wise and discreet of his nobles to proceed to the town to King Offa, to announce his arrival, and with the tender of magnificent presents, to declare the cause of his journey.

That same night, whilst Ethelbert was reposing in his tent, he was afflicted by frightful dreams. He fancied, that he saw his palace fall down in one mass of ruins, and that the bed, in which he was in the habit of sleeping was buried beneath them. This terrible vision* was followed by others equally appalling: and upon his happening to mention them the next morning to the Earl Oswald, the latter assigned a favorable interpretation to them all. The King himself was silent; but trusted himself, as on all other occasions, to the mercy of God.

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a guard, composed of men, who were the principal persons in the Court of King Theodoric.

"Verumtamen cum propinqui ad urbem, cadente sole, fixis tentoriis mansionem pararent, illi confestim laxatis equitibus per segetes pauperum dimiserunt: quod cernens beatus Nicetius, misericordia motus, ait: "Expellite quantocius equos vestros a segete pauperis, alioquin removebo vos a communione mea." At illi indignantes dixerunt: "Quœnam est hæc causa quam loqueris? adhuc enim episcopalem apicem non es adeptus, et jam excommunicationem minaris. * * * Tunc cursu rapido abiens, ejecit equos a segete."

This sanctified monk, who thus braved the rich nobles in defending the poor, was remarkable for his courage in attacking the vices of kings: "Venerabatur eum et rex Theodericus magno honore, eo quod, quum sæpius vitia nudaret et criminia castigatus emendatior rederetur." GREGOR. TURENENS Ex. Vit. Patr. Except. Vol. ii. pp. 450, 451.

* "Sed et Chlotarium regem pro injustis operibus sæpius excommunicavit, exsiliumque eo minitante, numquam est territus." Vol. ii. p. 451. (Ed. Societ. de L' Histoire de France).

† A full recital of this vision is given by Capgrave in his life of St. Ethelbert. It is copied in the *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) Vol. iv. pp. 704, 705, note *d*.

In the morning, Ethelbert's messengers returned to him, from Offa, to report that they had been received most graciously by that sovereign, who had declared his satisfaction at the visit of Ethelbert, and his approval of the purpose, for which it had been undertaken.

Ethelbert having sent forward his chariots, and pack-horses, laden with rich baggage, well stored chests, and provisions; and accompained by an immense number of men, on foot and horseback, followed himself with a magnificent band of his knights, arranged in due order. The approach of this cavalcade was soon rumoured through the town, and at length reached the palace of King Offa. Amongst others, who were attracted to behold the sight, was Alfleda, the maiden daughter of King Offa. From a window of the lofty palace of her father, she beheld the young King Ethelbert and his knights entering the court yard. She marked with a woman's interest the splendid spectacle, and then hastened to her mother, to speak to her of the manly beauty of Ethelbert, of the stately nobles, the valiant knights, and the wondrous splendour of his retinue. Magnificent as the sight was, it is more than probable, that her imagination bestowed upon it splendours that it did not possess. The queen listened to her daughter, and her malice and her cunning were alike excited hy the narrative.*

The Queen Drida, or, as she afterwards named, Quendritha,—that is Queen-Drida,† who had, as we have pre-

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* Brompton pp. 748, 749, 750.

† M. Paris *Vit. Off.* p. 23. In a former chapter, he gives her, in addition to the name Drida, that of Petronella—quæ se Petronillam nominavit, p. 13.

viously stated, by an unhoped for chance been married to Offa, and who, proud of her connexion to King Charles, not only persecuted the Archbishop of Litchfield, and the Bishop of Leicester, but was also anxious to marry her daughters to foreigners—events that could not occur, without tending to the destruction of the Mercian Kingdom. She detested these two prelates, because in the marriages that had already taken place, they had rendered her policy abortive; and now, when she found that her third, her only remaining child, was not to be given to some favourite of hers, beyond the sea, she was enflamed with rage and fury.

At the very moment, that King Offa, filled with delight and joy, hurried to meet his daughter's intended bridegroom; and at the time, that he embraced Ethelbert with all the effusion of paternal tenderness, and that he uttered: "welcome my son; welcome my son-in-law "welcome, you who shall henceforth be regarded as my "favourite child," the queen stood at a distance—she scowled upon the devoted Ethelbert, and resolved to make him feel the worst effects of her malice.

Offa, so far from suspecting his wife of any evil design against Ethelbert, but on the contrary, supposing, that the intended marriage must be agreeable to her, went to consult her, as to the time, that it should be celebrated, when she thus addressed him:*

"The subject is one, which requires consideration—very "grave consideration. You are well aware, that the "petty princes of the East Angles have long desired to

* M. Paris *Vit. Off.* p. 23.

" obtain dominion over the Mercians. You have full " knowledge of the hereditary enmities, and the mutual " injuries, inflicted upon each other, by both these king- " doms; and now, I am greatly deceived, if ambition " rather than affection, has not attracted Ethelbert to " this court. Marriage is the pretext, friendship the " cloak, which have served the purpose of the keen spy, " who would judge for himself the weakness that accom- " panies your advanced years, and the best means of " ensuring your destruction. You should regard your " guest, not as a lover, but as a hostile commander; for " it is, in the latter capacity he has appeared before you, " accompanied by numbers of soldiers, large enough for " an army—too large, for the purposes of peace.

" Suppose he marries your daughter, and that such is " the sole cause of his coming; then by right of that " marriage, he will regard himself as your heir, and en- " titled to succeed you on the throne. As an impatient " heir, he will daily wish for your death; and all that you " now peacefully enjoy, he will constantly seek for, and " as sedulously struggle to acquire. You prepare a rod " of chastisement for yourself; you knot together the " whip, with which you will hereafter be beaten, if you " give to one, like this, pretensions to be your successor. " Make him your son-in-law; your life is in peril and your " crown in danger—or if life be long spared to you, it " must be passed amid the terrors of fear—you exchange " the independence of a free king, in your own dominions, " for the trembling timidity of an Eastern slave.

" Suppose, on the other hand, that you now reject his " alliance, and that you allow him, justly offended " with the treatment he has experienced, to withdraw

" from your kingdom, then there can be no doubt, that " you expose yourself to as great a danger, as that " which you desire to escape. He now knows the roads " of your kingdom—he requires no spy to tell him, what " parts of it are the most accessible for his troops—how " it can be best assailed, or what are the points on which " you will rely for your defence. He has seen and " noted your age, and your infirmity; and all he has to " do, is to make, as a pretext for hostilities, the affront " to which you have subjected him; and on the instant " he proclaims war, he begins the destruction of your " kingdom, and deprives you of life.

" There is but one of two modes of escaping from the " danger and perplexity entailed upon you, by the " coming of this guest—either he will in a short time, " cause your death, or you now must cause his—in my " mind, a just and fitting punishment for his presump- " tion."

The king sighed deeply, as the queen concluded her address to him, and then, after a few moments consideration, he replied thus to her:

" Your discourse has, in sooth, convinced me, that I " am reduced to a dangerous and pitiable plight; for I " plainly see, that on this side there is imminent peril, " and on the other irretrievable infamy.*

" Far, far, however, be from me the detestable crime " that you suggest; and which, if once committed, would " bring eternal opprobrium upon me and my suc- " cessors."

With these words the king departed. He recovered

* Brompton pp. 750, 751.

in a short time afterwards his usual equanimity, or, in compliment to his guest, disguised the anguish, which he really felt.

The two kings sat down to a magnificent feast. The richest viands, and the most costly wines were on the board, whilst their senses were charmed, with the music of harps, with singing, and dancing. Thus was the entire day passed in joy; whilst the queen, still resolved upon carrying into execution her fell purpose, prepared a couch to be erected for Ethelbert, with royal magnificence, and close to this, which appeared to be destined to receive him at night, she had erected a throne-like seat, with a royal canopy, and decorated on all sides with the richest hangings. Beneath this, there was a deep well; and by this contrivance, she hoped to carry into effect her wicked project.

The queen, upon making these preparations, entered the banquetting hall, where Offa and Ethelbert were still seated. Her appearance seemed to add new joy to the festival. A lively discourse was carried on, when she playfully said to Ethelbert, unsuspicious of the slightest evil occurring: "will you not come, my son, and visit "the maiden, who is to be united to you in marriage. "She anxiously awaits a visit from you in my chamber; "and will, no doubt, hear with pleasure the words of "love, when pronounced by her intended husband."

Ethelbert instantly arose, and followed the queen into the fatal chamber; from which his attendants were on the instant excluded. He had expected to have found the maiden before him; but the queen suddenly turned round, and said: "seat yourself there, my son, until "she arrives." The unsuspicious king sat down on the

throne, and the moment he did so, it, and the platform on which it was erected, gave way beneath him. The heavy mass fell with him and upon him, into the deep gulph beneath—and by the aid of assassins, who had been concealed in the neighbouring apartments by the queen, he was speedily suffocated; for the instant the crash of his fall was heard, the queen and her confederates flung upon him the pillows, bedding, hangings and tapestry, lest a single shriek, or groan, or even sigh of the expiring king should be heard. As if no circumstance should be wanting to this perfidious act of female cruelty, even the lifeless body of the king was subjected to decapitation; because it was observed to be palpitating with the agony of the cruel death inflicted upon it.*

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* M. PARIS *Vit. Off.* p. 24. This statement of the manner in which St. Ethelbert was put to death is corroborated by Roger de Wendover, vol, i. pp. 249, 250, 251, and Mathew of Westminster, the copyist of Wendover, p. 283. A far different account is given by Bromton. He states that, the king assented to the death of Ethelbert, held council as to the best mode of executing it, and left its execution to a man named Guymbert (Capgrave calls him Winbert) who formerly enjoyed the friendship of Ethelbert.

Guymbert, it is there stated, induced Ethelbert to fly from the palace of Offa, by night, under the pretence that his life was in danger, if he did not do so; and then having proceeded to a lonesome spot, in which Guymbert's accomplices were posted, the king was set upon, and whilst invoking the name of God, he was put to death, and Guymbert with Ethelbert's own sword, cut off his head and instantly presented it to the king and queen—"Et illud cruore perfusum regi et reginæ ilico præsentavit." BROMTON *Chron.* p. 751.

Although the narrative of M. Paris is adopted in the text it must be admitted that the weight of evidence is to bring home a guilty knowledge of the assassination to King Offa; for instance, we have amongst other authorities to this effect, the following:—"Offa commanded that King Ethelbert should be

Thus was Ethelbert deprived of life—sinless, he was removed from a world, in which, if a longer existence had been granted to him, his morality might have been corrupted, and his purity tarnished.*

Privately as the crime had been committed, intelligence respecting it soon reached the soldiers and subjects of Ethelbert, who were the guests of Offa, and they withdrew before the morning, from the Mercian Kingdom, lest the same calamity should befall themselves, which had occurred to their Sovereign.

As to the lovely maiden, Alfleda, the destined bride of Ethelbert, as soon as she heard of the detestable deed that had been perpetrated, she resolved upon abandoning all the pomps and vain glories of this earth; to assume the religious habit, and to follow the course of virtue, which had been ever pursued by her martyred and affianced lord.† It is even said, that in the first outbreak of her

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beheaded." *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 792. "Offa jussererat Ethelbyrti regis amputare caput." ETHELWERD *Histor.* Lib. iii, p. 840. "Æthelbrightus * * occisus est ab Offa Rege Merciorum *perfidissimo*." ASSER. *Annal.* p. 154. "Idem * * regem Ethelbritum * * inopinate capite spoliari fecit." W.. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 86. "Hunc * * Offa peremit." *Gest. Pont.* Lib. iv, p. 287. To these, may be added the two following, who in a few words, seem to give, the first, the real cause, and the next, the true motive to the crime of Offa:

"Adelbertus Rex Orientalum Anglorum, Offæ regis Merciorum *jussione*, et Cynedrithæ Reginæ *nefaria persuasione* vita privatus est capitis abscissione." R. DE DICET. *Abb. Chron.* p. 446.

"Sanctus Ethelbertus Rex Estanglorum jussu regis Offæ, et persuasiane uxoris suæ Kinelwithæ, et *regno* et vita privatur. R. HIGDEN. *Polychron.* p. 251.

* BROMTON. p. 751.

† M. PARIS. *Vit. Off.* p. 24, 25.

grief, that she appeared to be filled with a prophetic spirit—that she declared to Quendritha, that her only son Egfrid would not live for three years longer—that the Queen herself was destined to die in the course of a few months; that her death would be miserable; and its last moments passed amid the horrors of despair. These predictions were subsequently fully verified.

Alfleda instantly abandoned her father's court, and repaired to the dismal marshes of Croyland, where, clothed as a nun, and passing her days as a solitary recluse, she gave up her entire time and thoughts to religious exercises and devout contemplation; for she preferred to be as a serf, in the house of the Lord, than to dwell, as a queen, in the palace of sinners.*

Offa, upon finding that the crime, suggested to him, had been perpetrated, betook himself for three days to his chamber. All that time his mind was so absorbed by grief, that he refused every species of nourishment, He was solely heard to sigh, and alone seen to weep. He commanded that Quendritha should be at once removed from his court, and for the remainder of her life confined a close prisoner to one of the most distant and solitary places of his dominions. He did not desire her

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* BROMTON, p. 752.

"She (Alfleda) retired wholly from the world to the solitude of Croyland, where she lived a recluse in a cell within the Church, for more than forty years, in so great an opinion of holiness, as to be honoured after her death amongst the Saints." *Britannia Sancta.* Vol. i. p. 304. Much information will be found respecting nuns, in a penitential spirit, becoming recluses and confining themselves to their cells, as well as the management of convents, in the History of St. Gregory at Tours. Lib. ix. c. 39, 40.

death; but rather that time should be afforded to her, by her penitence to reconcile herself to heaven, which by this atrocious deed she had so grievously offended.

Queen Drida brought with her, to her place of banishment, an immense treasure, the fruit of her past crimes, spoliation and oppression.

To obtain these heaps of gold and silver, which she had accumulated, the mansion in which she dwelt, was attacked by robbers—the queen herself laid hold of by these miscreants, who flung her into a deep well, where bruised and maimed, she expired in tortures. The same kind of death, which she had inflicted upon the innocent Ethelbert, she was doomed herself to endure, and a cruel death was the fitting termination to her cruel life.*

The mangled remains of Ethelbert were, by order of King Offa, carried to the banks of the river Lugg in Hertfordshire, and there secretly interred.† It did not please Heaven, however, that a body so sacred and so pure should remain concealed; for on the very night on which it was consigned to earth, there sprung from the grave, a glittering column of light, which seemed to mount up into the heavens, and from whence there sparkled rays, bright and luminous as those of the sun. Upon the third night after his decease the saintly King Ethel-

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* "Ut sicut regem Albertum innocentem, in foveam fecit præcipitari, et præcipitatum suffocari; sic in putei profunditate submersa, vitam miserabiliter terminaret." *Vit. Off.* p. 25.

† "His body was privately buried at Marden." *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i, p. 303. "In loco primæ sepulturæ nunc est parochialis de Maurdine in sinistra ripa Luge flu. 4 millibus passuum ab Herefordia." GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS as quoted in LELAND'S *Itinerary, fol.* 88. *a.*

bert appeared, in a dream to a nobleman, Brithfrid, told to his sleeping friend of his death, and how it had been caused, and then directed, that his body should be removed to a certain place, which he named to him, and there deposited close to a monastery.

Brithfrid, aided by a pious friend named Edmund, proceeded to the spot indicated in the dream, and there discovered the body, and, after some search, the head of the martyred king. In carrying both upon a car, the head rolled off by the jolting of the vehicle in a deep rut. A man who had been blind for eleven years chanced to strike his foot against the sacred head, as it lay in the road, and he instantly recovered his sight.* He announced the miracle to the great joy of Brithfrid and Edmund, and they gave thanks to God, Who is wonderful in all His works.

By these two, the body of the saint was buried in a place called Fernley, or the Heath of Fern, and since then known as Hereford †—a place, that afterwards become an episcopal seat, and has been rendered illustrious by many miracles.‡

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* "Obiter offenderet et statim desiderati luminis gaudium recuperaret." BROMTON. In the life of Offa, this is stated with more particularity; for it is declared that the foot of the blind man became entangled in the long, and beauteous yellow tresses of the young king. "Erat enim pes ejus irretitus in cincinnis capitis flavis et prolixis." p. 24. See *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* (Praef.) Vol. iii, pp. 1, 2, 3.

† BROMTON, pp. 752, 753. "*Bishop* Reinelm in the reign of Henry I, built the present beautiful church, and *his successors* enlarged it, adding a neat college, and fair prebendal houses." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 67. (Gough).

‡ M. PARIS *Vit. Off.* p. 25. BROMTON pp. 753, 754. This writer refers to Asser, as giving an account of the miracles per-

King Ethelbert died, leaving no child or relative, entitled to succeed him. Offa sent a strong military force amongst the East Anglians, took possession of the province, and incorporated it with the Mercian kingdom.*

In the year 793, died Iambert Archbishop of Canterbury.†

The same year, Offa, King of the Mercians, whilst residing in Bath, and when his senses were buried in deep repose, the consequence of a day's hard toil, was visited in his sleep, by an angel, who admonished, him that he ought to raise from the earth, where it lay concealed, the body of St. Alban, the protomartyr of Britain, and to have it placed in a shrine befitting, the merits of one so holy, and so illustrious. The king felt most willing to accomplish what he considered as a divine inspiration, and consulted with the Archbishop Humbert as to the course most proper to be pursued.

In accordance with the suggestion of the Archbishop;

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formed at the burial-place of St. Ethelbert, but in Mr Camden's Edition of Asser, no such account is to be found. Mr. Camden was not a Catholic, and considered it as proper, in editing an author, to expunge what that author had written, because it was not consonant with the editor's faith! It is well, for the sake of classical literature itself, that the monks did not take such liberties with pagans, like Homer, Virgil, and even Livy, (whose works they have saved from oblivion) as Mr. Camden, in this instance has done with Asser.

For a further account of the miracles performed through the intercession of St. Ethelbert, See *Acta Sanctorum* (Mai) vol. iv, pp. 707, 708.

* Roc. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 251.

† Ibid.

Ceolwulf, and Unwona, Bishops of Lindsey and Leicester, and an immense multitude of both sexes, and of every age met on an appointed day, at Verulam.

All, the king, archbishop, bishops, priests, and people, had prepared themselves by fasting, alms—deeds, and prayers * for this solemnity—and all were to be seen, bishops as well as priests, in their sacerdotal robes, praying that the martyr might aid them, in the search that they had undertaken to make, for his relics. At the time, that Britain had been invaded by the pagan Saxons, Angles and Jutes, not only were the lands laid waste, the cities and towns levelled to the ground, but the sacred churches were torn down, the priests murdered, and the whole country mercilessly ravaged from one sea to the other. It was during that awful time, that the church of the blessed protomartyr of the English people, built as it is stated by Bede, in his history, of stone, and of great magnificence, was utterly subverted; so that the sepulchre, which in the time of St. Germanus was notorious to all, and on account of the numerous miracles performed at it, regarded as a place of peculiar sanctity, had become, in the time of Offa, utterly unknown to every one.

All then, having duly prepared themselves by alms-deeds, fasting and prayer, went searching about the earth, for the discovery of the martyrs remains; but their search was of brief duration, for a ray of light from heaven indicated the precise spot. There in the

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* "Facta *" * oratione * * cum eleemosyna et jejunio." Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 253.

presence of King Offa was found the body of the martyr, placed in the same wooden coffin, in which it had been hastily concealed by the hands of the faithful, to save it from the desecration of the ruthless barbarians, who then overspread the country—and with the body, there were found deposited, the sacred relics of the apostles and martyrs, which St. Germanus had long before placed by its side.

This discovery deeply affected all who were present: priests and people shed tears, as they found before them this corroborative evidence of the statements made by pious writers, respecting such relics being associated with the body of their honored saint. This treasure, so long concealed in the earth, was now raised, with a holy fear by the Archbishop and bishops. It was brought in solemn procession, with hymns and joyful canticles to a church, which had been built outside the walls of Verulam, in honor of the martyr, and there the body, with the relics, were enclosed in a shrine, composed of gold and silver, and decorated with precious stones.* And in that place, even to this day, divine miracles have not ceased to occur; for there, in the presence of numbers, the deaf have been restored to their hearing, the lame have been enabled to walk, the blind to see, and all who

* Matthew Paris adds, that King Offa placed on the head of St. Alban, a crown of gold, on which were inscribed these words: "This is the head of St. Alban, protomartyr of England." "Et cranio, aureo circulo a rege circundato, in quo scriptum fuit, 'Hoc est caput Sancti Albani Anglorum protomartyris." *Vit. Off.* p. 27. Offa was not content with this; for it is added—"Et ecclesiam ipsius, in qua * * corpus collocabatur, picturis, aulæis, et aliis ornamentis, donec amplior multis ditanda possessionibus, et honoribus aedificaretur, jussit decorari." p. 28.

have with faith, implored the intercession of the Saint, have been granted by God, the cure which they sought for their afflicted souls or bodies.*

A provincial council† was summoned by Offa. It was attended by Archbishop Humbert, and his suffragan bishops, and the great nobility of the country. To them, it was proposed that a monastery, with large privileges should be founded, in the place where the relics of the protomartyr had been discovered, and it was known had been consecrated by his blood. This proposition made by the king was acceptable to all. On the part of the bishops, it was advised, that the Saint should be canonized by the authority of the Roman pontiff, and from him the monastery obtain its privileges; whilst it was considered, that for the purpose of carrying these plans to a successful issue, either that ambassadors on the part of the king, or that the king himself, should visit the pontiff. The king coincided in the opinion of his clergy. He determined to go himself to Rome—to undertake that

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* "Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 251, 252, 253, 254. The last sentence thus stands in the original:—

"Quo in loco *usque in hodiernum diem* divina non desinunt celebrari miracula, sed, *multis cernentibus*, surdis ibi restituuntur auditus, claudis gressus, cœcis visus, et omnibus cum fiducia beati martyris auxilium implorantibus, a Deo mentis et corporis impertitur desiderata salus.'

In the life of Offa, it is added, that amongst the miracles performed on the day that St. Alban's body was discovered, there was not only the perfect cleansing of lepers, but also the cure of persons in any way affected with sickness—"leprosi mundantur * * imo omnes languidi et se male habentes, malorum remedia recipiunt."

† "Spelman places this at Chalcluithe, the second council held at that place; Concil. p. 313." Coxe. Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 254, note 2. E.H.S.

laborious journey, in order, that as the blessed protomartyr Alban outshone in glory all the saints of England, so should the monastery devoted to his memory, excel all the rest, in the amount of its possessions, and the extent of its privileges.

The king left England, and in a short space of time arrived at a port in Flanders,* from which he proceeded to a certain town (Monistrol near Puy), where he stopped to make a brief rest. There he found it impossible to procure fodder for his horses, a circumstance that astonished him exceedingly, for he saw upon every side fine and fruitful meadows. The king enquired to whom they belonged, and he was told that they were distributed amongst a great number of proprietors.† The king directed that all these should come before him, and when he spoke to them of divesting themselves of the possession of these meadows, they expressed themselves in terms of strong indignation, declaring that they were so abundantly provided with worldly wealth, that they were under no necessity of parting with them. "It "matters not," replied the King, "however rich you "may be, you can still be richer. I wish to purchase "your lands, not according to their value, but at what-"ever price you may choose to put upon them, and let "that price be in proportion to your unwillingness to "divest yourselves of your property." Upon hearing

* He would appear to have sailed with a large retinue—"præparatis igitur edictu regio navibus, cum navitum armamentis, &c. *Vit. Off.* p. 28.

† "Quod dominos plures haberent." ROG. DE WEND. See NOORTVELDE *Jaer-Boeken van den landen van den Vryen.* Vol. i, p. 41.

this their cupidity was excited.* They sold their lands, on such terms, to the king, who immediately directed, as a memorial of his royal munificence, that these lands should be, for ever, allocated to the uses of strangers—so that all travellers passing by that road, should always have, free of all cost, both grass and hay for their cattle.

The king paid to the proprietors the sums they asked, and then proceeded on his journey to Rome. He visited with due devotion all the holy places of the city, and then repaired to the Pontiff Adrian, for the purpose of informing him of the motive of his journey. He told to the Pope the intention entertained by him of founding a monastery, in honor of the martyr, whose relics had been so miraculously discovered, and of his desire that such monastery should be released from episcopal jurisdiction.†

To these requests, the Pontiff thus replied:—

"Most dear son, Offa, most powerful of the English "Kings, we by no means slightly commend the devotion "you manifest with respect to the protomartyr of your "kingdom, and we gratefully sanction with our assent "your request, both as to the construction of a monastery "and the bestowal of privileges upon it. We enjoin upon

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* "Et nominaverint tot millia, quod credebant regem nullo modo, licet prodigalisimus esset, et inestimabiliter abundaret, illis velle numerare quia prata sua vendere non curabant." *Vit. Off.* p. 29.

† The endowment of this monastery subsequently took place. According to Stow, the charter is "dated the yere of Christ, 793, in the yere of Offa's raigne 33, in the famous place called Celchyth, with the witnesse of himselfe, his sonne Egfride, 9 kings, 15 bishops, 10 dukes, &c. *Annales*, p. 71.

"you, as a remission of your sins, that upon your return "to your dominions, you do, with the advice of your "bishops and thanes, bestow upon the monastery of St. "Alban such possessions and liberties, as you wish to give, "and that which you confer, shall be still further streng- "thened, by our sanction and privilege. The monastery "itself shall be adopted by us, as the special daughter of "the Church of Rome; subjected to our apostleship "directly, and not to any bishop or archbishop."

The King, upon hearing these words, considered in what manner he could fittingly exhibit the sense he entertained of the generous reception given to him. The salutary counsel he sought for seemed to be inspired by the grace of heaven, for the following day, upon visiting the School of the English, which then was in a flourishing condition at Rome, he bestowed upon it, for the maintenance of persons belonging to his kingdom, going there, a silver penny to be collected yearly of every family within his dominions, where the lands, not including the tenements, amounted to thirty silver pence annually.* In return for this munificence, he obtained the privilege that no

* "Singulos argenteos de familiis singulis, omnibus in posterum diebus, singulis annis, quibus videlicet sors tantum contulit extra domos in pascuis, ut triginta argenteorum (non) excederet." Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 257. *Vit. Off.* p. 29.

A payment similar to "the Peter's pence" was exacted in Germany at the time of Louis, father of Charles-le-Gros. This fact is attested by the monk of St. Gall, who says :—ad hujus rei testimonium totam ciebo Germaniam, quae temporibus gloriossimi patris vestri Ludovici *de singulis bubus vel mansis* possessionum regalium *singulos denarios* reddere compulsa est qui darentur ad redemptionem Christianorum terram repromissionis incolentium, &c. *Mon. Sangallen.* Lib. ii, c. 14, *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. v. p. 126.

Englishman, adjudged to do public penance for his sins, should be compelled to suffer the penalty of exile. Having ratified his donation, made his confession, and obtained absolution from the Pope,* he departed for his own country, with the pontifical benediction bestowed upon him.†

Offa, upon his return to England, assembled a council of his bishops and nobles at Verulam, and there, with the unanimous consent and good will of all, he conferred lands and riches to an immense extent upon St. Alban's monastery. He considered, how important it was in that place to bestow gratuitous hospitality; as the monastery itself lay on that great thoroughfare, or line of road, called Watling street, for all persons travelling from the north, and returning by the south. It was on this account, that it appeared to him, it would be a good and pious work, that wayfarers, of every description, should be supplied by his rich gifts, with free and hospitable entertainment and lodging.‡ He appointed as the head of the

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* "Suscepta confessione a papa et peccatorum remissione." Rog. de Wend.

"Celebrata igitur donatione prædicta, et de peccatis omnibus (præcipue tamen de prœliorum multorum commissione) facta confessione, et pro prædicta cœnobii fundatione accepta pœnitentia." *Vit. Off.* p. 29.

† Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. pp. 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257.

‡ "Et pium ei videbatur, ut *omnes intermeantes*, ibidem pium ex suis eleemosynis, *domicilium* invenirent." *Vit. Off.* p. 30.

Compare this statement with Mr. Rapin's account of the same transaction. Offa he says resolved upon a journey to Rome to obtain a pardon from the pope, and to secure himself from the punishment due to his crime. "The pope granted his request, on condition he would be liberal to the churches and monasteries; for that was the only way *then* of atoning for sins." Again he

monastery established by him, the Abbot Willegod, a

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remarks, "William of Malmsbury, speaking of King Offa, doubts whether he should rank him among the good or bad princes. The canonization of St. Alban, procured by his means, and the founding a noble monastery in honour of that saint, being put in the balance against *the murder* of Ethelbert, is the ground of that historian's uncertainty." RAPIN'S *History of England.* Vol. i. p. 54, 55. (fol. 1732).

Our modern historian does not afford the slightest hint to his reader of the beneficent purposes, to which the monastery was to be applied. Some idea may be obtained of the good performed by the Abbots of St. Albans, by reference to CAMDEN'S *Britannia,* Vol. ii. pp. 62, 63. (Gough).

By Mr. Rapin, the pope is sneered at, and contempt cast upon Offa, for establishing an institute, which was to give food, and lodging to every stranger. We should wish those, disposed to join with Mr. Rapin, or who think his censures just, to compare the acts done, during those days of "monkish ignorance," with the results of "modern," "enlightened" and "reformed" legislation. Let them compare St. Alban's monastery and monks, with St. Alban's New Poor Law Union, and guardians, as exhibited in the following letter published in the *Times* of 15th January 1846. p. 3.

"St. Albans, January 12.

"Dear Sir—I am directed to acquaint you, in reference to your parishioner, *widow* Shambrook, that the guardians of this Union *never grant relief to persons not resident therein.*

"The Rev. J. Newcome. R. Grave Lowe, Clerk &c."

Such was NOT the reply of Leofric Abbot of St. Albans in the year 1000, when a famine was depopulating the country—not the district merely embraced by *his* Union or monastery—("invalescente fame miserabili, in omnibus partibus Angliae.") He gave away, not only, all the money that had been for a long time accumulating towards the building a new church; but every thing that was valuable in the monastery, and for which he could find a purchaser, to sustain the poor (in pauperum expendit sustentationem). The gold and silver plate of the monastery were disposed of, and when these were not sufficient, he sold even the consecrated vessels of the church. (Etiam vasa Eccelsiae consecrata). He was not at all like to a New Poor Law Union

man of great piety, of royal rank, and a near relation of his own.*

At the time that Offa made these donations he governed as sovereign over twenty-three provinces, which, by the English, are designated Shires, viz. Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Warwick, Chester, Stafford, Salop, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, half of Hertford, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Nottingham.† From all these counties the King granted the "Peter's pence," as we have already stated—that which in English is called "*Romescot.*"‡

In the year 793 there came dreadful forewarnings over

Guardian, he was simply an "Abbas piissimus, et super afflictos pia gestans viscera," and maintained that the poor were, beyond all others, the living temples of the Lord. "Dicebat enim, fideles Christi, maxime pauperes, Dei esse Ecclesiam et Templum, *et ipsum specialiter aedificandum et conservandum.*" But then he was a monk, and the poor of England are taught to hate the memory of the monks! We doubt much if that hatred is consistent with their love of those rigid poor-law guadians, who have little bowels of mercy, for the poor within their Union, and who "never grant relief to persons not resident therein." See M. PARIS. *Vit. Vigint. Tri. S. Alb. Abb.* p. 42.

* *Vit. Off.* p. 30. The Benedictine order was established in this monastery. *Vit. Vigint. Trium. S. Alb. Abbot.* p. 35. BARONIUS vol. xiii, p. 113. Willigod was so affected by the death of Offa, that he only survived him two months. *Vit. S. Alb. Abbot.* p. 36.

† Abridged from Roger de Wendover, who states as well as M. Paris. pp. 30, 31, the episcopal sees of these counties.

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, pp. 257, 258. M. PARIS *Vit. Off.* p. 31. *Vit. S. Alb. Abbot.* p. 36. We have given the facts,

the land of the Northumbrians causing most woful terror to the people. There were frightful lightnings and thunderings, and fiery dragons seemed to flash through the air. These were followed by a great famine, and then there came in the month of January, the awful ravages of heathen men, by rapine and slaughter, in the church of God at Lindisfarne.*

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as we find them stated with respect to the imposition of "the Romescot" by King Offa, upon what appears to us to be the best authority. We avoid entering into the controversy, that has arisen in latter times, respecting it; but to those who feel interested on such a subject, we refer to POLYDORE VERGIL. *Hist.* Lib. iv. p. 118. BARONIUS *cum critice* Pagii vol. xiii, p. 113, §. x. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii, §. 109, (See Hardy's note, vol. i, p. 151. E.H.S.) LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i, pp. 140, 141, 142, 143. COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol, i, p. 335, 336, 337. DODD'S *Church History*, p. 51. R. DICET. p. 446. BROMTON pp. 754, 776. WEEVER'S *Funeral Monuments*, pp. *clxiv*, *clxv*.

Neither SPEED p. 322, nor STOW, p. 72, in detailing the events of Offa's reign refer to this subject. Rapin and Lappenberg both allude to it, but we only direct attention to them, for the purpose of quoting their opinions, with respect to an authority, of which, in this part of our work, much use has been made.

Rapin says of the *Life of Offa*, at the end of Matthew of Paris's history, that it is

"A *Life* wherein are almost as many *fables* as *truths*." Vol. i, p. 55.

Lappenberg remarks:

"A life of Offa, the fidelity of which has perhaps *been too greatly under-rated*." Vol. i, p. 205.

* *Saxon Chronicle.* "Visi sunt in aere flammei dracones quod signum duæ pestes subsecutæ sunt, prius intolerabilis fames, deinde sævitia gentis paganorum et *Norwagensium Chron. Mailros.* A.D. 793, HIGDEN, *Polychron*, p. 252. "Dira prodgia miseram Anglorum terruere gentem, siquidem fulmina," &c. S. DUNELM. Hist. p. 112. See also ROG. DE WEND. vol. i, p. 246, 247, 259.

It may, probably, be regarded as indicative of the "super-

The Pagans, upon their arrival, spread themselves over the land, like to so many ravening wolves, slaying not merely sheep or oxen, but also the holy shepherds and their flocks---the priests, the clerks, and large numbers of monks and nuns. Upon their reaching the church of Lindisfarne, it was completely sacked by them. They trampled upon the sacred vestments, dug up the altars, and carried off with them the treasures of the church; whilst of the monks attached to it, some were killed on the spot; others were fettered and carried away as

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stitions" feelings of the men and writers of the olden time, to have connected atmospheric phenonomena, with earthly transactions.

No attempt is here made to discuss the point. It is only hoped, that the "philosophy" of the present day will be content with the evidence afforded, as proving; first, that there were at that time such "signs in the heavens," next, that they preceded the invasion of the Danes, and lastly, that such invasion was most injurious to the welfare of those, whose lives were devoted to piety, and it may be truly affirmed, to the permanent interests of religion; for to that invasion, and its calamitous consequences may be traced those great "abuses," for which the Catholic creed has been made responsible, but which all good men, aided and sanctioned by the Popes of Rome, have endeavoured sometimes effectually, sometimes vainly, to remove.

As to the manner, in which natural phenomena ought to be regarded, we have the observation, recorded to have been made in the year 837, by Louis-le-debonnaire, or "the pious," with respect to the comet that then appeared :—

"Non alium," inquit, "timere debemus praeter illum, qui nostri et hujus creator. Sed, sideris sed ejus clementiam non satis mirare et laudare possumus, qui nostram inertiam, cum simus peccatores et impoenitentes, talibus admonere dignatur indiciis. Quia ergo et me, et omnes communiter hoc tangit ostentum, omnes pro posse et sapere ad meliora festinemus, ne forte, misericordiam illo praerogante, et nostra impoenitudine impediente, nos illa inveniamur indigni." Vit. Ludov. Pii. Imp. c. 58. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. vi, p. 120.

slaves; more were tortured, and then driven naked on the world, and not a few were at once drowned in the sea.*

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* S. DUNELM. *Histor.* p. 112. HOVEDEN *Annal.* p. 407. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii, p. 275. A letter of Alcuin's is quoted by Malmsbury, by which it would appear, that the Danes acted in a manner to be deemed worthy of emulation by the religious reformers of the Sixteenth Century, *viz.* "fuderunt sanguinem sanctorum in circuitu altaris, calcaverunt corpora sanctorum in templo, quasi sterquilinium in platea." From the same letter, it seems, that many young boys had been carried away from England, as slaves, for whose liberation, Alcuin promises to exercise all his influence with Charlemagne.

It is well observed, by Dr. Lingard, that the attention of historians has been absorbed by the fate of Lindisfarne, "once honoured by the residence of the apostle of Northumbria, and sanctified by the remains of St. Cuthbert." *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. ii, p. 221. (Ed. 1806).

The Danish invasion was an aggravation of the calamities already endured by the people, in consequence of the prevailing famine—and the famine itself had probably forced the Danes to become plunderers; whilst the success of their expedition was an excitement to them to make further aggressions on England, both for present spoil and ultimate settlement.

The following extract will show the dire results of a famine in Denmark, even when Christianised:

"La famine qui regna en Danemark sous le Roi Olaf, lorsque le Christianisme y était déjà introduit, et lorsque l'agriculture avait fait des progrès, dura douze ans, et força le Roi à se défaire de plusieurs domaines; *les paysans et meme des nobles furent dans la necessite* de vendre leur liberté personnelle pour etre nourris." DEPPING *Historie des Expeditions Maritimes des Normandes*, vol. i. p. 8.

Compare with this statement of M. Depping, the passages in Snorro relative to King Olave, and the ameliorations made by him, as a Christian monarch, in the condition of the people. (Vol. i, pp. 435—770). The passage is quoted from M. Depping for a double object; first, as proving the dire effects of a famine, and next, as demonstrating the difficulties, which Christianity had to overcome, in the endeavour first to mitigate, and finally to abolish slavery. The fact stated by M. Depping

At the time that Lindisfarne was thus ravaged by the Danes, Higebald was its Bishop. To him, Alcuin addressed a letter of consolation upon the calamity that had occurred, and at the same time warned the remaining members of the monastery, that they ought never to degenerate from the manners and morals of their predecessors; that they should be careful in abstaining from all luxuries of dress, and all pleasures of the table; for that if they did not do so, greater afflictions, even than those, by which they had been visited, might overtake them. To King Ethelred, he thus expressed himself:

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illustrates the following passage in the Confessional of Archbishop Egbert of York: "Pater potest filium suum *magna necessitate compulsus*, in servitutem tradere, usque ad septimum annum; deinde, sine voluntate filii, eum tradere non potest." See THORPE'S *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 354.

In the capitularies of King Pepin, (A.D. 752) the fact of men and women, sometimes the husband, and sometimes the wife, being forced by starvation to sell themselves as slaves, is incidendtly referred to—"pro inopia fame cogente se vendiderit" * * * "similiter et de muliere si se vendiderit, et vir ejus ita consenserit." *Rer. Gal. et Franc. Script.* vol. v. p. 637.

The form of Instrument, by which a wretched man, under the pressure of famine parted with his freedom, and to sustain life, became a slave, is to be found in the "Formulae Andegavenses," c. xix. The following is a copy of it.

"Domno mihi semper illo illi. Et pro necessitatis temporum et vitae compendium etiam sterilitatis et inopia praecinxit, ut in aliter transagere non possum, nisi ut integrum statum meum in vestrum debiam implecare servicium. Ergo constat me nullo cogente imperio, sed plenissima voluntate mea, et accipi a vobis pro suprascriptum statum meum, hoc est in quod mihi complacuit, in auro valénte soledus tantus, ut quicquid ab hodiernum diem de memetipso facere volueris, sicut et de reliqua vestra obnoxia, in omnibus Deo praesole habeatis facultatem faciendi. Si quis vero aut ego ipsi, &c." as in the usual form with other Instruments.

"Lo! the Church of St. Cuthbert has been sprinkled "with the blood of God's priests, and despoiled of all its "ornaments; the place, the most venerable in all Britain, "has been made the spoil of Pagans; and, in that very "place, where, from the time of the departure of St. Pau- "linus, the Christian religion first arose in Northumbria, "its misfortunes and calamities now begin."*

It was deemed advisable, as the island of Lindisfarne was so much exposed to the descent of pirates, that the relics of the saints deposited there should be removed elsewhere, and amongst the rest the body of St. Cuthbert. Some, as it is supposed, by a pious fraud, desired to carry it over to Ireland, but an adverse wind prevented them from accomplishing their purpose; and it was then removed with due honor to a spot near the river Tweed, where it remained till the reign of King Ethelred.† The Danes had meanwhile quitted the country

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* Subsequent circumstances proved this statement to be a prophecy. The same great man, in writing to the monks of Weremouth and Jarrow said: "Let the fate of others be a warning to you. You also inhabit the sea-coast: you are equally exposed to the fury of the barbarians." The event verified his foresight; within a few months from the date of his letter, a Danish squadron entered the mouth of the Tyne, and the monasteries of Jarrow and Weremouth, the noble monuments of Benedict's zeal and Egfrid's munificence were reduced to ashes." LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. ii, pp. 222, 223.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Pont.* Lib. iii, p. 275, 276. In S. DUNELM *Historia de Dunelmensi Ecclesia.* Lib. ii, c. 10, 11, 12, an interesting account is given of the attempts made by the monks to save the body of the saint from falling into the hands of the barbarous and Pagan Danes. In the year 1304, the shrine of St. Cuthbert was opened and the body found free from corruption. This is testified by an eye-witness. See LINGARD'S Anglo Saxon Church, vol. ii, pp. 81 to 88. W. MALMSB. *Gest.*

laden with spoil, and rejoicing in the easy victory they had gained. Their uninterrupted success emboldened them to return to England, (and to their misfortune) it was visited by them, in the following year. In 794 they landed at Weremouth, attacked and laid waste the monastery, despoiled it of all the treasures that had been bestowed by King Egfrid; and then prepared themselves again for sea. The outrage they had committed on the shrine of St. Cuthbert was destined not to go unpunished: their leader was seized by the English, and tortured to death,* and in a few hours afterwards their ships were

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Pont. Ang. Lib. iv, p. 278. "Dr. Harpsfield (Sæc. vii, c. 34) and other historians assure us, it was found in like manner uncorrupt, when *his shrine was defaced in the days of King Henry VIII*, at which time, a gold ring in which a sapphire was enchased, was found on his finger, which Dr. Harpsfield says he had seen; but Dr. Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon in his *Flores Histor. Eccles.* p. 120, tells us he had the happiness to possess; it being given him by Anthony, Viscount Montagne (Montaigne) who had it from Sir Robert Hare, and he from Dr. Watson, the last Catholic Bishop of Lincoln." *Britannia Sanct.* vol. i, p. 197.

The body of St. Cuthbert "was afterwards buried by the monks, under the same place where his shrine had stood." J.D. Ancient relics, &c., of the church of Durham, p. 160. (Ibid).

"Dr. Smith had long been sheltered from persecution in the house of Lord Montaigne. Margaret Lady Montaigne had been lady of honor in the court of Queen Mary, and a kind of privilege was granted to her house by Queen Elizabeth, as it was never "searched on account of religious persecution, so that *sometimes sixty priests at once lay in it.*" See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol iii, p. 373.

* "*Princeps eorum crudele nece est occisus.*" R. HOVEDEN, This person is supposed by Geijer to be the original of the many *Ragnars Lodbroc*, whose various achievements have all been ascribed to one person.

"The death song" observes Geijer, "composed in Ragnar's name, in which he recounts his achievements, informs us that previously to his capture by the Englanders, he had ravaged the

overtaken by a storm, many of them overwhelmed by the waves, and the rest wrecked upon the coasts. Some few of the persons, who had, manned these devoted vessels were cast upon the shore; and were, without the slightest pity for their misfortunes, killed on the spot. It was a fate which they had well merited; for they had come to that coast to do wrong to those who had never offended or injured them.* From the battle-field these invaders had fled for refuge to their ships—the tempest-tost ships cast them back on the shore—and on the shore, all found alive, were beheaded.†

In the year 796 died Pope Adrian‡ and many of the

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firths of Scotland, and mention is made just before of the sword games of Lindiscire." *History of the Swedes*, vol. i, p. 14, (translated by J. H. TURNER, M. A.) For an account of the Ragnar Ladbroc of the ninth century, See TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i. pp. 469, 470, 471, 476, 477, 478. WAGENAAR designates the first leaders of these invaders—Ubbo Duke of Friesland and Halpdan king of the Danes. vol. i, pp. 438, 439.

* R. HOVEDEN *Annal*, p. 405. The persons thus treated were men who sought "to acquire wealth by robberies" latrociniis opes quærebant. VERELIUS as quoted by Turner, vol. i, p. 449.

† H. HUNT. *Histor.* Lib. iv, p. 344. S. DUNELM. *Histor.* p. 113. Roger de Wendover, who designates (vol. i, p. 259) the invaders "Dani cum Norwegiensibus," fixes the time of their second invasion in the year 800, when he states they destroyed the churches "de Hercenes et de Tynemouth." p. 266. See also *Chron de Mailros*, A.D. 794. As to the destruction of Iona, See *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. ii, pp. 236, 338.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* dates this event in 794, as well as the death of Offa. Adrian died in 795. BARONIUS vol. xiii, p. 285.

kings and nobles of England. Amongst these was Ethelred, King of Northumbria, who had repudiated his first wife, to marry a second, and was, on that account, put to death, by his subjects.* He was succeeded by Osrid, who died in the twenty fifth day of his reign.† Ethelbert, King of Kent, also died this year, and was succeeded by Edbert.

To those deaths is to be added that of Offa, the powerful King of the Mercians, and the founder of that most magnificent monastery, St. Alban's.‡

It is believed that, Offa died at the village of Offlay, and that his body was thence carried to Bedford, where it was interred in a small chapel outside the town, and on the bank of the river Ouse. It is universally believed that this chapel was carried away, by the rapidity and strength of the stream, which in the course of time, wore down the bank on which it was built, and that with its destruction, was involved the ruin of Offa's sepulchre. The coffin was plunged into the stream, in the bottom of which it is still fancied to be discernible by those who bathe at that spot in summer time; but as if it were a fated thing, never can be discovered by those who seek for it.¶

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* This was the son-in-law of Offa. See p, 678 of this vol.

† According to Simon of Durham he was deposed, and fled for safety, first to Lindisfarne and then to the King of the Picts. *Hist.* p. 113.

‡ Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 251.

¶ "Unde, et usque in praesens, sepulchrum illud ab incolis loci tempore aestivo ibidem balneantibus, quandoque in aquae profunditate videtur esse consumptum; et quamvis, licet diligentissime quæratur, aesi res fatalis esset, non invenitur." M. Paris. *Vit. Off.* p. 32.

Stow has translated this passage very prettily:—

Offa was succeeded, on the throne, by his son Egfrid who had been crowned during the life time of his father. Egfrid was in the bloom of youth, and endowed with a true nobility of soul. The moment he found himself secure in the possession of power, he determined upon imitating his father, in everything that father had performed which was pious and virtuous.* He sanctioned all that his father had done for the enrichment and security of St. Alban's monastery: and confirmed both, according to the custom of the church of Rome, by a charter, that bore the crosses of the bishops, earls, and barons of his empire. He avoided that which was evil in his father; for wherever he found that Offa had, for the aggrandizement of his own kingdom, alienated to his own use, the possessions of divers monasteries, he piously made restitution of all these, and secured such restitution by his royal authority.†

"Which Chappell with the sepulchre of the king, the said river hath swallowed up, whose tombe of lead (as it were some phantasticall thing) appeareth often to them that seeke it not, but to them that seeke it, is invisible." *Annales.* p. 72.

M. Paris states, that before his death, Offa discharged the duties of Steward to St. Alban's monastery, and saw established in it about a hundred monks (centum monachorum ordanitissimorum). He concludes his life of Offa, by censuring severely the monks for not having the body of their founder preserved within the walls of St. Alban's instead of being thus lost in the waters of the Ouse. His words are—"O ignavia inexcusabilis! O negligentia reprehensibilis! Et ut verius concludam, execrabilis ingratitudo!" pp. 30, 32.

* "Pia patris imitatus vestigia." Rog. de Wend. "Paternæ immanitatis vestigia declinans." W. Malmsb.

† "Quæcumque ille ad exaltationem regni sui ex diversorum possessionibus monasteriorum adtenuaverat," Rog. de Wend. This robbery of monasteries by kings and nobles, it may be ob-

In accordance with the petition of Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury, he would willingly have restored to that prelate's see, all the privileges of which it had been deprived, during the time of Archbishop Iambert, had not a premature death, to the great grief of all the people subjected to his sway, removed him from this earth one hundred and forty one days after the demise of his father.*

The cruel hand of death nipped the budding flower of a life,† that promised to bring forth every virtue. Upon this calamity, it was observed by Alcuin in a letter to Osbert—"I do not think that the noble youth Egfrid "has died thus early, because of his own sins, but "because his father shed too much blood, for the purpose "of establishing his kingdom."‡

Egfrid was succeeded in the throne of Mercia, by

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served is a very ancient custom in this country; but there is no account of any restitution having ever been made, except in *Catholic times*. It would be glorious news for *the poor*, if it could be said of each inheritor or possessor of their spoliated lands, as of Egfrid—"ille prona devotione restituit, et suo privilegio cunctis id petentibus roboravit."

* Rog. de Wend. vol. i. pp. 262, 263.

† "Sæva mors vernantis ætatis florem messuit." W. Malmsb.

‡ W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i, §. 94.

Whatever were the personal crimes of Offa this fact is to be borne in mind with respect to him, that during his reign, or at least in his kingdom, we see the right fully sanctioned by the Mercian Law, that persons of an inferior condition could elevate themselves to a rank superior in life, to that in which they were born, the churl or ceorl, might become a thane, and the

Cenulf, a descendant of Penda. He was in every respect deserving of the name of a great man, by his achievements, and his virtues. It was not in the power of envy, nor of malice to diminish the glory that justly belonged to him. Victorious abroad, he was religious at home. He was to be lauded not less for his equity as a judge, than his magnificence as a monarch, and his humility as a christian. All these virtues were conspicuous, especially in his treatment of the see of Canterbury.* Sanctioned with his authority, and supported by his letters, Ethelhard, successor of Iambert, proceeded to Rome, to appeal against the uncanonical usurpations that had been made on the see by Offa. That appeal was successful.† Its full dignity was restored to Canterbury, for Cenulf was less anxious, that his territories should be exalted by any earthly honor, than that a rule of the ancient canons should not be transgressed. He made this

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thane, an eorl; whilst as an incitement to commerce, it was declared,

"That if a merchant thrived, so that he fared thrice over the wide sea, by his own vessel, then was he *thenceforth of Thane-right worthy*" The Mercian Law, §. 6.

A higher rank by §. 7, is given to the man of learning and piety.

The ranks of the Nobility were thus opened to industry, enterprise and talent. Subsequent to the Reformatiou, and the Revolution, the attempt was made, by a supporter of both, to abolish that Anglo Saxon and Catholic principle. Fortunately for the aristocracy the attempt was made in vain. See THORPE'S Ancient Laws and institutes of England, pp. 80, 81, 82. PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i, pp. 12, 13, 14, 47. LORD MAHON'S. *History of England*, vol. i, pp. 531, 547.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 95.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. i. §. 87. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 195, 429, 430.

concession to Canterbury, even whilst he felt compelled to entertain a just resentment against the people of Kent.* He not only defeated them in war; but took their King Edbert, surnamed Pren, prisoner, and removed him from Kent, bound as a captive.†

The year in which this event occurred‡ the Archbishop of Canterbury held a synod, wherein was ratified and confirmed by command of Pope Leo, all things concerning God's monasteries, that had been fixed in the days of Withred, and of other kings. The declaration made was to this effect.¶

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* "In Mercios majora viribus conatus" is the expression of Malmsbury. Lib. i. §. 15.

† The *Saxon Chronicle* adds "the Mercians siezed Edbert Pryn, then king, led him bound into Mercia, and sufferred men to pick out his eyes and cut off his hands" A.D. 796.

This frightful statement is repudiated by the Revd. Mr. Ingram the translator of the Chronicle (p. 82, note i.), he says, that it, "seems only to have existed in the depraved imagination of the Norman interpolator of the Saxon annals," and that he has not found it "in any historian of authority." That Malmsbury had not heard of it, or did not credit it, is plain from his descanting on the clemency of Cenulf (§. 95) and stating, as something remarkable, that Edbert on his restoration to liberty was not again accepted as sovereign by the people of Kent. (§. 15). A person blind and mutilated would be manifestly unfitted for the kingly office, and other words would plainly be applied to him, than "a suis non receptus."

‡ *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 796. SPELMAN'S *Concilia.* vol. i. p. 317. A.D, 798.

¶ This Decree or Canon is worthy of perusal as an attempt to correct the abuses of the lay monasteries. The translation of the Revd. J. Ingram is adopted. See as to "Lay monasteries" pp. 586, 589, in this volume.

"I, Ethelhard, the humble Archbishop of Canterbury, "with the unanimous concurrence of the whole synod, "and of all the congregations of all the ministers, to "which in former days freedom was given by faithful "men, in God's name, and by his terrible judgment, do "decree, as I have command from Pope Leo, that hence-"forth *none dare to choose them lords from lewd men over* "*God's inheritance;* but as it is in the writ that the Pope "has given, or holy men have settled, our father and our "teachers concerning holy ministers, so they continue "untainted, without any resistance. If there is any "man that will not observe this decree of God, of our "Pope, or of us, but overlooketh it, and holdeth it for "nought, let *them* know that they shall give an account "before the judgment seat of God. And I, Ethelhard, "Archbishop, with twelve bishops, and with three and "twenty abbots, this same with the rood-token of Christ, "confirm and fasten."*

The captivity of King Edbert Pren was one of brief duration. His conqueror, the Mercian monarch Cenulf, moved by compassion restored him to his liberty at the solemn dedication of the church and monastery of Winchelcombe, which was built at his sole cost. This memorable act of clemency took place at the altar of the church, and amongst the approvers of the royal munificence was Cuthred, nominated by Cenulf, as king over

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* *Saxon Chronicle translated by the* Revd. J. Ingram. B.D. pp. 82, 83.

the people of Kent. Upon that occasion the church rang with cheers, and the space around it trembled with acclamations. In the assemblages of that day there were thirteen bishops, and ten of the highest rank of nobility; and upon that day no one made a request of the king, who did not participate in his generosity. All who parted from him did so with well-stuffed purses. Besides the gifts which the great men received, and that were of inestimable value and variety, whether the richest plate, the most costly robes, or the finest horses; there were given to all, who were destitute of lands, a pound weight of silver; to the priests a manca of gold; and to every monk a shilling; whilst a vast number of things were bestowed upon all the people.

The same King also encreased the revenues of the monastery to such an extent, that they would now appear to be incredible.*

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* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang*, Lib. i, §. 95. "Idem monasterium cum magnis redditibns, quantum hoc tempore incredibile videatur, ampliasset." This was written when England had suffered, and religion along with it, by the Danish and Norman invasions.

The lands of this monastery were at the dissolution "valued at £759 11*s* 9*d* yearly, now worth £15,191 15*s*, *granted* I. Edward VI. *to Sir Thomas Seymour.*" COBBET.

Leland states of Winchelcombe—"Of old tyme it was a mighty large towne. The monastery was set in the best parte of all the towne, and hard by it, where the parioche church is was Kinge Kenulphe Palace." *Itinerary*, vol. viii, fol. 108, b.

"The very site of these buildings is levelled and ploughed up. * * The inhabitants made planting tobacco their chief business, which turned to good account, till being restrained by 12 Charles I. they decayed gradually and *are now in general poor.*" CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 406. (Gough).

These brief extracts do not require the suggestion of any commentator. As to the wealth that prevailed in England in

This monarch died in the year 821, and was buried at the monastery of Winchelcombe. He left as his successor to the throne Kenelm, a boy, seven years of age.*

The young King Kenelm had two sisters—the elder Quendrida thirsted for the blood of her brother—the second, Burgenilda was fondly attached to him. Quendrida, incited by a wicked disposition and a criminal ambition, first sought, by poison, to put Kenelm to death, and when her attempts had failed, she applied to the young king's tutor, a man named Askehert, and won him to her criminal plan, by a promise of great gifts, and ultimately of a participation, with herself, in the sovereignity.†

The wicked project was carried into effect. He brought the innocent boy abroad, under the pretence of amusing him with the chace, and as soon as they got to a secret place, beheaded his youthful sovereign.‡ It is said, that the last words of Kenelm, as he saw the sword about to deprive him of life, were these—"we praise Thee, O Lord!" and he expired, with this sentence of the hymn on his lips—"Thee the glorious army of martyrs praise—"¶

Anglo Saxon times, See TURNER's *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. iii, pp. 240, 241, 242, 243. The facts stated by Mr. Turner serve to shew, that there was a greater abundance in riches in England, during that period, than Bollandus believed to be possible. See *Acta Sanctorum* (April) vol. ii. "De Diplomatis discernendis." p. xxxi, §. 136.

* ROG. DE WEND. Vol. i. p. 273.

† BROMTON. *Chron.* pp. 776, 777, WALLINGFORD. *Chron.* p. 530.

‡ ROG. DE WEND.

¶ "Te Deum laudamus"—"Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus."

Quendrida possessed, by fratricide, of supreme power, forbade, under the penalty of death, that her brother should be sought for, or his name even mentioned. But whilst she was endeavouring thus to conceal her crime from human knowledge, it was indicated by the instinct of an unreasoning animal. It is said, that a cow was observed to break from her herd—abandon the public and usual pasturage of these animals—to descend from the lofty steeps of the hills to the low and obscure valley, in which the young king's body lay concealed—to browse daily around the spot, and then return, as usual, nightly to her stall. That which was hidden in England was fully exposed in Rome; for whilst the Pope was there celebrating Mass, in the presence of a great number of persons, a dove was seen to descend upon the altar of St. Peter, and drop from its bill a snow white parchment, on which were inscribed these words:

"In Clent, in Coudale, Kenelm kingis
"Bern, lith under thorn hed byreued."*

The apostolic priest regarded with fear this document, inscribed with characters, and words, that were utterly

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* In Roger de Wendover, the words are thus given:—

"In clento cou bathe Kenelm Kynebearn
Lith under thorne hæuedes bereaued."

The following version is given in BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints.*

"In clent cow-pasture under a thorn,
Of head bereft, lies Kenelm King-born."

unknown to him. He asked for an interpretation of them from the people and priests of various nations, who were present, but none could give it, excepting one, who was acquainted with the Saxon letters, and who translated the words into the latin language.*

These words were, by the command of the Pope, fully explained to all present; and then in defiance of the prohibition of Quendrida, Cardinals, accompanied by Englishmen, abounding in faith, proceeded from Rome, to Walfred, the then Archbishop of Canterbury. These with other English bishops went to the place, where the saintly King Kenelm lay interred. They raised the body from the obscure spot, in which it had been concealed, and with hymns conducted it to Winchelcombe, where, with fitting magnificence, and the honor that suited the relics of a martyr, it was placed by the side of Cenu lf.†

From that place in which the martyr's body had lain for a brief period of time, there burst forth a fountain of clear water, the virtues of which have been experienced by many.‡

" In Clento vacca vallis, Kenelmus regius
Natus, jacet sub spina capite truncatus."

† Bromton *Chron.* pp. 777, 778. Rog. de Wend. vol. i, pp. 273, 274. Capgrave, *Nov. Legen. Ang.* fol. ccvi. (b.) Harpsfield, Oct. Sec. c. 14, p. 138. Ingulph. *Hist.* p. 7. Higden. *Polychron.* pp. 252, 253. W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. ii, §. 211.

‡ Bromton, p. 778. " In Clent Valley where St. Kenelm was murdered, in the utmost South borders of Staffordshire, is a spring called St. Kenelm's Well, to which extraordinary virtues have been attributed, says Dr. Cowper." Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. xii, p. 1037.

After the death of this sovereign, the kingdom of Mercia inclined to its fall—its life-blood might be said to be exhausted—and its annals present nothing worthy of being particularly recorded.*

* "Post illum regnum Merciorum nutabundum, et, ut ita dicam, exsangue, nihil quod litera dignetur comminisci habuit." W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i, §. 96.

CHAPTER XI.

The Reign of Egbert, King of England.

Egbert becomes King of the West Saxons. Two of his relatives, nuns in Saxony. Saints Adulph and Botulph. Dangers incurred by Egbert, before he ascended the throne—a fugitive in the court of France. Battle at Kempsford. Visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope—Benevolence of the Pious Archbishop. The Council at Cloveshoe. The Battle of Ellandune. Victories of Egbert—He is crowned "King of England." Wiglaf, King of the Mercians–is preserved from destruction by the Princess, and Nun, St. Alfleda. Wiglaf's Charter to Croyland Monastery. Grief of Wiglaf, for the death of Alfleda. Invasion of the Danes—they land at Sheppey—defeat the English at Charmouth—they are joined by the Welsh. Danes and Welsh defeated at Hengston Hill. Death of Egbert.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 800---836.

UPON the death of Brithric, King of the West Saxons, Egbert succeeded to the throne.* He was the great grandson of Inegild, the brother of King Ina, and was destined to unite under one crown, the great kingdoms or provinces of Britain.†

The father of Egbert was the Prince Alcmund, or Ethelmund, who was yet a boy, when he succeeded to the possessions and titles of his sire Eafi.‡ He had been confided by Eafi to the care of his mother, whilst his two

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* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 800. Hoveden writes, "Egbertus igitur, anno gratiæ octingesimo, vel ut quidam volunt octingesimo secundo, et defuncto Brictico, successit," and the latter date seems to be correct." HARDY (W. Malmsb. vol. i. p. 60, note 3, E.H.S) Mr. Hardy supports this correction of the date, with many substantial reasons.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. §. 106.

‡ "The Saxon Chronicle makes the father of Egbert, King of Kent, and Higden entitle him sub reguli. So Rudborn. The eldest sons of the King of Wessex seem, at this period, to have been always appointed Kings of Kent, till the reign of Alfred." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons,* vol. i. p. 424, note i.

sisters were sent to Saxony, as the country from which they had derived their common origin, in order that they might be educated and suited for a religious life, which it was the desire of their parent they should embrace. This wish was willingly complied with by them; and upon hearing of their father's death, they determined to remain as nuns in Saxony. There was in the same order of Religious, to which these royal maidens were attached, two brothers, named Adulph and Botulph, and the same cause, the pure love of God—which had induced these princesses to cross the sea, impelled both brothers to accept the clerical tonsure. Both were natives of England, and how truly devout and pious had been their lives, many facts attested.*

Egbert was carefully educated, and distinguished himself, even in his earliest youth, amongst the people of the West Saxons. A life of virtue provokes the

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* WALLINGFORD *Chron.* pp. 530, 531. Adulph became Bishop of Maestricht, and is honored in France as one of its saints. To Botulph King Ethelmund gave the wilderness of Ikanho, where he founded a monastery afterwards destroyed by the Danes. Part of his relics were distributed in various monasteries—in Ely, in Thorney, in Westminster, and in Peterborough. See BROMTON, p. 868. *Act. Sanct.* (Jun.) vol. iii. p. 938. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. vi. p. 806. "Few of our British Saints seemed to have been more honored by our ancestors than St. Botulph. His name occurs in our most ancient missal, and in the Kalendars of the ninth century. Botulph's-town (now *Boston*) in Lincolnshire; and Botulph's-bridge, (now *Battle Bridge*) in Huntingdonshire took their names from him; and there are no fewer than four parishes in London dedicated to his honor. From England his veneration passed into Denmark, where also his festivity in former times was annually celebrated, as appears from the office allotted to him, in the Sleswick breviary." *Britannia Sancta*, vol i, p. 372.

malignity of the envious; and where these virtues are found by sovereigns, in one who must be considered as an aspirant to the throne, it is almost natural, that such conspicuous qualities should be regarded with an unfriendly eye. Such were the feelings that animated Brithric towards this noble youth, and he had determined upon putting him to death * when Egbert surmised that a plot had been laid against his life, fled for protection to Offa, King of the Mercians. To the court of Offa, he was speedily followed by the messengers of Brithric, who demanded that he should be delivered up to them, to be punished as a fugitive, and with this demand, they tendered a rich reward for his betrayal: namely, the alliance of the sovereign with the daughter of Offa—the sure means, as they alleged, of maintaining the two kingdoms, in perpetual peace with each other.

Had the demand for the delivery of Egbert been accompanied by a threat, Offa would have despised and defied it; but the fugitive prince, perceiving that he was likely to yield to an offer accompanied by such flattering terms, determined to quit England. He passed at once to France—a circumstance in his life, that seems to have been predestined by heaven; because it was necessary, that he who was chosen to be the ruler of a mighty kingdom, should learn the art of governing from the French; for that nation by the accomplished practice of its power, and the refinement of its manners, must be regarded as truly the head of all the countries of the West. His calamity was to Egbert a whetstone for the mind, removing from it, not merely the stains of igno-

* "mortem suam intentavit." Brompton, *Chron.* p. 770.

rance, that might otherwise have adhered to it, but also sharpening the intellect, and changing all natural rusticity into the bearing of a person acquainted with foreign manners.*

The moment the death of Brithric occurred, the intelligence was conveyed to Egbert in France by several of his friends. He returned to Britain, was instantly directed to assume the sovereignity, and he readily complied with the wishes of his country.†

Egbert was crowned as king in the ancient monastery of the city of Winchester;‡ and the same day, Ethelmund, the Ealdorman of the Wiccians,¶ passed the Thames at Kempsford,§ where he was encountered by Woxten, and the men of Wiltshire. A dreadful battle took place; in which the generals on both sides were

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* Hac igitur contumelia Egbirhtus ut cote usus est, qua, detrita inertiæ rubigine, aciem mentis expediret, et mores longe a gentilitia barbarie alienos indueret." W. MALMSB. See Horace. *Ars Poetica* lines 404, 405.

† He did not ascend the throne as a matter of right; he was elected to it—" moxque imperare jussus, patriæ desideriis satisfecit." W. MALMSB. See BROMTON p. 801. It must have been at his election, that the Witan, for the purpose of exhibiting their horror at the crimes of Edburga, stigmatised the wives of their future sovereigns, as unworthy of the title and privileges of "a queen." A custom which Asser brands as "perversa et detestabilis." *Vit. Ælfred*, p. 3.

‡ RUDBORNE, *Hist. Maj.* Lib. iii, c. i, p. 199. This event took place in the year 801, according to the *Chronolog, August. Cant.* pp. 2237, 2238.

¶ That is, subjects of the Mercian King—" *Hwiccum* in the Saxon; the same as Wicwarum; the latter of which titles is retained in Wickware, in Gloucestershire." INGRAM note to *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 84.

§ See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 394. (Gough).

killed; but victory was eventually gained by the warriors of Wiltshire.*

In the year 803, died in Kent, Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury.† He was succeeded by Wulfred, a monk,‡ who in the year 812, went to Rome, accompanied by Wigbert, bishop of Wessex, and in 813, returned to his own see, with the blessing of the Pope.¶

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* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 800. ETHELWERD, Lib. vi, c. 2, p. 842.

† *Saxon Chron.* By the exertions of this Archbishop, its ancient Privileges were restored to the see of Canterbury. Amongst other praises bestowed upon him, we find this cited to his honor by the monkish historian of Malmsbury—that he was zealous in promoting the pious reading of the scriptures. The words hereafter quoted were addressed to Ethelhard by Alcuin. "*Sanctarum Scripturarum lectio* per tuam sanctissimam curam renovetur." In quoting these words. Wm. of Malmsbury cites the praises bestowed upon Ethelhard as being most justly merited viz. that he was "Sanctissimum, dignissimum, peritissimum." *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. i, p. 199. See also BARONIUS., vol. xiii, p. 391, ix, PAGIUS.

‡ *Ang. Sac.* vol. i, p. 3.

¶ One fact, with respect to this Archbishop, is deserving of commemmoration, especially, as he is found to be a prelate who journied to Rome for "the blessing of the Pope." This fact shews that he was very charitable, for in a recital of lands conferred upon the See of Canterbury, by one of his relatives, a portion of them and their produce were expressly reserved for the use of the poor. These are the words of the charter or deed of gift. "This surrender of lands is made on my part, because my lord, the Archbishop had so commanded, that it should be made by me, in a document written by himself, with respect to the allocation or division of his possessions. By that writing, it was also constituted, that the alms which he had daily directed to be given, should continue to be bestowed out of the lands he had acquired, for the repose of his soul, and of the souls of all those, who had in any wise assisted the Church of Christ; and he the more earnestly commanded this to be done, as a matter which he left to be determined between God, and succeeding Archbishops, whether they executed or neglected it. (Here then was inserted

The same year, in which Wulfred returned from Rome, Egbert,* who had won the love of his subjects, by his mildness and clemency, exhibited the first proofs of his accomplishments as a general, in a war against the Welsh, occupying that part of Britain, called Cornwall.† Their land was devastated by him, from East to West.‡

In the year 816 a council was held at Cloveshoe, over which presided Archbishop Wulfred. §

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a recital of the lands.) These are for the purpose of giving to every poor person daily as much to eat, as will satisfy their wants and to each poor person twenty six pence to purchase clothing. (Unicuique detur cotidie ad manducandum quod convenienter sit satis, et per annum cuique pauperi ad vestitum xxvi, den," He also directed, that a Mass should be said every day for the repose of his soul, and that of the above mentioned persons. He also directed that, on each anniversary of his death, there should be fed one thousand two hundred poor, and that each should have a loaf of bread, and a cheese, or lard, and one penny." *Evidentiæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cant.* p. 2217.

However erroneous, may appear to some, the conduct of the Archbishop, in going to Rome, for the Pope's blessing; we still trust, there are none, who will be disposed to find fault with him for thus acting, with respect to the poor. We do not affirm, that it was because Wulfred went to Rome, that he was so benevolent; but we are certainly correct in declaring, that since the Archbishops of Canterbury have ceased visiting Rome, the world has never heard of one of them, thus disposing of his property. Since then, their children are *their poor*, and the poor have ceased to pray for Archiepiscopal benefactors.

* Sax. Chron. A.D. 813.

† W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. ii, §. 106.

‡ *Sax. Chron.*

§ Spelman's *Concilia.* vol. i. pp. 327 et sequent. In the extracts made from this council, we have adopted the translation of the non-juring clergyman, the Revd. Mr. Collier. See his *Ecclesiastical History,* vol. i. pp. 349, 351.

The second canon of this council ordered all churches to be consecrated by the Bishop of the Diocese.

" The bishop is to bless the holy water and sprinkle it according to the ritual. Then the Eucharist, being consecrated by the bishop, is to be put in a pix, with some relics, and kept in the church; and in case there are no relics to be procured, *the consecrated elements, being the body and blood of our Saviour*, are sufficient for this purpose. And lastly, every bishop is obliged to draw the figure of the Saints to whom the church is dedicated either upon the wall, on a board, or upon the altar.

" The tenth canon regulates the funerals of bishops; particularly it is decreed, that upon the death of any bishop, the tenth part of his present estate shall be distributed to the poor, and *all his English slaves shall be manumised, that by this charitable distribution, the happiness of the deceased person may be heightened, and his failings overlooked.* And all bishops are bound to take care that this provision be secured for themselves, and rather increased than lessened in the proportion. And it is likewise provided, that a bell shall be tolled in the churches of the respective monasteries; that the religious shall all repair thither, and sing thirty psalms for the soul of the deceased. And afterwards, that every bishop and abbot take care that six hundred psalms be sung, and a hundred and twenty masses said, that they *enfranchise three of their slaves, and give them three shillings a piece*; and that all the monks should fast a day; that the deceased prelate should have a particular share in the offices of the church for thirty days together; and that then the monks should be treated at table, with the entertainment of a festival.*

* COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, pp. 349, 351.

The school of the English was in 816 burned at Rome, and in the year succeeding Ceolwulf King of Mercia was deprived of his throne.* He was the uncle of the martyred and youthful sovereign, Kenelm; and had been permitted to retain the crown, for little more than twelve months.† The person, by whom he was deprived of his rights was Beornwulf; a man who had no claim to the crown by descent; but whose vanity induced him to seek for it, and whose immense riches and power enabled him to gain the object of his ambition.‡

In the year 823,§ Beornwulf, led astray by his pride and vanity, fancied that he was capable to restrain the ambition of Egbert, and ventured to proclaim war against him. The latter considering it would be injurious to his reputation to decline hostilities, willingly accepted the challenge.¶ The armies of the Mercians and West Saxon kings encountered on the banks of the river Ellandune,‖ and in consequence of the carnage that took place it was afterwards said, as a proverb, "Ellandune's stream was stopped up by the dead; its waters polluted, and with blood changed to red."** There was an awful slaughter

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* *Sax. Chron.*

† Bromton. p. 778.

‡ Ingulphus, p. 7.

§ *Sax. Chron.*

¶ W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii, §. 106.

‖ At Wilton. *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 823.

** "Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, foetore tabuit." H. Hunt. p. 344.

"Wilton was anciently called Ellandune, as appears from old records. From this name of Ellan, I am sometimes inclined to think this river (the Willy) was the Alanus placed hereabouts by

of the soldiers on both sides; but its result was to give a victory, won by many deaths, to Egbert.*

Egbert took advantage of this success to extend his power, and add to his dominions. He at once sent his son Athelwulf, (who was afterwards king) with Bishop Alcstan, and the Ealdorman Walard, at the head of a large army into Kent, who soon drove its King, Balred, beyond the Thames. By this means, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex, of which Egbert's relative Pren had been deprived, was recovered by him, and added to the West Saxon kingdom.†

The same year, the King of the East Angles, and his people, besought King Egbert to grant them peace and protection against the tyranny of the Mercians.‡ The East Angles had, by entreaties and even by presents, en-

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Ptolemy. ‡ In the Saxon times, it (Wilton) was extremely populous, and King Edgar embellished it with a nunnery, over which he appointed his daughter Edith, Abbess * * It is at present but a small village, yet governed by a mayor, and *glorying* in the elegant house of the Earl of Pembroke *raised out of the ruins of the monastery.*" CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 132.

* "Egbricht victor funestus exitit." H. HUNT. Amongst those slain on the part of Egbert, was the Ealdorman Hun, whose body was interred at Winchester. ETHELWERD. Lib. iii. c. 2, p. 842. "According to the lines in Robert of Brunne, Beornwulf fell in the battle :—

"Ellendoune, Ellendoune, the lond is fulle rede
Of the blode of Bernewolf, ther he toke his dede."

LAPPENBERG'S *History of the Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 5. note 2. (THORPE'S.)

† H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv. pp. 344, 345.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 823.

deavoured to engage the West Saxons in hostility with Beornwulf. The latter led an army against them; was met by the East Angles in open war, defeated and put to death.

Beornwulf was succeeded, on the throne, by his relative Ludecan, who attempted to avenge upon the East Angles the death of Beornwulf. With this purpose he invaded with an army the East Anglian territory, but not only was this army routed, and himself killed,* but five of the leading nobles were left dead on the field.†

The same year, 823, in which the battle of Wilton took place, there was a desperate conflict between the Welsh in Cornwall, and the people of Devonshire. This battle was fought at Camelford ;‡ and many thousands of men perished on both sides.¶

King Egbert, in the year 827, led an army against the Northumbrians, as far as Dore. There he was met by the Northumbrians, who tendered to him their obedience and

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* INGULPHUS. p. 7.

† H. Hunt. p. 345. *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 825. It was by the murder of St. Ethelbert, that Mercia had destroyed the independence of the East Anglian Kingdom. By the East Angles, we here perceive two of the Mercian Kings killed in battle, whilst their revolt immediately led to the conquest of Mercia by the West Saxons. Thus, even in this world, are the crimes of a guilty ambition sometimes signally punished!

‡ *Sax. Chron.* "Camelford or Gaffelford, a little village, formerly called Kemblane. It was here that the celebrated Arthur was said to have been killed. See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. i. pp. 6. 7. (Gough).

¶ H. Hunt. p. 345.

their subjection;* whilst their King Eandred acknowledged himself a tributary or inferior sovereign.†

The tyrants of Mercia, the men, who contrary to all right had assumed the ensigns of sovereigns, were now dead—they, who had oppressed the people by their injustice, and had lost by their imprudence, that gallant and numerous band of warriors that had won for Mercia many a victory, were now removed from the earth, when by the unanimous consent of all, Wiglaf, the ealdorman of Worcester, was raised to the throne,‡ but was immediately afterwards expelled from it by King Egbert.¶ At the same time fell before the arms of Egbert, the East Saxon King Swithred; and by the flight of both sovereigns, their territories were subjected to the West Saxon Crown.§

Egbert had conquered the Mercian kingdom, and all that lay south of the Humber.‖ To this were to be added, Kent,

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* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 827.

† Rog. de Wend. vol. i. p. 277. The words used by this author would imply that Northumbria was subjected to military violence before it submitted—"gravi depopulatione contrivit," whilst Malmsbury states that it voluntarily tendered an acknowledgment of the supreme power of Egbert—"timentes ne diu conceptam iram in ipsos effunderet, tandem vel sero datis obsidibus faverenti deditioni." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. §. 107. See also Lib. i. §. 73.

‡ Ingulphus. p. 7.

¶ "Qui continuo a rege expulsus Egberts." Rog. de Wend. vol. i. p. 276.

§ Rog. de Wend. vol. i, p. 276.

‖ *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 827. It adds—"He was the eighth king, who was Bretwalda," that is "supreme sovereign," mentioning as his predecessors, Ella, Ceawlin, Ethelbert, Redwald, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy.

Northumbria and Leicester, hitherto held by the Welsh. He therefore assembled all the nobles of his various dominions at Winchester, when he was crowned king of all Britain, and on the same day of his coronation, an edict was issued, that all the Saxons and Jutes should henceforth be designated English; and Britain itself bear the name of England.*

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* "Coronatus est Rex totius Britanniæ, ubi edictum fecit ut ab illo die omnes Saxones, vocarentur Angli, et Britannia Anglia, vocaretur." HIGDEN. *Polychron.* Lib. v, p. 252. "Egbertus rex potentissimus, * * qui primus totius Angliæ Monarcha fuisse disnoscitur." RUDBORNE, *Hist. Maj.* Lib. iii, c. i, p. 198.

"Diadema totius regni capiti imposuit maximo scepro redimitus." S. DUNELM, p. 119. "Monarcha totius Angliæ." *Chron. Mailros*, p. 142. Dominium totius regni sibi viriliter submisit." BROMTON, p. 802 "Ecgbyrht regem Anglorum." ETHELWERD, p. 841.

These quotations are given, because it is said by Mr. Turner, an authority entitled to the highest respect and deference upon such a point, that the statement of Egbert having been proclaimed King of England, and abolishing all provincial designations, constitutes a "tale," that is "not entitled to our belief." The views he entertains, are supported, by the authority of Dr. Lingard; they are controverted by the Rt. Revd. Dr. Milner, and by Lappenberg. See *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. i pp. 435, 436, 437. LINGARD'S *History of England*, vol. i, p. 145. MILNER'S *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i, p. 88. LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii, pp. 2, 3, 4, 8. (Thorpe's translation).

The last-named authority falls into the vulgar error, that the destruction of small independent states, and the absorption of their particles of power, in one great empire, is an advantage. "These states," says Lappenberg, "lost nothing, in comparison with what they gained through the centralization of power." (vol. ii, p. 8). They lost much—the power of punishing or of deposing those who had command over them, if they misused the authority entrusted to them. The "centralization of power" in the hands of a King of England, did not preserve England from invasion and subjection by the Danes, no more than cen-

In the year 828, Wiglaf king of the Mercians was restored to his kingdom;* but it was upon condition that he should pay tribute to Egbert, as king of the West Saxons.

As soon as Wiglaf had been elected king by the Mercians; and before he could muster a sufficient armed force to sustain his title, a vigorous search was made for him, by the generals of Egbert, through the entire of the Mercian kingdom. He was saved from his enemies, by the

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tralization of power" in the hands of Darius, saved the Persian monarchy from the conquest of Alexander. No sooner was power centralised in the hands of the Danes, than the sceptre was torn from them. "Centralization of power" can, we admit, be shewn to be most useful for the purposes of ambition—and those who have it within their grasp, can shed more of human blood, and cause more of human misery, and acquire more of earthly glory, than the petty despot of a small state. The Supporters of "centralization of power" look upwards, and not downwards. They see, that it makes great emperors, great warriors, great statesmen; but they do not bear in mind, that it does not tend to the happiness, or welfare of the poor. The poor mechanic in Turin is assuredly happier than the serf and mechanic in Russia, although the sovereign of one has no influence on the destinies of Europe, and the emperor of the other can muster a million of armed soldiers, by a single word. It is, as power becomes centralized in the hands of those who govern, that the governed become more wretched. Those who read the history of ancient Rome and the old independent states of Italy in a proper spirit, will see this—those who look to that puzzle for all statesmen and politicians—the history of Ireland, for the last six hundred years—will find, in it, a solution to the mystery—a struggle for self-government against "centralization of power" in another country:—and those, who desire a practical illustration of it, will perceive it, in the greater misery, oppression, and afflictions of the poor, under a "centralized power" in London, than that which they endured, when the capability of legislating for their wants was confided to the respective parishes, to which they belonged.

* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 828.

zeal and cleverness of Siward, the abbot of the monastery of Croyland, who for four months kept him concealed in the cell of the most holy virgin Alfleda,* of her, who was the daughter of Offa, and the intended spouse of the sainted martyr, Ethelbert, King of the East Angles; but to whom was then allocated the cell of a recluse, in the southern portion of the church of Croyland, and on the right hand side of the altar. In this cell was Wiglaf, and there did he find a safe retreat, until through the mediation of the venerable Abbot Siward, terms of accommodation and of peace were assented to, by the West Saxon Monarch.

Upon the promise of paying an annual tribute, Wiglaf was restored to the throne; and shortly afterwards, he granted a charter, bestowing many important privileges upon the monastery of Croyland. The charter commenced in these words:—

"Wiglaf, by Divine Providence, king of the Mercians, "wishes to all the faithful christian people of Mercia, "eternal happiness. To preach, to proclaim abroad the "great goodness of God to me, is, in my estimation, not a "thing to be ashamed of; but on the contrary, that which "is honorable and glorious. Hence, will I openly confess "to the Lord, who dwelleth on high, and who looketh "down upon the humble, both in heaven and on earth, "that He was at one time angered against me, and that "His wrath has been turned aside, and He hath consoled "me—humbling me a sinner, in the dust, and then in His "mercy, raising me, poor and miserable, from the earth—

* By a strange slip of the pen, this noble maiden is given by Turner, the name of Edburga, whose crimes have rendered her for ever infamous. See *History of the Anglo Saxons*, Vol. i, p. 431.

" uplifting me, a beggar, from the mire, that I might sit
" with princes, and hold a throne of glory. In the days
" of my prosperity, I will not be forgetful of the days
" that were evil. I will be mindful of Raab and of
" Babylon—not of Rahab the Harlot—but of Alfleda,
" that most holy virgin and my relative, who for the love
" of her holy spouse, the Immaculate Lamb, has become
" a recluse of Croyland, and who in the time of my tri-
" bulation, diligently and carefully concealed me, from
" the sight of my foe and my persecutor, for the space of
" four months, in her cell. Therefore too, will I also be
" mindful of Babylon—not of the tower of confusion—but
" of the Holy Church of Croyland—a tower on the earth
" which ascends even to the highest heavens, by its vigils,
" and its prayers, by its psalms, and lectures, by its dis-
" cipline, and afflictions, by its tears and sighs; by its
" alms, and innumerable other works of piety and devo-
" tion; that, for the earthly sinner, struggles day and
" night, and does violence to heaven. Therefore it is,
" that since the venerable father, the Lord Siward Abbot
" of Croyland, protected me, in his tabernacle in the time
" of my tribulation, saving and concealing me, from the
" face of him, who would have afflicted me: I, now
" in addition to the privileges and presents, which my
" predecessors the kings of the Mercians have conferred
" upon, or wherewith they have nobly endowed the afore-
" said monastery, offer out of my poverty, for the great
" altar of the monastery a golden chalice, a golden cru-
" cifix, and for the tabernacle an altar-piece covered with
" plates of gold, as a testimony, that I am to the utmost
" of my strength, to be regarded as a constant defender of
" that church. Moreover, I order to all my ministers in

" every part of Mercia, that whenever the Abbots of " Croyland, with the monks, and brethren of that most " holy monastery may proceed, in the performance of their " duties, to the towns or royal castles, they may find as " willing service, and as ready a supply for their wants, " as if those places were visited by me, or by my son " Wymund, and that no charges be made against them, " for any expenses that may be incurred by them; but " that all such, verified by their writing and signature, be " accepted by my treasurer, from the ministers, as a por- " tion of the tribute, of which they are bound to render " him an account.

" I also will and command, that whoever within my " kingdom be found guilty of crime, and obnoxious thereby " to legal punishment, if he shall take refuge at the said " monastery, and there present himself before the Abbot, " for the time being of the said monastery, and invoke " the grace of the most holy confessor Guthlac, whose " body rests there, and take an oath of fealty, and per- " petual service to the Abbot, then shall such person be " safe and secure under the protection of the Abbot and " his monks, in the performance of whatever service they " may choose to employ him, in the entire island of " Croyland; as if he were in an asylum, or in my own " chamber, in the full enjoyment of peace and impunity; " and none of my servants or ministers shall presume to " pursue him, nor in any manner to molest him. No one " shall, under penalty of losing his right foot, attempt in " any manner to violate this my privilege. Such fugitive " is to be at full liberty, to row about and to fish in the " five waters that encircle the said island; and otherwise " to labour, as he shall be directed by his masters (the

" monks) and this, without any molestation, or annoyance, " on the part of my ministers, or of any other person what- " soever. But if such fugitive shall, at any time, be " found out of such waters, or beyond the bounds of the " said monastery, then can the punishment, which he " formerly merited, whether it was death, or the mutila- " tion of limbs, be without hope of grace or mercy, " inflicted upon him; provided, that it be proved either " by my ministers, or by his adversaries, on the oaths of " six credible witnesses, that he was apprehended outside " of the boundaries of the monastery.

" The boundaries of the monastery, within the five " waters, I have here noted and specified, for the informa- " tion of my ministers, for that of the abbots, and " monks, as well as for fugitives.*

" If a fugitive be found outside of these five waters " and particularised boundaries, he is to be subjected to " the public laws, and to suffer the penalty of his crimes. " But if, within these waters and boundaries, any one shall " be found guilty of homicide, theft, or other heinous " crime, he is to be arrested by the officers of the monas- " tery, to be esteemed as having lost the immunity granted " to him, and to be punished in the prison of the abbot.

" And in order that this my privilege have the greater " force, and security, and to insure to it a due observance " by posterity, I have had it confirmed by my lord, Egbert " King of the West Saxons, and Athelwulf his son.†

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* The boundaries described in the charter, are, here omitted. See INGULPHUS, p. 9. (Gale) p. 856. *(Script post. Bedom.)*

† Such were the privileges of sanctuary; and it is observed by Dr. Lingard " none could boast of equal immunities with the Abbey of Croyland." See the same writer upon the advantages

" I also give to the same monastery, and for the service " of the most holy altar, the scarlet cloak which I wore at " my coronation, to be made into a cope, or chasyble; " and as an ornament for the holy church, my golden em- " broidered tapestry,* on which is worked a representa- " tion of the destruction of Troy, to be suspended (if it " be so pleasing to the authorities of the church) to the

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of these privilieges, in the ruder times of the Anglo Saxons, when a barbarious prejudice " placed the sword of justice in the hand of each individual, and exhorted him to punish his enemy without waiting for the more tardy vengeance of the law." He observes. that " on such occasions, the church offered her protection to the weak and the unfortunate. Within her precincts they were secure from the resentment of their enemies, till their friends had assembled, and either proved their innocence, or paid the legal compensation for their offence." To these observations, we cannot avoid subjoining the following :—

" When the monastery " (of Croyland) " was rebuilt, after its destruction by the Danes, Edred offered to revive the aneient priviliege in favour of his chancellor Turketul ; but it was declined by the hoary statesman,who considered the ordinary right of asylum, as equally beneficial to the public, and less liable to abuse."

LINGARD'S *Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i. pp. 133, 135.

* The gifts of Wiglaf were declared by him, to be made out of his poverty " de paupertate mea ;" the object, for which they were given, was the same, which induced King Dagobert, under the tasteful arrangement of St. Eloy, to enrich the church of St. Denis : " Lors voulut et etabli que l' eglyse fust ornée et parée par dedens de pailes et de tres riches dras de soie á marguerites et autres pierres precieuses, et que ils fussent attachies aux parois, aux colons, et aux arcs, aus festes annuelles et autres solemnites." *Les Grandes Chroniques de France.* Lib. v. c. 9.

An anecdote respecting the King, who thus decorated churches is not inappropriate to this work. Upon his visiting the Kingdom of Burgundy, we are told : " aus povres, qui à lui se complaignoient en requérant leur droiture, estoit *lies et haities* (agréable et empressé), et se departoient de lui en grant joie." Ibid. Lib. v, c. 10.

" walls, upon my anniversary day. I offer also to the " monastery, and for the use of him, who presides for the " day, at the refectory, my gilt cup, the entire of the ex- " terior part of which is engraved with a representation of " vine dressers fighting with dragons, and that I have " been accustomed to designate as my cross-bowl (cruci- " bolum) because the sign of the cross is marked trans- " versely on the inside, and that it has four projecting " corners, with a similar impression; and with these, I give " the horn from my table, in order that, when the seniors " of the monastery drink thereout, on the festival days " of the saints, they may sometimes remember in their " benedictions, the soul of the donor Wiglaf.

" I now confirm with the sign of the cross, this my " gift to my father Siward, the Lord Abbot, and to Al- " fleda the most holy virgin, who for the love of Christ " has become a recluse—my relative by blood; but what " is still more, my dearest sister in Christ. This, I do, " in pursuance of a promise made by me, in presence of " my lords, Egbert, King of the West Saxons, and of " Athelwulf his son, and before all the bishops, and great " Ealdormen of all England, when we all assembled in " London, for the purpose of consulting together, as to " the best means of repelling the constant piratical incur- " sions of the Danes, on the English coast."*

The expressions of regard for the monastery of Croy-

* Ingulphus, pp. 8, 9, 10. (Gale) pp. 855, 856, 857, 858. *Script. post Bedam*), These extracts are given from the Charter of Wiglaf, as illustrative of facts in history, and in many respects, as giving an insight into the manners of the times. The authority (Ingulphus) on which they rest, is, however, repudiated by so eminent an antiquarian, as Sir Francis Palgrave. See *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 289, 296.

land, thus recorded by King Wiglaf, were, to the last day of his life, constantly evinced by him. No year was permitted to pass, in which he was not to be found as a penitent visiting the tomb of St. Guthlac, and always making an offering upon it, of some rich and precious gift.

When he heard of the death of the most holy virgin Alfleda, he was so deeply affected by it, that his grief was followed by a dangerous sickness, which for a long time confined him to his bed, and rendered him so dangerously ill, that his death was for some time apprehended. From this sickness, he, through the favour of the Almighty, was so far recovered, as to be able to visit her grave, which was made near the head-stone of Saint Tatwini, the former guide of St. Guthlac to the island.

As soon as Wiglaf beheld the maiden's tomb, he was seized with a paroxysm of grief. He flung himself upon it, and shed as many bitter tears, as if, by some sudden calamity, wife, and son, and all his family had been lost. From this immoderate grief, nought could recover him, but the severe rebuke of the Abbot Siward, for whom he had ever entertained the affectionate veneration of a child for its father. By him, the king was unwillingly and reluctantly torn from the tomb, and conducted to his chamber.

A short time after the death of Alfleda, Wiglaf lost his son Wymund, and he had the body interred on the right hand of the virgin, whilst his wife Celfrida, who expired within the course of a year, was buried on her left. Both funerals were conducted with royal munificence, and with tears as copious, as the losses, for which they were shed, were felt to be irremediable.

King Wiglaf himself expired in the thirteenth year of

his reign, and was buried, according to a vow he had made, in the monastery of Repton.*

The same year (A.D. 828) in which Wiglaf was restored to the Mercian throne, Egbert led an army against the people of North Wales,† and by force of arms compelled the inhabitants to submit to him as their sovereign.‡

In four years afterwards (A.D. 832) the Danes landed at Sheppey, and laid waste the entire island.§

The Danes in the year following (A.D. 833) arrived on the English coast, in thirty-five large ships. They landed their forces, which were encountered by the army of Egbert at Charmouth (in Dorsetshire).¶ A dreadful slaughter

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* INGULPHUS, Hist. p. 11. (Gale). Repton was the burial place of the Mercian Kings. See CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii, pp. 416, 419. (Gough).

In his charter, Wiglaf declared that he would have given his body to Croyland, if not bound by vow, that it should be interred at Repton. His words are these: "Hæc pauca offeropluraque offerem, quin corpus meum in morte mea tam sancto Monasterio promitterem, nisi ante sepulturam meam Ripadio devovissem. Veruntamen spiritus meus permanebit vobiscum in æternum."

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv, p. 345. ETHELWERD, Lib. iii, c. 2, p. 841.

"With a numerous army he penetrated to Snowdon, the Parnassus of the Cambrian bards. The same successes attended his arms in North Wales, and he penetrated to Denbighshire and from thence to Anglesey." TURNER'S *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i, p. 432. See note 24.

§ ETHELWERD, Lib. iii, c. 2, p. 841. *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 832.

¶ H. HUNT. *Hist.* Lib. iv. p. 345.

took place;* the English were defeated, and amongst the slain were two bishops, Herefert and Wigfert, and two ealdormen, Dudda and Osmod.† The Danes not content with the spoil they had won, made a cruel use of their victory, for they spared neither age nor sex.‡

In the year 835, a great fleet of Danes reached the coast of West Wales, and they were instantly joined by the Welsh people, who prepared for war;§ for they were desirous to engage in hostilities against Egbert, as King of the English. Egbert had anticipated, that they would act thus, and he collected an army fitted to encounter such allied foes.‖ They invaded his Kingdom with fire and sword, tore down his castles, and laid waste his towns, when their career was at length stopped by the large army of the English King,¶ who met them at Hengston Hill, (in Cornwall) and there crushed the united forces of the Welshmen and the Danes. At that spot, he won a complete victory over those most valiant warriors.** There was a terrible carnage both of Welsh and Danes, before they

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* *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 833.

† H. Hunt. p. 345. The *Saxon Chronicle* merely states, that the two bishops "died this year."

‡ Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 278. See W. Malmsb. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. §. 107.

§ *Sax. Chron.* A.D. 835.

‖ Ethelwerd. Lib. iii. c. 2. p. 841.

¶ Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 278.

** H. Hunt. p. 345.

took to flight, and in their retreat, Egbert found, that he had freed his country from hostile aggressions.*

Egbert closed a reign of thirty seven years and seven months duration, in the year 836. Ethelwulf, his eldest son, succeeded him as monarch of the West Saxon Kingdom; whilst upon his Son Athelstan he bestowed the Kingdom of Kent, of Essex, of Surry and of Sussex.†

From the death of Egbert, there commences the description of a new era in the history of England. We have, henceforth, to narrate the transactions that occurred under its single monarchy, and as these open with accounts of the frightful visitation of the Danes, and the awful crimes perpetrated by them, we have deemed it right to postpone our statement of a new, strange and different order of circumstances, to another volume.‡

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* Rog. de Wend. Vol. i. p. 278. The same author states that in the following year, 836, another great victory was won by Egbert, over the Danes.

† *Sax. Chron.* H. Hunt. p. 345. R. Hoveden. *Annal.* p. 407. See Hardy's *note on* W. Malmsb. Vol. i. p. 149. E.H.S. Ruddborne. *Hist. Maj.* p. 200. Wallingford. *Chron.* p. 531. Asser. *Annal.* p. 531.

‡ "Sed cum jam ad monarchiam Angliæ pervenimus, et ad plagam horribilem, quæ per Dacos illata est, liber propius rebus novis donandus est." H. Hunt. *Hist.* Lib, iv, p. 345.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

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